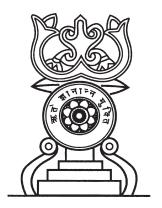
International Peer-Reviewed Research Journal



KAMALA NEHRU COLLEGE

(University of Delhi)

Team AKADEMOS

Namita Paul Amrita Singh

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

AKADEMOS enters its eleventh 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 articles. This endeavor* owes much to faculty members Namita Paul and Amrita Singh for investing considerable effort in proof reading and editing the articles 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.

Team AKADEMOS

Editor's Note

Alone we can do so little, together we can do so much

-Helen Keller

Over the past few years AKADEMOS has evolved many times over. This year is no exception, as from this year onwards AKADEMOS will be an international research journal. With this major change we will be participating in the generation, preservation and dissemination of knowledge and research at a global level. Getting to this juncture has happened after a long and arduous journey that began with the first issue of AKADEMOS which was published in 2006. The amount of skill, time, effort and energy that has gone into the journal is immeasurable. Faculty members, researchers, reviewers and editors have all come together over the years to create a journal that we can truly be proud of.

In these contentious times, it is imperative that we honour this legacy with ethical and authentic research that not only contributes to academia but also addresses the issues that afflict the contemporary world. A refusal to do so will be a grave injustice to our own abilities as intellectuals. Now that we are an international journal, our hope is that we will be joined in our efforts by contributors from around the world. We look forward to learning and collaborating with a range of contributors and believe that the multidisciplinary nature of our journal will provide the perfect platform for these partnerships.

AKADEMOS has always been a product of teamwork and now we can further improve the quality of the journal by extending the pool of our contributors and reviewers. As an institution we will grow in terms of our research capabilities and our students will benefit from their association with an international journal. This important change is a reflection of the vision of Kamala Nehru College; the education of global citizens who are unbiased and equipped to meet the challenges of the contemporary world. We hope to continue to be pioneers who create and nourish connections and intersections.

-Namita Paul

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Transformation of Infrastructure Facilities for Urban Development of Mirzapur City

Keywords: Infrastructure facilities, civic amenities, sustainable urban development and tax-free municipal bond.

Introduction

Sustainable urban environment of a city requires good living environment with provision of physical infrastructure, clean air and water, power, management of sewerage, drainage and solid waste and other civic facilities and amenities. It reflects the quality of life in the urban community. The national development plan can't be successful without incorporating a sustainable urban development plan in it, as two-thirds of the national economy is contributed by the urban sector. In India, large cities are the focus of urban policies and programmes (Mahadevia 1999), though poverty is concentrated in the small towns (Dubey and Gangopadhyay 1999), which also have lower levels of basic services than the large cities. The larger cities very easily get integrated into the global system and the smaller towns into the local economy, with no continuum between the two (Kundu 1999). Therefore, it is important to focus on the development of the small cities like Mirzapur. The city has long histogenesis and famous as the cultural node of Vindhyanchal as well as trade and commerce of carpets and metal ware.

Statement of the problem

The city faces the problems in the form of poor infrastructures, overcrowding, traffic congestions, environmental pollution, and urban resource mismanagement. The civic authorities have failed to formulate and implement plans for urban renewal and development in time. Public Works Department (PWD), Town Planning Department, Mirzapur Municipal Board (MMB), Jal Kal (Water Board) and Mirzapur-Vindhyanchal Development Authority (MVDA) lack coordination which aggravates the planning problems.

Research Objectives

The research objectives are as follows:

- i. To assess the availability and efficiency of infrastructure facilities in the city.
- ii. To examine the significant problems, issues and challenges in their development in last three decades.
- iii. To find out the steps for transformation of urban infrastructure facilities in the city.

Significance of the study

The work will be significant to government, non-governmental organizations, private sectors and enrich the academic environment in understanding how transformation of urban infrastructure facilities and amenities can ensure good urban living environment of the city. Government can adopt the recommendations in their plan or decision making as and when required for urban infrastructure development. Meanwhile, researchers in the academic system will review the work as material for related research on sustainable urban development of small and medium cities of developing /underdeveloped world.

Data Base and Methodology

The case study method is a valid research tool in the absence of theoretical guidance (Leitmann 2012). The case study approach was selected as the means of testing urban infrastructure facilities and amenities in Mirzapur city. An attempt was made to establish a pre-theoretical cause–effect framework for empirical observation, collecting informations and giving suggestions and recommendations. Earlier personal filed survey was conducted in 2006–2009 during PhD survey by the researcher. The present fresh survey was conducted in 2014-15 in which 100 questionnaires were administered by stratified random sampling techniques supplemented with 50 personal interviews for data collection. The same study area where Ph.D. research was carried out by the researcher in 2007–08. Among most important

secondary data sources, many documents were collected from the libraries of Banaras Hindu University (Varanasi), Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi), University of Delhi, School of Planning and Architecture (New Delhi), Allahabad University (Allahabad), Govt. Library (Mirzapur), Sahitya Sadan library (Mirzapur), Mayo library (Mirzapur), Office of the Chief Information Commissioner (Mirzapur), District Statistical Office (Mirzapur), District Magistrate (Mirzapur). Many secondary data sources were collected from the lawyers, freedom fighters, social workers, poets, academicians, politicians, priests and businessmen. Qualitative data analysis software SPSS 14 was used to code, chunk, and sort data collected by field survey. MS Excel was widely used for data entry, tabulation, calculation and final representation as it supported SQL Dataset which was later imported in Map Info Professional version 12 software and Arc GIS 10.2 desktop version. Google Earth satellite imagery at 1m resolution was mosaiced on Adobe Photoshop 12.0. It was georeferenced with the help of the toposheet no. 63K/12.

Study Area

The study area is Mirzapur city (25° 11′15′′- 25°7′15′′N and 82° $30'E - 82^{\circ} 36' 30''E$) in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India. The city has population of 233,691 (Census of India 2011) and area 38.85 Sq. km (Fig.1). The city lies in fertile alluvial Gangetic plains. The average elevation of the plain is 400m above sea level. The 400m contour line divides this plain with the southern Vindhyan plateau. The south bank of the Ganges facing the city is higher than the northern counterpart, which protects it from flooding. However, it is facing erosion from the river. Mirzapur city is characterized by a hot summer and a pleasant monsoon. The year may be divided into four seasons. The cold season from about the middle of November to the end of the February is followed by the hot season from March to about the middle of June. The south-west monsoon season spans from middle of June to the end of September. The city does not experience long spring and autumn. The average annual rainfall is 100 cm from with 80% during the south-west monsoon. May is generally the hottest month with the mean daily maximum temperature at about 41°

C and the mean daily minimum at about 26 °C. The mean daily maximum temperature during January is about 25 °C and the mean daily minimum about 9 °C (Tiwary 2011b).

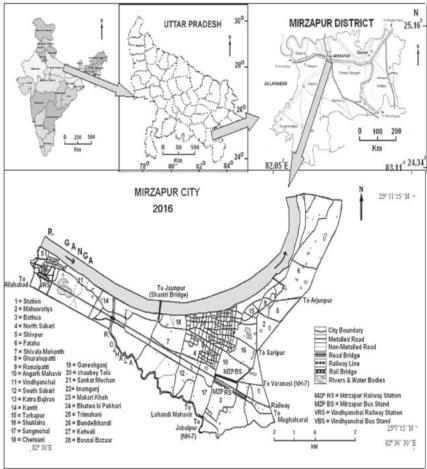
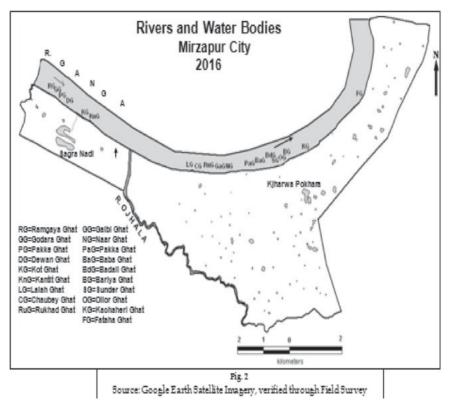


Fig 1: Location of Mirzapur City

A. Physical infrastructure facilities

1. Rivers and Water Bodies: The city is located south of the Ganges river. It is the place where the river touches Vindhyan Mountains and provide a significant pilgrimage site of Vindhyanchal. The Ojhala river makes the southern boundary of the city and meets the Ganges from south. There are two bridges on River Ojhala one for the road route and another for the rail route connecting

the main city in the east with Vindhyanchal in the west. These two rivers make the northern and southern boundaries of the city. There are twenty river ghats (steps/terraces) on the bank of river the Ganges. The Ganges river provides inland water transport and trade from east to west India (Fig. 2).



2. Transportation System: The city has an extensive transport network (roads, railways as well as river transport). The Great Deccan Road (NH-7) connecting north to south India and the Grand Trunk Road (NH-2) connecting East to west India touch the city in south and north by road. The Great Deccan Road, rising from the Olior ghat in the city, at the bank of the Ganges river pass through the middle of the city. Earlier the traders used to bring the cotton, lac and shellac from south India via this road. Another road arises from Bathua road at Maa Shitla crossing which almost runs parallel to the main railway line and goes to

Allahabad. It is called Jangi road built by the British Rulers after the revolt of 1857 to move their armed forces connecting Chunar fort to Allahabad in quick time avoiding G.T. Road (NH-2) under civilian use. There are two government bus stands; one near railway station in the city and another at Vindhyanchal (Fig. 3). The length of the roads in the city has increased from 112 Km in 1984-85 to 120 in 1994-95, 128 in 2004-05 and 150 Km in 2014-15. The road density (Km/'000 of population) has increased from 85 to 123 in 1994-95, 135 in 2004-05 and 157 in 2014-15 (Table 1). The road network and road density have increased in the city in last two decades but it's not satisfactory and maintenance is poor.

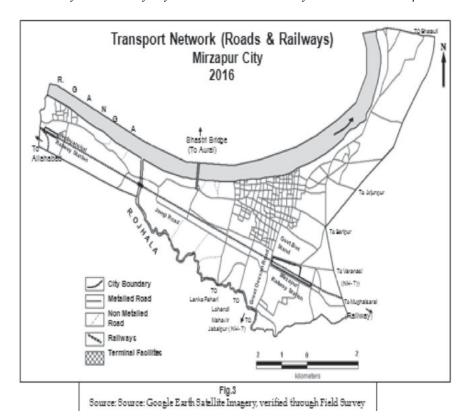
Table 1: Road Network in Mirzapur City

Roads	1984-85	1994-95	2004-05	2014-15
Length of Roads (Km)	112	120	128	150
Road Density (per'000 Population)	85	123	135	157

Source: Executive Engineer, Public Works Department (PWD), Mirzapur

Most congested traffic intersections in the city are – railway station crossing, Sangmohal, Vaasliganj, Mukeri Bazar, Trimuhani, Imlia and Ghurahupatti. There is no traffic control arrangement in the city resulting chaos at traffic intersections. It is aggravated by the encroachments of the roads. The overloaded trucks move around the city causing noise and air pollution and damaging already dilapidated roads.

Railway Transport: The broad gauge railway line connecting Kolkata to Mumbai runs through the city. There are two railway stations one at Mirzapur and another at *Vindhyanchal*. Madho Singh railway station is 7kms north from the city on the way to Aurai. The most convenient means of transport is the road than rail for the people coming from Varanasi or Allahabad because of odd timing on railway stations. Usually trains stop for 2 minutes and trains from Mumbai via Allahabad or from Kolkata via Mughalsarai or Varanasi reach after midnight.



B. Civic amenities and facilities

1. Water Supply and Management: Two-third households in the city are served by tap water. The length of total distribution line (2"-18") is only 200 kilometers. There are 470 stand posts and 50 kilometers of rising mains. There is limited time (4-8 in morning and evening) of water supply in the city of 30 million litres per day of water against the demand of 50 million litres per day. The pipelines are very old, broken and run along with the sewer lines and open drains contaminating drinking water. Both the rising mains and the distribution network need replacement. The main source of water supply is the Tanda reservoir located south of the city, which gets water from river Son in Vindhyan upland. The water from Tanda reservoir is collected in Lanka Pahari reservoir, which has capacity of 4,000 ML–6,000 ML (million litres) per day. There are seven Over Head Tanks (OHTs) with the total

storage capacity of 7730 kilo litre. For the storage capacity, the city falls well short; it requires at least 14430 kilo litre storage capacity. Similarly, seven more Over Head Tanks are required. There is one filtration plant at Lal Diggi with 1, 20,000 Gallons per hour (540 KL/hr) of capacity. It is a rapid sand filter with two chambers. One more advanced filtration plant is required.

The Ganges river ghats (steps/terraces) are polluted by the pilgrims at Vindhaynchal and Kantit, while the industries of carpets, dve and metal ware release dves and heavy chemicals both in the river as well as in the ground water. Sharma et.al. (1992) found heavy concentrations of heavy metal ions from different confluence points in the potable water in the city. Cadmium and cobalt were in the range 13.37-32.73 ig/L and 10.50-26.77 \(\text{ig/L}\) respectively. Copper, iron and manganese were found in the range of 38.0-157.80 \(\text{ig/L}\), 19.75-72.77 \(/\text{ug/L}\) and 34.25-105.55 yug/L respectively. Nickel was recorded to be in the range 67.25-176.13 mg/L while lead and zinc were in the range of 34.25-185.75 ig/L and 94.25-423.75 ig/L. Concentrations of all these ionic species were within the prescribed limits in the samples collected from midstream points, revealing the river to be almost free from pollution at these points before entering Mirzapur. The data was examined statistically to explain metal-metal association by using the Pearson correlation coefficient. Cobalt, manganese, nickel, lead and zinc reflected positive correlations with most of the riverine species. However cadmium, copper and iron show very weak or negative association with metal ions.

- 2. Sewerage, Drainage and Solid Waste Management:
- i. Sewerage: In personal filed survey carried out in 2014–15, it was found that very little improvement in last two decades. There is immediate requirement of a treatment plant near Baman Temple at the confluent of river Ojhla with the Ganges, besides one at Lal Diggi.

Table 2: Sewerage Infrastructure (in numbers) in Mirzapur City

Sewerage System	1998-99	2008-09	2014-15	
Over Flow Structures	4	4	5	
Pumping Station	2	2	3	
5 Seated Public Toilet	2	2	5	
10 Seated Public Toilet	20	24	30	
20 Seated Public Toilet	5	7	10	
30 Seated Public Toilet	1	2	3	

Source: Mirzapur Municipal Board and personal field survey 2014-15

ii. Drainage: The city lacks storm water drainage system. Open drains carry waste water but storm water is also mixed during monsoon season putting more pressure on the sewerage network. Most of the open drains are unlined and contaminate the ground water owing to the porous nature of alluvium. These drains carry the grey water discharged from the settlements along their path and is also used as dumps for solid waste. The Rukkhad nala in the main city and Sagra nala in Vindhyanchal acts as a major outlet for the city's storm and wastewater. The drains and nallahs of the city are prone to chocking owing to the unregulated solid waste dumping by the citizens. Such stagnant puddles of water lead to poor health and hygiene of citizens.

iii. Solid Waste Management: Solid waste mainly comprise of waste generated from household, markets, commercial establishments, hotels, hospitals, and small scale industries in the city. The major contributions in solid wastes are dominated by domestic (74%), followed by Industrial/ Commercial (20%) and Silt (6%) wastes. The local residents of the city generate solid waste at the rate of about 425 grams per capita per day on an average. Total quantity of waste generated in Mirzapur city is about 140 tonnes per day. Most of the waste generated in the city is either thrown on the street (which is the normal practice) or is disposed in the dustbins (if located near the house, shops or restaurants). There is no scientific and systematic storage of waste

at source. It was observed during the field survey that there are very few collection points for storage of domestic, industrial and commercial waste at source. The waste was spread both in and around the bins. Clogging of drains due to wastes thrown is the most common scene in the city. It was also observed that the local inhabitants and the shopkeepers cause the frequent clogging of drains due to excessive use of polythene. Currently, there is no system of door-to-door collection of waste and source segregation of waste, though these practices are considered the best for effective solid waste management. The waste collected at secondary collection depots and containers are loaded into dumper trucks by various shovel loaders or manually, and transported to final disposal sites. Most of the present machinery looks very old. The loaded waste is transported to final disposal site by open dumper trucks. The trucks have no plates or sheets covering the back, exposing litter to fall out during transportation. Final disposal at Putali Ghar or outskirts of the city are completely done unscientifically. The hospital incinerator was not working in the last survey of 2007/08 and current survey of 2014/15 leaving dangerous chemicals in urban waste dumped or burnt openly. The infrastructure has increased but it is yet inadequate (Table 3)

Table 3: Infrastructure of Solid Waste Management (in numbers)

Infrastructure	1998-99	2008-09	2014-15	
Dumping Platforms	8	10	15	
Rickshaw Trollies	105	85	100	
Tractors	6	8	10	
Tractor Trollies	10	12	15	
Dumper	1	1	2	
Loader	1	1	2	
Seamless Hand Carters	105	101	150	

Source: Mirzapur Municipal Board and Personal Field Survey 2014-15

There is only one medical officer and one chief sanitary inspector since the last decade. There are four sanitary inspectors; all the four posts are contractual. The number of staff has decreased in the last decade, since no new employment is taking place. Majority of the working force is on contract/daily wage (Table 4). Bringing contract system in such vital services backfires as the working persons don't feel secure and they can leave the job anytime. Without encouragement and appreciation of the staff, such civic services can't be improved.

Table 4: Staffs engaged in Solid Waste Management

Staff	Number			Permanent			Daily Wage/ Contract		
	1998- 99	2008- 09	2014- 15	1998- 99	2008- 09	2014- 15	1998- 99	2008- 09	2014- 15
Medical officer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
Chief Sanitary Inspectors	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
Sanitary Inspectors	3	4	4	-	-	-	3	4	4
Drivers	20	15	15	13	13	10	7	2	5
Sweepers	600	566	510	310	316	280	290	250	230

Source: Mirzapur Municipal Board and Personal Field Survey 2014-15

Summary and Conclusion

The city has lost its charm for tourism and trade since years. It is the need of the hour to revive the city to its old glory. In order to attract tourists, more offices should be opened in the main city, Vindhyanchal and Kantit. They should act as convenient centre of attraction where tourists can take rest and see the local handicraft items, carpets and metal ware products. Such centres can be opened near Mirzapur and Vindhyanchal bus depots. One such centre can be opened at Aurai on NH 2, which may attract tourists of Varanasi and Allahabad to take a turn towards the city for religious or eco-tourism. Mirzapur tourism centres can be opened in Varanasi Airport and Railway Station as well as Allahabad Railway Junction to attract Indian and foreign tourists

to the area. Regular maintenance of transport network, depots, sheds, river ghats (terraces) and traffic intersections is required. A bypass connecting the Great Deccan Road (NH7) to G.T. Road (NH2) would offload the heavy traffic of the city. Provision of more police posts and tourist offices would ensure better law and order. The roadside plantation is needed to control the pollution caused due to heavy traffic congestion. The government hotel Janhvi is to be revived and made as the first stay of any tourist where he can get all the required informations for touring this heritage city. This hotel can be developed as the single window for all the informations, accommodation, ticket booking and special packages for nearby tourist spots of waterfalls, boating and wildlife sightseeing. The advertisement is required for the same using social media, newspapers, magazines, T.V. channels, websites, films, CDs/DVDs etc. Local conferences of tourism and trade can be organised with focus on local fairs and festivals (Kajali, Urs, Bamani mela, Dussehra) eco-tourism, water cruises, traditional cuisine, attires, crafts, paintings, folk village life etc.

In order to maintain a good water quality, water quality testing facilities should be established in the city. Industrial and commercial establishments should reuse and recycle their treated sewage to reduce fresh water demand. The people should be made aware about the sustainability and conservation of water, penalty provisions for polluting the city must be enforced. The civic authorities should amend their by-laws to make it mandatory for all residents to connect their toilets to the existing sewerage system. The Ojhala river has been polluted very badly by the carpet and dye industries running on the fringe of the city. It carries all these pollutants to the Ganges river. A sewerage treatment plant is needed at the confluence of the Ojhala river to the Ganges river. Comprehensive storm water drainage system should be developed to avoid water logging during monsoon. Use of media and public awareness campaigns can be done to create awareness among the people to dispose biodegradable and non-biodegradable wastes in green and yellow dustbins respectively. Proper covered transportation and disposal of wastes to the far away sites from the city where biodegradable wastes

can be used to produce bio fuel and organic fertilizers can be prepared. Adequate land should be allotted for the same. The scientific and low energy consuming technology for the sewerage treatment and disposal of the solid wastes is required. Provision for the sanitary landfills of the solid wastes and conversion of compost from the solid wastes and application of this organic manure in the agriculture. It is needed for the segregation and storage of wastes, their collection and transportation scientifically without doing any damage to the urban environment (Tiwary 2011a). All the transformation of infrastructure facilities of the city require a huge amount of capital. It can't be done by the civic bodies alone. Therefore, introduction of alternative mechanisms is needed. Heavy reliance on HUDCO (Housing and Urban Development Corporation) and other government agencies will not be effective. Thus, civic bodies can issue tax-free municipal bonds to finance infrastructure development projects in the city (Sharma et al. 2016). Initially people may not find it attractive but these bonds can help to develop the infrastructure facilities in the long term, which in turn would attract more tourism and investment in the city. Sustainable urban development always has a just and empowered goal to develop the city without compromising with its future. Such a practice can only be ensured with the people's participation. For perspective development plan, all administrative and revenue data of infrastructure facilities and amenities should be digitized and linked for better coordination. All the staff working in civic departments should get proper training to handle the problems of the public. Old plans of the city can become handy in finding out loopholes of sewerage and drainage infrastructure. Proper training and incentives to the municipal workers can make them work more enthusiastically to maintain clean landscape of the city. Regular cleaning drive with the schools and college students in the city can make local people aware of their civic responsibilities. Government should have separate divisions of tourism, pilgrimage and trade working 24*7 in the city to make things work better.

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Sociological Reflection on Lesbianism in India

There have been lots of debates around lesbianism in the recent times; on one side it has been totally rejected as 'abnormal', 'pathological' and as 'western import'. On the other hand, there have been efforts to declare lesbianism as an 'alternate sexuality'1 and as a matter of choice and preference. The former perspective is linked to the analysis of female sexuality in terms of conjugality and procreation, rather than stress on desire and pleasure. Within this construct of female sexuality, lesbianism is seen as a grave and outrageous act. It is considered as an unusual occurrence and an abnormal behaviour on the part of the woman. In India, unlike in the West, sexuality per se has not received much attention in the academia, especially sociology. Sociology in India has failed to move beyond hetero-sexism, even though very recently theorization of sexuality has begun.² Since the 1980s, feminist sociologists have contributed commendably to the understanding of sex and sexuality but within a hetero normative framework. The presence of gender identities beyond heterosexual binary is rendered invisible (Kumar 2014).

The three most prominent factors responsible for silence and invisibility around sexuality are: first, talking about sexuality is a taboo in India. In India, women's sexuality is circumscribed with the notion of purity and pollution, shame, stigma and honour. Second, sexuality is postulated with collective, suited for the harmony of entire society and legitimate only within norms of heterosexual family. Lesbianism is seen as problematic on the assumption that it is based on the principle of individualism. It is often assumed to be based on a pleasurable union between two individual and therefore in opposition to the norms of collective. Third, the norm of heterosexuality is taken for granted as normal and acceptable. Much of the literature on female sexuality suggests that anything beyond the heterosexual norms of sexuality is considered as 'abnormal' and 'deviant'.

This paper attempts at a sociological understanding of homosexuality with a focus on lesbianism in India. Lesbianism is examined as a sociological phenomenon, not as an aberration, but as a part of the production and reproduction of patriarchal forms of control. Lesbianism can be studied from different perspectives such as sociological, psychological, legal, and political. The focus of this paper is to draw attention to the shortcomings within sociology on gender inequality and male bias in addressing the question of social order. And in that attempt, it tries to re-conceptualise the meaning of 'normal' and 'abnormal' behaviour in society. A sociological understanding of lesbianism would enable us to answer the unexplained questions: why are certain behaviour categorised as 'abnormal' or 'pathological'? Why is female sexuality prescribed by the norms of community and a slight divergence seen as deviance and labelled abnormal? How 'normal' female sexuality is ascribed with the norms of heterosexuality? A feminist inferred sociology provides answers to the above questions and thus contributes to an understanding of homosexuality beyond family and marriage.

Feminist theories in no way attempts to dump sociological theories as useless, but tries to reformulate them from a more gendered perspective. Feminist reformulation allows grasping the gendered interplay between the social institution and society. Feminist critiques have contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of social institution by incorporating an interdisciplinary perspective on social institutions. A sociological understanding of social institution is based on the consensual model that neglects analyses of inequality. Feminist sociology interrogates the understanding of social institutions, in relation to sexuality, from both consensus and conflict perspective. Feminist theories explain how institutions operate with normative gendered assumptions and selectively reward or punish gendered practices (here female homosexuality). Feminist theories rely heavily on particular and contextual experiences of women and thus learn from activism around women's issues. The overall aim in the paper is to arrive at an interpretative understanding of lesbianism by looking through the lens of sociology, feminist theory and women activism.

Lesbianism within sociological understanding of social institution

The emergence and growth of sociology within the western context has been inextricably linked with questions of social order. Sociology as a discipline emerged at a time when the Western world was threatened by revolutionary changes initiated by Industrial and French Revolutions. These revolutions brought about corresponding changes in the norms and values of the society, which threatened the existing social institutions,³ therefore, the concerned engagement of sociologists in the question of social order and its reproduction. At a later stage, with the ascendancy of American Sociology, this consensual model of harmonious and integrated society became the main paradigm of the structural-functional school. As a result, theories of conflict and social inequality got sidelined and were considered outside the domain of academic sociology. According to Alvin W. Gouldner, 'academic sociology was developed in the United States by university academics who were oriented to the established middle class and who sought pragmatically to reform rather than systematically rebel against the status quo' (Gouldner 1971, 20).

Therefore, to a great extent sociology operated on an assumption of gender neutrality while dealing with social issues and social problems. Rather, existing gender relation was taken as being central to the social order. Thus, patriarchy remained the domain assumption in all sociological analyses. A gendered analysis of social institution began only with the growth of feminist sociology. The emergence of feminist writing in sociology made possible for a gendered analysis of some of the institution that was earlier seen as 'haven' of society. Feminist scholarship argued that sociological categories may operate differently between men and women. It are the feminist scholars who address the issues of 'alternatives'4 within social institutions not as an aberration or pathological but as normal. Feminists understanding suggest that most social institution operates within a patriarchal frame. Feminist theories allow grasping the interplay between the social institution and society and have created space to view social institutions more critically. Feminist critiques have contributed

to a more comprehensive understanding of social order by incorporating an interdisciplinary perspective on gender relations and patriarchy.

Feminist scholars have questioned the methodology that begins with patriarchy as the domain assumption. Early feminists began by questioning the norm of family, marriage and reproduction by citing them as sites of patriarchal dominance. They have argued that the reason for denial of practice of homosexuality is based on the assumption that it challenges institutions of family (hetero) and marriage (monogamy) both constructed on the premise of heterosexuality and patriarchy. It also leads to the questioning of the legitimacy of other forms of family, i.e. single parent and same-sex, which are not necessarily based on biological facts of sexual relation and procreation. Lesbianism as a form of alternate sexuality, revolving around the central axis of social order, has bypassed academic sociology. The sociological understanding of the phenomenon allows for developing a linkage between sociological theories and feminist critiques of them. This evolves from a synthesis of feminist theory and sociological understanding of social phenomenon categorised as 'deviant' and 'pathological' and thereby ignored from the sociological domain.

Lesbianism as a 'Social Fact'

The increased visibility of lesbians in India in the recent years necessitates an analysis of the practice as a distinct phenomenon. In sociological analysis lesbianism can be viewed as a 'social fact' especially when considering how important it is to look at the factors that have allowed lesbians to come out of the closet and accept homosexual relation as normal. The trajectories on women's movement suggest the contest over issues of sexuality created space for discussion on lesbianism, especially in the Indian context. Lesbianism is not a practice that started recently but on the contrary has been practised since the beginning of the society; though people did not recognizes it as normal and was considered an aberration. This was not in everyday life but also ignored by sociological analysis. Lesbianism has never been a monolithic

phenomena, it existed across caste, class and economic groups. This is against the notion that lesbianism is a lifestyle adopted by women from upper class and upper caste. This assumption is based on the wider visibility of women from the upper-class urban society who have taken up lesbianism as an alternative lifestyle. Several factors are responsible for greater visibility of lesbianism in the urban context. Some of the factors are:

- The urban area gives more space to the women to share their experience
- Most of the support groups are located in the metropolitan and urban areas
- · The growing individualistic ethos of urban life
- · Greater awareness of one's right and freedom
- · Greater access to the information world (internet- that helps many lesbians to share their feelings)
- · Party culture of city life allows frequent get together (in Delhi lesbians have monthly meetings and get-together).

Sociological theories suggest that occurrence of any historical incident becomes a 'social fact' when it can be shown to be a permanent factor involuntarily affecting the life of rest of the population. The increased visibility of lesbianism affects society at large, often evident from the widespread riots during the release of films on lesbians and their lifestyle. Such an analysis becomes important because lesbianism has become an area of inquiry and concern. This helps to understand the influence of modernizing force on group life and formation of worldwide views. The modernizing forces of mass media and communication have created space for debating and discussing alternative lifestyle including sexual practices. Within the sociological theory of 'normal' and 'pathological' (a concept used by Emile Durkheim)⁵ lesbianism is categorised as 'pathological'. This is so because of two factors: first, there is resistance to the existing norms and second, it is found not among the majority but among a minority, often being a transitional period in the life

of young girls. Here, the objective is not to delve into the modes of existence of sexual minority in society but to evolve an understanding of how and why certain cultural practices are labelled as pathological. The concern is to analyse the two factors: first, why are those behaviours that questions the established norms, rules and regulation ultimately labelled as 'pathological' and second, why is the number of people practices a particular behaviour significant. In Durkhemian sense, cultural practices that question existing norms are individual instances and affect the collectivity. To understand whether lesbianism is normal or pathological, it is necessary to first understand the meaning of collective in sociology. And then answer the question whether those practising as well as advocating for greater acceptance of lesbianism be considered as a collective?

In this context, the concept of collective has been understood in relation to traditions and myths; concepts used by Marcel Mauss and Emile Durkheim in their work. Tradition can be defined as a 'set of social practices which seek to celebrate and inculcate certain behavioural norms and values implying continuity with a real or imagined past, and usually associated with widely accepted rituals or other forms of behaviour' (Scott & Gordon 2009, 767). Now tradition has multiple connotations in the different context. For the present analysis, the meaning of the term will be restricted to the system of belief shared by the group. And for that matter, it will be worthwhile to show how the lesbian groups share a tradition of common faith and belief in achieving love and affection from their female partners. In sociological understanding myths are taken as statements that legitimate elements of social life, acting as 'character' for social rules and social structure. Malinowski in his study of myths of Trobriand Islanders, proposed that the living reality of myths is an expression not only of social structure but also of the values through which it is legitimised (Malinowski 1948). Myths percolating down the age create certain stereotypes and sensations through which people understand social reality. When such myths affect the existence of a particular group, the affected group stands up in protest and tries to deconstruct them. The attempt at the

deconstruction of myths generates a new discourse. This is what is happening with the lesbians in India. Some of the myths surrounding sexuality and same-sex behaviour that has been generated over the years are being questioned by gay and lesbian activists. This has created new space for a new discourse on female sexuality. Thus to a certain degree lesbian group can be described as a collective and its practice forms critical subject of sociological research. The attempt should then be not to question the existence of such group but rather to locate the origin within the structure of society, analyse its effect on society and look into its future course.

Lesbianism as a challenge to patriarchal norms

As stated earlier, sexuality is not yet a recognised subject of study in the Indian academy and hence addressed in disparate form in psychological and social science literature, whose sources range from Sigmund Freud to Michel Foucault.⁶ Moreover, sexuality has basically been addressed from the perspective of women as victim and it is not easy to visualise the sexual politics of female desire in social relations. Within this context, it has been extremely difficult to debate issues of alternative sexualities and sexual preference lest it invites the charge of being unscientific. The attempt at theorising heterosexual relation in the context of patriarchy, radical feminist reversed the traditional perspective of setting up lesbianism as universal and in need of explanation. An approach labelled upon heterosexual as a norm and hence not in need of explanation. Within these parameters, they looked at lesbianism as an outcome of male oppression. They began to look at lesbianism as a challenge to patriarchal norms. Ann Ferguson has explained the relation between lesbianism and patriarchy in the following words:

I would argue that the possibility of a sexual relationship between women as an important challenge to patriarchy because it acts as an alternative to the patriarchal heterosexual couples, thus challenging heterosexual ideology that women are dependent on men for their romantic-sexual love and satisfaction (Ferguson 1981: 164). Heterosexuality was seen not only as victimising women of their sexual choice but also of their material and emotional pleasure. According to members of the Leeds Feminist Network⁷ within heterosexual relations women are emotionally and materially, as well as sexually in the service of men. They analysed the intimate relation between women as a way out of the unequal and dominating influence of men. However, such a perception developed only with growing consciousness of women with the growth of women's movement around issues of pornography, abortion and foremost rights of women. Some of the studies show that same sex relation was not always contested, in the early stage, the phenomena existed independent of the patriarchal structure. Smith-Rosenbergh (1975) documents the existence of close friendship between women in the early 19th century. These longlived relationships involved emotion intensity and physical sensuality but were independent of sexuality. They were not an alternative to marriage but in addition. Faderman (1981) argued that these romantic friendships were tolerated as long as they were not threatening to patriarchal relations, if they, usually, involved cross dressing and woman's usurpation of masculine privilege then they were attacked. In the Indian context, Ruth Vanita and Saleem Kidwai, in their edited book, Queering India: Same-Sex Love and Eroticism in Indian Culture and Society traces the discourse around same sex back to 14th century Bengali literature. However, by the 19th century these writings got submerged under the colonial homophobia.

Later, with the emergence of the second wave of feminism, these forms of female bonding did start to seem threatening. It began to be interpreted as a sexual practice. The radical feminist, therefore, began with the agenda to reconstruct the conceptual understanding of lesbianism. They began with a different conception of sexuality, as mentioned by Walby:

Radical feminists have demonstrated that sexuality is not a private matter to be explained in terms of individual preferences or psychological process fixed in infancy but rather that it is socially organised and critically structured by gender inequality (Walby 1990, 121).

By broadening their perspective on sexuality, as related to the wider social structure, radical feminists began to offer analysis that would not take lesbianism or same-sex relations as 'abnormal'. Further, Annabel Faraday supported radical feminist approach to go beyond the theoretical task of defining lesbian as the most important task of researching male methods of theorising and controlling women's sexuality. Such an approach enhances the understanding of the historical development of the lesbian community as a potential resistance to male control (Faraday 1981, 113). The most important work on lesbianism as a critique of patriarchy is the work of Adrienne Rich. In her paper, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence' (1980), Rich provided the base for further thinking on patriarchy as an institution for controlling female sexuality. Rich's paper is an insightful and significant contribution to the development of a radical feminist approach to patriarchy, human nature and sex identity. She brings out the two dominating themes:

First, she maintains that compulsory heterosexuality is the central social structure perpetuating male domination. Second, she suggests a reconstruction of the concept of a lesbian in terms of cross-cultural, trans-historical lesbian continuum, which can capture women's ongoing resistance to patriarchal domination (Ferguson 1998, 158).

Rich presented a convincing and powerful argument for viewing heterosexuality as a social institution important in maintaining women's oppression. As the institution is so important and influential in the life of the women that all her social relation, as well as the role, is determined by it and therefore Rich considers it to be compulsory. She felt that the institution of patriarchy was analysed within the norms of compulsory heterosexuality. Expressing this paucity within the social sciences she writes:

In the tradition of the social sciences it asserts that primary lower love between the sexes is 'normal'; that women need men as social and economic protectors, for adult sexuality and for psychological completion; that the heterosexuality constituted family is the basic social unit; that women who do not attach their primary intensity to men must be in functional terms condemned to an even more devastating.

To overcome such an understanding of patriarchy, Rich asserts that an awareness and understanding of institutional heterosexuality and women's resistance to being the basis of change in the social institutions. She writes:

As we addressed the institution itself moreover we begin to perceive a history of female resistance, which has never fully understood itself because it has been so fragmented, miscalled, erased. It will require a courageous grasp of the politics and economics as well as the cultural propaganda of heterosexuality to carry it beyond individual cases or diversified group situations into complex kind of overview needed to undo the power men everywhere wield over women (Rich 1980: 659-60).

She highlights the failure of feminist in assuming the heterosexuality to be of intimate orientation and thereby not questioning it. She constructs a 'lesbian-feminist' approach that not only resists patriarchy but also suggests strategies for analysing and ending men's power over women. She proposes three concepts that explain the resistance to compulsory heterosexuality.

- 1. Lesbian existence the term implies documenting the presence of lesbians across time and circumstances.
- 2. Lesbian continuum depicts the variety of woman-identified experiences as lesbianism, suggesting that all women bonding as a form of resistance against patriarchy.
- 3. The double life accounting for the ways in which women have appeared to consent the male powers but have resisted it.

Rich conceives lesbianism as a trans-historical phenomenon by including the experience of women from breastfeeding to women of ninety on their deathbed. Her concept of lesbian continuum includes the different experience of women that has the

characteristics of female bonding and if realised can be used to resist male power. She writes:

If we consider the possibility that all women from the infant suckling her mother's breast to the grown woman experiencing orgasmic sensation while sucking her own child...to the women dying at ninety, touched and handled by women- exist on a lesbian continuum, we see ourselves moving in and out of the continuum whether we identify ourselves as lesbian or not (Rich 1980: 664).

Here we see the influence of Freud's psychological approach to human behaviour on Rich. Like Freud's 'Oedipus Complex', she develops her 'lesbian continuum' on the basis of innate human psychology. The important point is that looking at lesbian as encompassing myriad experiences of women helps to erase the notion that lesbianism is an abnormal phenomenon as it is practised by a small group of women. And accept the fact that the practice of lesbianism depends on the way female bonding develops. This female bonding can be used as a means to get rid of the oppressive norms of the social institution based on compulsory heterosexuality.

In seeing lesbianism as an outcome of patriarchal oppression, Adrienne Rich was influenced by Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex.*⁸ Beauvoir sees lesbianism as a deliberate refusal to submit to the coercive power of heterosexual ideology, a refusal which acts as an underground feminist resistance to patriarchal norms. Simone de Beauvoir's work was one of the earliest texts on female sexuality where she looks at sexuality as a social construct. Her work became the foundation from which later works drew inspiration. Simone de Beauvoir starts her discussion by rejecting the biological and psychological perception that lesbianism is an abnormal and pathological condition. She suggests that lesbianism is an alternative to the existing male dominance over women's sexuality. She regards lesbianism as an expression of autonomy, to free oneself from the clutches of existing patriarchal institution. Beauvoir writes:

Women's homosexuality is one attempt among other to reconcile her autonomy with the passivity of her flesh. And if nature is to be invoked, one can say that all women are naturally homosexual. The lesbian, in fact, is distinguished by her refusal at the male and her liking for feminine flesh; but every adolescent female fear certain repulsion for the male body, on the other hand, the female body is her, as for the male, an object of desire (Beauvoir 1949, 427).

Simone de Beauvoir also showed that lesbian relations are not mere sexual acts. Rather they are a matter of choice to be explained through several determining factors such as physiological condition, psychological history and above all the social circumstances. She observes:

the truth is that there is never a single determining factor, it is always a matter of choice arrived at in a complex total situation based on individual women, her type of eroticism: on the contrary, expresses her general outlook on life (Beauvoir 1949, 437).

Like Adrienne Rich and Simone Beauvoir, Ann Ferguson also looks at lesbianism as a historical phenomenon, thereby implying that it is not applicable to all societies and all periods of history. She views the development of lesbianism within the societies and all periods of history. She views the development of lesbianism within the capitalist countries in Western Europe and United States in the late 19th and early 20th century. This she felt occurred due to the conjunction of two forces:

In part it was an ideological concept created by sexologist who framed the changing pattern of the ideology of sexuality to the changes taking place within the family; in part it was chosen by independent women and feminists who framed their own urban cultures as an escape from the new mystified form of patriarchal domination that developed in the late 1920s (Ferguson 1981:160).

In this sense, Ann Ferguson made a distinction between 'lesbian identity' and 'lesbian practice'. Identity she feels, whether based on sex, class or race depends on two conditions:

- 1. Self-consciousness within the person
- 2. Consciousness within the community

And lesbian identity derives its base from these two sources. She asserts that the presence of these two conditions is a must for sexual orientation towards lesbianism. She writes:

Our contemporary sexual identities are predicated upon two conditions. First and tautologically, a person cannot have a sexual identity that is not self-conscious, that is, it is not meaningful to conjecture that someone is a lesbian who refuses to acknowledge herself as such. Taking on a lesbian identity is a self-conscious commitment or decision (ibid, 165)

A second condition for a self-conscious lesbian identity is that one live in a culture where the concepts has relevance, thus in a period of human history where the distinction between heterosexual, bisexual and homosexual identity are not present as cultural categories (namely until the 20th century) people cannot correctly be said to have been lesbians or bisexual, although they may be described as having been sexually deviant. Thus, Ann Ferguson sees lesbianism as arising from historical period and cultural environment of the 20th century. She offers, taking the socialist feminist perspective, two conditions that gave rise to lesbianism (or homosexual behaviour) during late 19th and early 20th century.

- 1. Material or economic conditions
- 2. Ideological conditions

Ferguson attributes the rise of lesbianism to the capitalist mode of production. She states that a positive aspect of capitalist exploitation on the life of the women was the weakening of the patriarchal power of father and son and thereby increasing the choices available to the women. This included the choice to take employment outside their homes, guaranteeing them economic independence. Ferguson writes:

The weakening of the patriarchal family created the material condition needed for the growth of lesbianism as a selfconscious cultural choice for women that in turn helped to free them from an ideology that stressed their emotional and sexual independence on men (Ibid. 1981, 168).

From a socialist feminist point of view, the option of going out of the home to take a job gave the women an opportunity to build a solidarity group. Most of the women going to other cities other than origin gave them a chance to take up room/compartments together, whereby women having different socio, economic and cultural background came to share each other's experiences. This gave way to female bonding arising from the strong emotional pull toward other women or disillusionment and dissatisfaction with men. Such creation of lesbian bonds suggests that important relations are transformed into lesbian relations as a result of sharing collective conditions and not just to share their personal experiences. Ferguson provided a positive response to the rise of capitalist society and economic empowerment on women's sexuality. However, keeping in mind the debates on sexuality during the age of economic progress, it is evident that sexuality remains an area of contest. Along with changes in the economic sphere here was a simultaneous change in the social relations. There was a shift in the patriarchal ideology based in the 'private' sphere in the household to the diffused masculinity ideology of the 'public' sphere expressed by the male professional as well as the market forces (Walby 1990).

The second condition responsible for the rise of lesbianism was the ideological changes taking place as a result of the growing strength of women's movement in the west. Ferguson states that the period (19th and 20th century) witnessed a change in the conceptualization of sexual urge. It became a predominant ideology in the studies of sexuality that both men and women have sexual urges. This change legitimised the demand of women to be equal sexual partners with the men. Another shift was the questioning of the interconnection between women's sexuality and motherhood. Ferguson elaborates the ideological shift in the following way:

The rise of single women with greater economic independence led to the rise of lesbian sub-culture in 1930 in most Western

countries. The second wave of women's movement in the 1960s & 1970s made possible a further extension of the subculture and a clearer definition of its counter-patriarchal ideology (Ferguson 1981, 159).

From the above analyses it can be concluded that works on lesbianism, though differed in the way of locating lesbianism in history had one common theme, that is, to look at lesbianism as ideology challenging the norms of patriarchy. The radical feminist debates on patriarchy suggest that material base of patriarchy suggest that material base of patriarchy lies in the family and marriage as institution and reproduction/mothering as the outcome of the patriarchal role. These analyses suit the western societies more than it does to Indian society. But it has been argued that the fundamental fact of male domination over the women can be discerned in all societies (Eistentein 1984). Further, Adrienne Rich wrote:

Patriarchy is the power of the father: familial-social, ideological, political system in which men- by force, direct pressure or through ritual, traditions, law and language, customs, etiquette, education and the division of the labour, determine what part women shall not play, which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male (Rich 1976:57).

Thus, the term patriarchy is used to justify the fact that of the universal oppression of women is done by men. The standard definition of patriarchy used consistently in understanding women's lives can be grasped at by looking at the way Sylvia Walby defines it:

Patriarchy can be defined as 'a system of social practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. The use of the term social structure is important here since that every individual man is in a dominant position and every woman in a subordinate one (Walby 1990: 20).

But then the question arises: is women's oppression absent from society characterised by 'patriarchy'? The system of patriarchy has always been studied in opposition to patriarchy. In the work

on African Kinship and Marriage, Radcliffe-Brown and Darly Forde have elaborated the difference between the two systems. He wrote:

A society may be called patriarchal when descent is patrilineal (i.e. the children belong to the group of the father), marriage is patrilocal (i.e. the wife removes to the local group of the husband), inheritance (of property) and succession (to rank) are in the male line, and the family is patri-potestal (i.e. the authority over the members of the members of the family is in hands of the father of his relatives). On the other hand a society can be called matriarchal when descent, inheritance and succession are in female line, marriage is matrilocal; the husband moving to the home of his wife) and when authority over the children is wielded by the mother's relatives (Radcliffe-Brown 1952:22).

Matriarchy characterised by the rule of the mother is in reality not free from the dominating role of men. It has been well documented in the study of matrilineal society that the mother's brother is the dominating figure (Gough 1961). Whether lesbianism exists among the matriarchal society needs to be studied. The important point here is that lesbianism is seen as practice opposing the domination by men and asserts the creation of just social relation. The feminist and liberal critique of the patriarchal social order has created space for more liberal debate on female sexuality. And it is within these changing natures of discourse that it is possible to study lesbianism as a sociological phenomenon.

Practice of Lesbianism in India-Theoretical and Empirical Reality

In India despite the taboo around sexuality, a book on homosexuality was written in 1970, by renowned mathematician, Shakuntala Devi. In her book, *The World of Homosexuals*, she campaigned for legal acceptance of homosexuality. But still there was a complete silence around issue of female sexuality till late 1990s. This is observed by Ruth Vanita in her book where she states:

When I was active in the women's movement in Delhi from 1978 to 1990 as founding coeditor of Manushi, India's first feminist journal, homosexuality was rarely if ever discussed in left-wing, civil rights, or women's movements, or at Delhi University, where I taught (2002).¹⁰

Ruth Vanita played a major role in bring lesbianism to the front bookshelf of libraries. Her numerous works include Sappho and the Virgin Mary: Same-Sex Love and the English Literary Tradition (1996) and Love's Rite: Same-Sex Marriage in India and the West (2005). She has also edited Queering India (2002) with Saleem Kidwai. Other Indian writing on lesbianism includes Maya Sharma's, Ashwini Sukthankar, and Giti Thadani. Maya Sharma's book, Loving Women: Being Lesbian in Unprivileged India (2006) talks about the sexuality of working class women. It constitutes a radical break and ought to be included in mainstream feminist politics and pedagogical practices. In her work, Facing the Mirror – Lesbian Writing from India, a collection of essays, poems and confessions, Ashwini Sukthankar tries to prove the point that if lesbianism is not seen in the open does not necessarily mean it doesn't exist. She writes:

Our status as myth means that many people truly believe we don't exist, and it means inhabiting the domain of their ignorance, which is neither acceptance nor condemnation. It means being able to live together and spending time with each other, as long as the sexual root of the relationship is never discussed with anyone. It means that it causes no comment when women meet together in public, or in groups – but only as long as we act 'normal'. . . . It means that, even if we don't live outside the law, as gay men do in our country, we live between its lines. (Sukthankar 1999:1)

The most common factor for the non acceptance of lesbianism as a normal phenomena is the taken for granted assumption that the practice is a western import. Giti Thadani in her work 'Silence and Invisibility' considers this as main reason for the invisibility surrounding lesbianism in India. She comments that 'the self-identified Indian lesbian is viewed as inherently Western and is

subsequent to frequent criticism on this account' (1999:150). Therefore, the only acceptable alternative present to the lesbians in India is living a life in the closet and keeping sexual desire as a hidden reality. Moreover, many people deny the existence of same-sex behaviour and more so when it comes to women. Lesbianism is rejected as western and alien phenomena. Many others label it as a disease to be cured, an abnormality that has to be set right and a crime that needs to be punished. While there are no organised hate groups, as in some of the western countries, social stigma casts a poll of invisibility over the life of lesbian that makes them the target of abuse and discrimination. Social discrimination manifests itself in the production of the ideology of hetero-sexism that establishes men women relation as the only valid lifestyle and renders invalid the lives and culture of other sexual minority- gay, transgender and lesbians. The ideology of hetero-sexism pervades all dominant societal institution such as the family; the medical establishment popular culture, public space workspace and so on. Becoming visible implies accepting lesbianism as a practice or in other words living out the lesbian relation in the open. This most often requires stepping out of the traditional family structure.

Applying the above sociological understanding of lesbianism enables us to develop multiple forms in which it can be practised:

1. As a form of lifestyle – for many this implies a sexual preference without feminist politics. For one thing, lesbian's lifestyle is preoccupied with sex. Lesbian sexuality is seen as an apolitical exercise as women sex is perceived as salvation. The emphasis in most recent lesbians lifestyle is to confirm to the sameness of female sexuality-evidenced by the supposed fact that women act, or want to acts or should be free to act in the same way that men have been able to act sexually. They argue that female-female sexuality must be 'freed-up' to take on the forms of the male power model of female sexuality, that is, the form that has endowed male power model of female sexuality in a patriarchal society. In this context, lesbianism is being advocated as means to free women from the traditional sexual bondage. Thereby they seek to talk about

social conditioning to sexuality or the role of socialisation in achieving sexual freedom. Here the primacy of sex is reasserted this time not necessarily as a biological drive but as a propelling social force-a force that not only influences but also has deterministic power. Sex in a patriarchal society is seen as a primary social motor driving itself to fulfilment by utilising all the male power models of sexual gratification, subordination and oppression. These advocates of lesbianism as a form of sexual salvation (radical lesbians) have been subject to criticism. It has been argued that they have hampered the work of many feminists who have spent much of their time in the de-sexualizing the images of women in the media, in the market- place and the cosmos in general. What the lesbian position has succeeded in doing is resexualizing women using feminist and liberation as rhetoric to reassert the male power form of sexuality to empower women. This is not always at ease.

- As a matter of choice radical feminist points out the political construction of women's choice in the structure of patriarchy. They advocate believing in the power of feminism to change women's lives and obviously women cannot change if their lives were socially determined in their roles as compliant by the patriarch. Therefore, the demand for the freedom and socially recognised space is appropriated for themselves. To them no form of discrimination is acceptable- this includes discrimination against women, who for their own reason prefer the company and intimacy of their own sex rather than with a man. 'We all have the rights to love out our lives in a way which is satisfying and fulfilling to ourselves and the issue of sexual orientation should not be an area of public invasion. My use of a concept of lesbian is a political choice, as it foregrounds erotic and sexual desires between women' (Thadani 1996:9).
- 3. As an asexual practice: Lesbianism can never be simplistically been reduced to sexual practice. By comparison, lesbianism is a passionate pledge to women. It is a culture with a political alternative to the oppressive institution of male supremacy.

A means through which women will always gain a sense of self-respect and self-acceptance as well as a sacred space in which to pursue their own goals and achievements with the support of other women. Lesbian love is much more likely to include a sensual component that may not necessarily adopt a genital form. By attempting to reduce lesbianism to sexual practice is to disregard the politics of lesbians totally.

4. As a political identity – lesbianism is an ardent and passionate political movement that accommodates an alternative lifestyle choice for women who do not want their true sexuality to be smothered by a heterosexual framework. In this regard, lesbianism is a threat to the maintenance of same status quo and could jeopardise the organising principle of male supremacy. It is not just about sex in an alley. It is not only about sleeping with the same sex partners. It's about waking up together, about having a life together and not having to lie about it.

In a society battling between conventional, traditional societal norms and western cultural influences, the acceptability of lesbianism as an alternate sexual orientation are proving to be an uphill task. As a result, lesbian relations are looked down upon, rejected and face denial. During the controversy around the screening of film *Fire*, the Mahila Aghadi¹¹ (Women Shiv Sainiks) put forward their apprehension that lesbianism would restrict women's reproductive rights and thereby bring an end to the population. This apprehension is not only part of women Shiv Sainiks but also of a larger section of society due to which the visibility of lesbians is opposed. The rejection of lesbian-legally, socially and religiously is that the only form of biological and physical intimacy acceptable is procreation through heterosexual marriage. The family is a very important micro unit of an Indian family that strengthens heterosexual marriages, thereby legitimising procreation as the only appropriate form of physical intimacy. The Indian family being collective in nature, therefore, does not promote individualism. In India homosexuality is seen as one of the attempts in the process relinquishing tradition and replacing it with individualism and related freedom. Here the

concept of homosexuality to the majority of Indian would apply a form of cohabitation or of an enjoyable union of two individuals. Thereby seen as a force that is threatening the existing forces of religion and society. Therefore no expressed sanction of any form is found for homosexuality in Indian society and is rejected with a greater force when it comes to the expression of any form of female sexuality.

A major challenge that confronts lesbian in India is the absence of not only a social identity but also that of a historical-cultural context. The question of lesbian rights can be understood more a privileged position of only to women who are fundamentally independent of and highly educated. Rural and underprivileged women are relegated to the closet, for to be an open lesbian would put them in a grave situation. Tragically it is the case that many lesbians in order to acknowledge their love and avoid heteropatriarchal boundaries have unwillingly entered into heterosexual marriage or have committed suicides. CALERI12describes such suicides as murder that the society is responsible for the lives of these women who fail to get protection. Today it is being debated that the right to sexuality ought to revolve around the right to an environment where one could without fear or discrimination or violence, explore the terrain of one's sexuality and the right to expression of one's sexuality. Further, the argument goes that space should be available to entail the right to the development of lifestyles suited to the expression of various sexualities. This would imply the existence of a legal system that recognises, treat without discrimination and promotes all possible sexual orientation and gender identities.

Notes

- ¹ 'Alternative sexuality' can be defined as the practice that is in opposition to the socially and culturally accepted form of sexuality, mainly heterosexuality.
- ² In 2013, a volume on Sexuality Studies, edited by Sanjay Srivastava was published by Oxford University Press as part of series on Indian society. The volume is based on ethnographic work of different scholars in India.

- ³ In sociology the term 'Social Institution' is understood in different ways. For the present, the term is used to denote that which is established or constituted in society. Some of the standard examples of institutions in sociology are the church, school, family etc.
- ⁴ The reference is to one-dimensional understanding of family as based on heterosexual relation and any relation outside this is considered as abnormal.
- ⁵ Durkheim, E. *The Rules of Sociological Method*. New York: Free Press, 1901.
- ⁶ Sigmund Freud was a renowned psychoanalyst and has provided theories on child sexuality, libido and the ego. Michel Foucault was French Philosopher, known for his theory on structuralism and post-structuralism
- ⁷ Leeds Feminist Network is an online resource centre for discussion issues related to women and feminism. For reference visit: http://www.leedsforchange.org.uk
- ⁸ Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books 1949
- ⁹ Michel Foucault. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- ¹⁰ Ruth Vanita (2002). Homosexuality in India: Past and Present, IIAS Newsletter, No 29, November 2002. Available online at http://old.iias.asia/iiasn/29/IIASNL29_10_Vanita.pdf
- ¹¹ The Mahila Aghadi is the women's wing of the Shiv Sena (a political party in Mharastrta, India). It was formed by Sena chief Bal Thackeray in 1985
- ¹² CALERI is a lesbian support group that works as a non governmental organisation for supporting the rights of homosexual.

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Impact of Internationalization on Financial Performance: A Study of Indian Firms

Keywords: International entrepreneurship, International Business, Internationalization, Indian Pharmaceuticals Sector, Indian IT Sector

Introduction

What is the definition and scope of Internationalization?

Beamish (1990) defines internationalization as 'a process by which firms both increase their awareness of the direct and indirect influence of international transactions on their future, and establish and conduct transactions with other countries. This definition outlines that internationalization has both economic and behavioral component and it is a process and not an event (Pollard, 2001). Luostarinen and Welch defined internationalization as 'the process of increasing involvement in international operations'. It is 'the change in the level of international orientation and/or activity over time' (Gibb and Ferguson 1993). 'The process of internationalization is strategic, gradual, and incremental' (Lloyd-Reason 2003). Internationalization can be termed as a process of adaptation (Calof and Beamish 1995).

For firms with limited financial resources, home country focus and small geographic base, international activity is a significant step (Lu and Beamish 2001). Most of them lack the resources required for engaging in overseas activity (Kirby and Kaiser 2003). However, globalization, technology, information availability and changed organizational structure have enabled firms to venture overseas (OECD 2005).

Traditionally, internationalization was understood as a sequential process moving in four discrete stages of (a)intermittent exports; (b)exports via agents; (c)overseas sales via knowledge agreements (licensing or franchising); (d)foreign direct investment (Johanson and Widersheim-Paul 1975). Internationalization begins with exports, moving to joint ventures and licensing and then to

wholly-owned subsidiaries in the increasing order of management knowledge and investment (Pollard 2001). However, new research indicates that firms do not necessarily follow this sequential pattern (Benito and Welch 1993). As per the 'New Venture Internationalization Theory,' entrepreneurial vision and the initial resource endowment, influence early internationalization decisions (Autio and Sapienza 2000). This is particularly true for knowledge-intensive industries (McDougall and Oviatt 1996) like in the case of software firms.

Covellio and McAuley (1999) have identified three schools of thought for internationalization of firms. They are Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), stage model and network view. FDI school is an economics based view related to industrial trade and neoclassical thought incorporating the absorption of activities within the firm while expanding overseas. In the stage model, also known as Uppsala model, firms internationalize in incremental stages (Johanson and Vahlne 1977) based on increasing experience of the markets and commitment of the management.

The network view suggests that firms internationalize by building relationships with other firms, government, people, suppliers, customers (Pollard 2001). Coviello and McAuley (1999) discovered that elements of all three schools are present in the firms' internationalization process.

Review of Literature

On the basis of extensive literature review, it is found that the focus of the research on international entrepreneurship has evolved from triggers for early internationalization (Hennart 2014) to resource-driven market expansion (Ruzzier and Ruzzier 2015) and performance implications of firm internationalization (Almodóvar and Rugman 2014).

There are mainly three schools of thought that dominate current research on firm internationalization in the Information Technology sector. First, the eclectic paradigm (also known as the OLI framework) which highlights the importance of transaction cost and ownership advantages (Dunning 1988).

Second, the Uppsala process stage model which identifies the different development stages of internationalization (Johanson and Vahlne 1977) and treats firms as a learner (Contractor et al. 2003), knowledge acquirer (Kogut and Zander 1993), and market power accumulator (Kogut 1985). Third, the accelerated internationalization approach, which is grounded in the study of strategic entrepreneurship, is concerned with firms' seeking global opportunities and in combination with the resources in a firm's possession, allows the firm to convert the opportunity into an advantage through its dynamic capabilities (Mathews and Zander 2007).

The accelerated internationalization approach emphasizes organizational learning and the knowledge of top management/ founders as important drivers of firms' international behavior (Andersson 2000). In addition to learning, Mathews (2006) also argued that latemovers from emerging economies establish themselves through the strategy of linkage and leverage. The role of networks in firms' internationalization underlies Mathews's (2002) linkage, leverage, and learning (LLL) framework, which argues that it is easier for emerging multinationals to create new capabilities through learning within established networks rather than building them via the sequential process as stated by the Uppsala model of internationalization. Therefore, while the Uppsala school of thought can be described as one that is path dependent and based on sequential stages, the accelerated internationalization of latemovers has often been described as a springboard. This perspective argues that emerging economy multinationals can overcome their latemover disadvantage by using internationalization as a springboard to actively participate in global competition and acquire strategic assets in overseas markets (Luo and Tung 2007; Rui and Yip 2008).

Table 1.1: Comparison Between Different Schools of Thought on Internationalization

Source: Self Compilation

Eclectic Paradigm	Uppsala Model	Accelerated Internationalization
with a framework to determine which internationalization	an active choice to expand to a specific market. It involves a slow and cautious expansion to the foreign markets.	firms seeking global opportunities and in combination with the resources in a firm's possession, allows the firm to convert the opportunity into an advantage through

According to Sluewagen and Onkylinx (2014),born globals adopt a sprinkler strategy viz., commitlarge amount of resources to a wide variety of markets in the early phase of their internationalization, which results in greater as well as continued exports over time. They also found that unlike born globals, regionally focused start-ups adopt a waterfall strategyviz., show a sincere commitment towards a limited number of markets. We can argue that the degree of commitment may vary across firms and overtime. Generally, firms increase their commitment by opening up operations in foreign countries as they move onto their learning curve (Gaur et al.2014).

Relationship between Internationalization and Firm Performance

The relationship between the level of internationalization and its performance implications is one of the important research questions in the field of international management. From a positive viewpoint, the literature offers insights into the advantages and perils of increased internationalization, while from a normative point of view, research in this field can potentially provide a guideline for companies on how aggressively to proceed with their international plans.

The literature review suggests that while there are several advantages to going international, there are also attendant risks and potential negative fallouts of doing so. The crucial question in this regard is at what levels of internationalization, if any, do the downsides start to outweigh the benefits?

Bloodgood et. al. (1996) opined that international operations are required to be competitive in the market by acquiring international expertise, technologies and innovations. Internationalization provides firms avenues for knowledge growth, capability development and revenue enhancement which boost their competitiveness. Further, Hajela and Akbar (2013) argued that there is a positive linear relation between internalization and firm performance i.e the benefits arising out of internalization far outweigh the costs spend on it.McDougall and Oviatt (1996) noted that firms that had increased international sales exhibited superior performance. Further, Bloodgood et al. (1997) found that internationalization was fairly associated with ventures that reported higher profits. Burgel et al. (2001) detected that firms with international operations reported higher productivity and sales growth but not employment growth. These three studies focused on internationalizing firms engaged in new technology-based sectors like the software firms. Jones's (1999) study on the process of internationalization showed the value of cross-border activity in relation to small firm growth. He stressed that small high-technology firms in his sample that are extensively externally networked are among the most successful in the domestic market. Firms that have internationalized are able to create knowledge, technology skills, and diversified resources and stimulate development, growth and success. Burpitt and

Rondinelli's (2000) study showed that financial success in initial exporting activities motivates small firms to internationalize in subsequent periods. Partial correlation analysis have showed that both financial success and learning oriented variables are related to a likelihood of continued exporting by small firms.

In addition to export performance, it is important for firms to explore strategic options like alliances, collaborations etc. Strategic alliances permit firms to overcome many of the resource constraints to international growth (Jarillo, 1989). In addition to the opportunities of sharing risks, alliances give access to complementary resources, like capital and information and reduce the time span necessary for a broad international expansion. On the other hand, engaging in strategic alliances involves many organizational complexities and implementation difficulties (Hamel and Prahalad, 1993). According to the survey conducted by Beamish and Lu (2001) the effect of alliances on profitability is positive only when the small firm chooses a local partner, i.e. a partner of the country with which the firm wants to expand geographically. Lu and Beamish (2001) have demonstrated that FDI activity initially led to decline in profitability, but later with greater levels of foreign direct investment flows, profitability increased. Further, Lu and Beamish (2001) discovered that level of exports influenced the relationship between FDI and firm performance. They detected that high exports concurrent with high FDI was less profitable than one that involved lower exports with high FDI levels.

Building on this line of thought, the 'three stage' theory (Contractor, Kundu and Hsu, 2003 and Lu and Beamish 2004) suggests that the effect of international expansion on performance is not linear. In Stage 1, international diversification can cause a negative effect on performance as firms have to expend resources on learning, overcoming the 'liability of origin', etc. In Stage 2, further international expansion has a positive effect on performance with increasing economies of scale and scope. Finally, in Stage 3, firms overextend themselves with even higher levels of internationalization, and this has a negative effect on performance due to costs associated with managing the increasing complexity. This leads to the suggested 'S' curve of the

internationalization-performance relationship, i.e. performance first going down, then up and again down as the level of internationalization increases.

However, not all researchers are unanimous in agreement on the three-stage theory. For instance, Ruigrok and Wagner (2003) found a 'U' shaped relationship between internationalization and performance in the German context, with higher internationalization first leading to a dip in performance and then again to a rise in performance as the level of internationalization rises even further. Also, Singla and George (2013) found the negative linear relationship between internationalization and firm performance as the costs of expanding internationally outweighs the gains accruing from international operations.

In the figure 1.1 below, the entire theoretical framework has been explained with the help of a diagram:

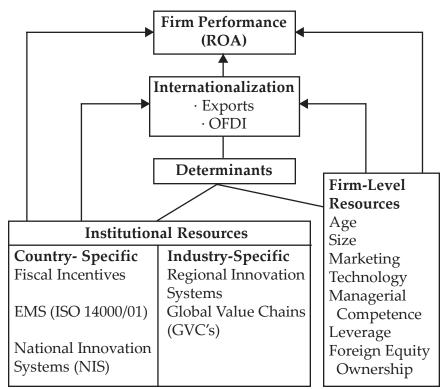


Figure 1.1: Theoretical Framework

Data and Methodology

Sample and Data Source

The study has used secondary sources of data collected from the annual financial statements of companies over the period of 10 years (2003-04 to 2012-13) making the total observations equal to 1000 (100 companies over 10 years). Since 2000, the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE) brought out a comprehensive database known as 'Prowess' comprise of the financial accounts of Indian companies compiled from the available annual reports of companies with the Registrar of Companies (ROC). The Indian companies which are most global in the selected sectors form part of the sample. A sample of top 50 listed firms each in Pharmaceuticals and IT sectors has been extracted from the National Stock Exchange (NSE) database, on the basis of free-float market capitalization for the period of 2003-04 to 2012-13, to measure the impact of internationalization on the performance across the firms and over a period of time.

Variables

Components of Firm Performance

The review of literature on firm performance indicated that there is no consensus on how best it is to be measured. It's been found that several researchers attempting to operationalize firm performance heavily depended upon objective measures and excluded all possible subjective measures. The traditional approach to measure firm's financial performance was to measure growth in sales and profit.

But another factor was incorporated into the definition of firm performance i.e employee turnover. Hence, performance is measured through the growth of sales and profit and the employee turnover rate (Beal 2000). Hashim (2000c) adopted the business performance composite index (BPCI) as the mean value of the return on investments (ROI), the return on sales (ROS) and the return on assets (ROA). The BPCI is operationalized as: BPCI = (ROI + ROS + ROA/3). Profitability has been considered as the measure of performance in the existing literature (Fuhjita 1995).

However performance, in this study, is required to be studied in relation to the assets created in the home country and in the host country. Profitability per se if used will be a general measure of performance. Profits in relation to assets will be a more precise way to assess impact of internationalization on firm performance. Therefore, consistent with the previous studies Return on Assets (ROA) has been used as a representative variable for measurement of firm performance.

Independent and Control Variables

The main independent variables which directly influence firm's level of internationalization are the levels of exports and Outward FDI activity. There are also a number of control variables developed to account for other factors known to affect firm's performance. Based on these variables, a series of hypothesis have been taken to assess the nature of correlation they have with the performance of the firm.

Exports

It is a first step to entering international markets, serving as a platform for future expansion. Exporting provides firms with fast access to foreign markets, with little capital investment required, but the opportunity to gain valuable international experience (Root 1994). In the study, the level of exporting activities has been measured through export intensity i.e the percent of parent firm sales that were derived from export revenues.

Outward Foreign Direct Investment (OFDI)

Outward Foreign Direct Investment is in the form of establishing subsidiaries, entering into joint ventures, opening up of branch offices etc which results in creation of assets abroad. Thus, investment by the firms in fixed and current assets in overseas markets in proportion to firm's total sales has been taken to measure OFDI.

Control Variables

There are a set of variables that can indirectly influence firm's performance - age of the firm highlights firms accumulated

business experience and established maturity in the market place (Firm's age); size of the firm represents large resource base, large access to capital, skill, raw materials etc. (Firm's size); Owner/ CEO is the key player in determining the internationalization activity of the firm (Managerial competence); firms with broadbased advertising and marketing strategies are able to earn higher returns than their competitors (Marketing Intensity); acquisition of technological know-how include in-house R&D efforts & purchase of foreign technologies etc (R&D Intensity); firms with higher levels of debt are exposed to greater interest rate volatility, therefore it must produce higher financial returns in order to balance the risk of the capital structure (Leverage); a wide range of incentives targeted at export activities, R&D, skill improvement etc reduces the cost of entry into the global markets (Fiscal Benefits); firms having foreign equity participation are likely to have access to the foreign firm's finance, technological skills, marketing expertise, global distribution channels etc., and these resources may facilitate their expansion into international markets (Foreign equity ownership); firms that are responsible in complying with the applicable environmental laws, regulations, requirements etc and demonstrate its commitment towards the environment are likely to perform better in terms of exports & international expansion (Environment Management System); firm's involvement in Global Value Chains reflects how deeplyfirm is part of the international activities; Industrial clustering brings a number of benefits to knowledge intensive firms such as rapid exchange of information and knowledge, locational economies and it raises market profile (Clustering).

Research Model

This study uses Pooled Cross-Section, fixed and random effects panel data model. This model examines the variations among cross-sectional units simultaneously with variations within individual units over time[Hsiao, 1995]. This is consistent with our theoretical argument that the internationalization of firms would, over time, drive changes in firm performance, and there is heterogeneity within firms. We have used IBM SPSS 20 and STATA software packages to run the following model:

Yit = $\acute{a} + \^{a} X it + Zi + \^{a}it$

where i = 1, 2...n (number of firms) and t = 1, 2...t (number of years).

Yit is the dependent variable,

X is the vector of explanatory variables,

â is the vector of regression coefficients,

ait is the random error term and Zi represents the unobserved firm effect or time-invariant component (a fixed value for each firm).

In this model, Zi and åit can be combined together to form a new composite error term

Eit = Zi + åit.

Results and Discussion

Table 1.1 and 1.2 summarizes the descriptive statistics and Table 2.1 and 2.2 summarizes the correlation among the variables for the two sectors – IT and Pharmaceuticals.

In the IT sector, the mean for ROA is 14.13 whereas in Pharmaceuticals it's 11.20. There is a major difference in the means of the two sectors pertaining to FDI and exports. The average amount of OFDI is 35.22 in case of IT, whereas its just 9.06 in Pharma, on the other hand the exports for Pharmaceuticals averages at 39.60 and for IT its 63.83. In terms of leverage, the amount of debt taken by both the sectors against total assets is reasonably high, in case of Pharma (25%); IT (13%).

The Indian Pharmaceutical industry is more marketing intensive in character than IT with the average intensity being 3.35 against 0.88 for IT respectively. The IT companies are much bigger in size as compared to Pharma with average size being 15,931 and 12,757 in Rs. Million. The average age of Pharmaceutical firms (33.16) is more than one and a half times than that of IT (19.14). The Pharma sector is enjoying host of fiscal incentives from the government with little incentives for IT, perhaps because it's

already very successful despite government assistance. Finally, the Pharmaceuticals industry is more research intensive with R&D intensity averaging (3.15) as compared to IT (0.59).

Table 1.1: Descriptive Statistics for IT Industry

Variables	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
ROA	-65.45	254.55	14.1307	18.41940
FDI	0.00	988.63	35.2293	92.70159
MKT	0.00	46.52	.8874	3.96925
R&D	0.00	15.44	.5927	1.59013
LEVERAGE	0.00	1.15	.1314	.15786
Exports	0.00	100.00	63.8300	1.16525
FB	0.00	.18	.0007	.01044
Size	4.50	375963.40	15931.3846	47777.82124
Age	4.0	68.0	19.140	9.6284

Table 1.2: Descriptive Statistics for Pharmaceuticals Industry

Variables	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
ROA	-26.98	127.77	11.2000	10.34549
FDI	0.00	174.40	9.0608	20.79333
MKT	0.00	21.23	3.3586	3.54582
R&D	0.00	26.32	3.1510	4.00437
LEVERAGE	0.00	.82	.2513	.19957
Exports	0.00	453.97	39.6014	33.75826
FB	0.00	5.04	.6323	.90309
Size	42.10	128356.90	12757.8240	17816.03747
Age	2	90	33.16	18.700

Table 2.1: Correlation of All Variables (IT Industry)

Varia- bles		ROA	FDI	MKT	Ramp D	LEVER AGE	Exports	FB	Size	age
ROA	Pearson Correlation	1								
	Sig. (2-tailed)									
FDI	Pearson Correlation	.141**	1							
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002								
MKT	Pearson Correlation	086	.474**	1						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.056	.000							
R&D	Pearson Correlation	068	.300**	.181**	1					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.127	.000	.000						
LEVER AGE	Pearson Correlation	115**	.312**	.224**	.243**	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	.000	.000	.000					
Exports	Pearson Correlation	.038	031	007	033	061	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.400	.496	.883	.466	.170				
FB	Pearson Correlation	.002	008	015	.025	028	022	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.962	.864	.738	.575	.538	.617			
Size	Pearson Correlation	.116**	051	025	.049	053	.030	017	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.259	.575	.274	.236	.499	.710		
Age	Pearson Correlation	.003	040	021	.040	012	045	005	.424**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.945	.376	.636	.368	.786	.321	.908	.000	

^{**.} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

 $^{^{*}}$. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 2.2: Correlation of All Variables (Pharmaceuticals Industry)

		ROA	FDI	MKT	R&D	LEVER AGE	Exports	FB	Size	age
ROA	Pearson Correlation	1								
	Sig. (2-tailed)									
FDI	Pearson Correlation	.167**	1							
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000								
MKT	Pearson Correlation	.032	007	1						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.472	.870							
R&D	Pearson Correlation	159**	.306**	.199**	1					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000						
LEVER AGE	Pearson Correlation	513**	.190**	224**	004	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.937					
Exports	Pearson Correlation	.118**	.317**	083	.280**	.216**	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.000	.065	.000	.000				
FB	Pearson Correlation	111*	020	.069	.110*	.107*	.241**	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.650	.122	.014	.017	.000			
Size	Pearson Correlation	039	.335**	.229**	.411**	057	.170**	.076	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.388	.000	.000	.000	.203	.000	.088		
age	Pearson Correlation	.209**	139**	.062	086	477**	285**	.015	.275**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.002	.167	.055	.000	.000	.740	.000	

^{**.} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

^{*.} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The Correlation analysis has been performed to understand the nature and structure of relationships among different variables selected as part of an empirical model. The inter-correlation coefficients of the full set of independent variables are low i.e there is no problem of multi-collinearity. Moreover, the VIF values does not show the problem of multi-collinearity. When we analyze table 2.1,we find out that in the IT sector, ROA has a significantly low negative correlation with leverage but positive correlation with exports and FDI, whereassize has a significant positive low correlation with ROA.

From the above table 2.2, we can see that in the Pharmaceuticals sector, ROA is negatively correlated with R&D, FB, and positively correlated with exports, FDI and age. ROA and Leverage has high negative correlation attributing to massive debt raised by big pharma, as a result their financial performance is affected. The correlation of FDI and leverage with other control variables is significant but low.

Table 3: Regression results

		IT Sect	or	Pharmaceuticals Sector			
Variables	Pooled	Fixed effects	Randon effects	Pooled	Fixed effects	Randon effects	
FDI	-0.09	0.043	-0.003	-0.070	0.108	-0.092	
	0.096	0.458	0.952	-0.155	0.072	0.089	
MKT	-0.0185	0.055	0.026	0.305	-0.055	0.012	
	0.819	0.496	0.742	-0.385	0.336	0.795	
R&D	0.0331	0.011	0.011	-0.162	-0.057	-0.107	
	0.435	0.821	0.800	0.000	0.361	0.032	
LEVER	-0.1382	-0.168	-0.163	-0.520	520 -0.371 -		
AGE	0	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
EXPORTS	0.1299	0.529	0.295	-0.015	-0.015 0.107		
	0.172	0.015	0.037	-0.742	0.234	0.619	
FB	-0.4565	0.006	-0.078	-0.043	-0.046	-0.045	
	0.36	0.991	0.875	0.219	0.290	0.244	

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SIZE	0.2584	0.040	0.101	0.022	-0.035	-0.067
	0	0.570	0.122	0.658	0.615	0.235
AGE	-0.0265	-0.215	-0.096	-0.050	-0.704	-0.047
	0.449	0.009	0.073	0.222	0.001	0.455
CEO ED	Drop- ped	drop- ped	Drop- ped	drop- ped	drop- ped	drop- ped
FE	0.0892	0.060	0.071	-0.212	-0.408	-0.264
	0.125	0.252	0.174	0.016	0.016	0.025
EMS	-0.0954	drop-	-0.146	-0.051	drop-	-0.035
	0.095	ped	0.170	0.419	ped	0.741
GVC	0.3719	0.384	0.393	0.087	0.409	0.217
	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.555	0.169	0.286
CLUSTER	0.0872	drop-	0.080	0.033	drop-	0.018
	0.111	ped	0.440	0.641	ped	0.879
Constant	-0.4698	-0.426	-0.450	-0.090	-0.362	-0.209
Obser- vations		50	50	50	50	50
R squared	0.166	0.130	0.120	0.400	0.162	0.128
Adjusted R squared	0.1455			0.385		
F/ Wald		6.560	68.470		8.510	150.45
Prob	0	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
DW stat						
VIF (max)	1.374 (max)			2.190 (max)		
rho					0.732	0.215
corr		-0.356				
p value in parentheses						
***p<0.01,						
**p<0.05,						
*p<0.1						

Table 3 shows the regression results of pooled, fixed, random panel data model. The econometric model tests the linear relationship of degree of internationalization(exports and ODFI) along with other control variables on Return on Assets (ROA). Further, the hausman test was conducted to determine whether fixed effects or random effects will be applicable in the given model. The null hypothesis of the test is as follows – H0: Random effects is appropriate.

The p value for the hausman test in IT and Pharmaceuticals sector was 0.0048 and 0.0002 respectively. Hence, the null hypothesis is rejected and fixed effects model is more appropriate. As per the fixed effect model, in case of IT sector – Leverage, Exports, Age and Global Value Chains are statistically significant, whereas in case of Pharmaceuticals, FDI, Leverage, Age and Foreign Equity ownership are found to be statistically significant.

For both the sectors, age and leverage is significantly negatively correlated with the financial performance, which is indicative of the fact that as firms mature or takes more debt, its performance decreases over a period of time.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

The results don't support the existence of S-curve relationship between firm internationalization and performance. Although, there is evidence from the data-set supporting U-shaped relationship as emerging-market firms don't undergo the extreme levels of internationalization and are relatively resource-deficient as compared to their western counterparts. In both pharmaceutical and IT sectors, there is a positive correlation between exports and firm performance, but investing abroad does'nt yield the results in short or medium term.

In India, the liberalization era began with the introduction of New Industrial Policy, 1991 when territorial shores of Indian economy was opened to foreign competition, deregulation and de-licensing were pivotal themes, FDI restrictions lifted and duties were slashed to promote trade. In the 1990's, Indian firms have'nt yet developed capabilities to compete in international markets, hence

they began with traditional mode such as exports and gradually moved to joint ventures or floating an off-shore subsidiary. But from 2000's onwards, with the emergence of globalization, privatization and technology revolution, Indian firms have achieved economies of scope and scale in their overseas operations. But the firms must operate with an optimal combination of domestic and foreign operations as it's a trade-off, it is important to deploy an effective international strategy which is in accordance with firms' managerial and financial capabilities in order to exploit operational synergies.

Limitations and Future Scope of Research

This paper is a sincere attempt to shed light on the internationalization strategies of India Inc and its impact on their financial performance. The insight drawn from quantitative analysis provides a number of useful directions for further theory building with respect to firms' internationalexpansion strategies. The learning mechanism that allow firms to develop capabilities by sharing and diffusing knowledge acrossthe organizational levelsduring the company's internationalization efforts is an interesting area for future research especially among emerging multinationals.

The analysis presented in this study is based on secondary datagathered from variety of sources. The empirical base is limited and the use of the cross-sectional data has its shortcomings (e.g. in terms of assumptions made in the econometric model). The findings of this study must be further verified and extended to firms operating within industry and other emerging industries. The data used in this study covers only pharmaceuticals and IT firms, although many studies have argued that born global phenomenon is more prevalent in knowledge-intensive sectors, a follow up study on manufacturing sector would be an interesting validation of findings. Despite these limitations, this study has dealt with an important aspect of firm internationalization, i.e. the sequence of internationalization across foreign markets, modes of entry and has meaningfully contributed to the existing literature of international entrepreneurship.

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In All Fairness: The Impact of Exposure to Extremely Fair-Skinned and Attractive Media Images Among Young Indian Women

Background

A large number of women represented in the Indian media are extremely fair-skinned. These media images are likely to have contributed to the increasing dissatisfaction of Indian women with their skin colour as evidenced by the rising sales of fairness cosmetics. The present study aims to investigate the affect of exposure to fair and attractive images of women. A purposive sample of college going women (aged 18–22 years) was randomly assigned to experimental or control group. Participants in the experimental group were presented with images of fair-skinned attractive media images whereas participants in the control group were shown images of cars. The participants completed a visual task in which they were asked to indicate their real and ideal colour of skin. The discrepancy between their real and ideal colour of skin was indicative of dissatisfaction with their skin colour; higher discrepancy was related to higher dissatisfaction. The participants were also assessed on a word-completion task in which each participant had to complete a ten 3-letter word-stem. Each word stem could be completed to form either a word that is related to appearance or a non-appearance word. The immediate impact of media exposure resulted in activation of appearance schemas i.e. women exposed to media images completed the words with significantly more number of appearance words. However, relative to the control group, women in the experimental group did not express significant dissatisfaction with skin colour. The findings of the study indicate that although exposure to fair and attractive images activates appearance related schemas, educated Indian women are unlikely to explicitly report dissatisfaction with their skin-colour. Implications of the findings and suggestions for future research are discussed.

Keywords: skin colour, appearance schemas, media, Indian women

Introduction

Li, Min, Belk, Kimura and Bahl (2008) report that 'whiteness' or having white skin is considered an important element in constructing female beauty in Asian cultures. In India, the preference for fair skin over dark skin is pervasive in magazines, TV, newspaper, movies etc. For instance, despite possessing varied skin colour, almost all Indian actresses and models are portrayed as overwhelmingly fair-skinned (Parmeshwaran & Cardoza 2009). The media constructed notion of 'fair is lovely and dark is ugly' puts dark skinned women at a socio-cultural disadvantage. For instance, 'looking for a slim, homely, and "fair" girl for our son' is a common feature in matrimonial advertisements across newspapers and matrimonial websites (Utley & Darity 2016). Further, studies have found that people usually associate fairness with attractiveness (Jones & Little 2004), wealth (Jones 2000), as well as health and fertility (Swami, Furnham & Joshi 2008).

Previous studies have found that the media constructed notion of beauty recognizes tall, thin, and fair as idealistic traits for women and those falling short of these unrealistic ideals often find themselves rendered psychologically vulnerable. Studies done on African-American women reveal skin colour is significantly related to self-esteem of women (Wade 1996; Coard, Breland & Raskin 2001). Additionally, Bond and Cash (1992) found that dissatisfaction with skin colour led to more negative ratings of overall appearance and facial satisfaction in women. Sahey and Piran (1995) examined skin colour preferences and body satisfaction among south Asian-Canadian and European-Canadian female students. South Asian-Canadian females were found to desire lighter skin than they possessed and had lower body satisfaction compared with European-Canadian females. Overall, it has been reported that the close association between fairer skin colour and physical attractiveness is a cause of concern for most women (Neal & Wilson 1989).

The psychological construct of appearance schemas can help us understand the role of media in creating body-image dissatisfaction. Appearance schemas are cognitive generalizations about the "importance, meaning and effects of appearance in one's life" (Cash & Labarge 1996). The self-schema theory (Markus 1997) suggests that discrepancy between real and ideal appearance schemas, i.e. the discrepancy between how an individual perceives the various aspects of his/her appearance and how s/he wishes to appear results in negative emotions such as disappointment, dissatisfaction, and sadness. Thus, exposure to idealistic portrayal of women and the associated activation of negative emotions is a cause of concern for psychologists. More specifically, it is important to investigate to what extent does this unhealthy obsession with 'whiteness' affect the body image of young Indian woman?

Present Study

While body image includes different facets such as hair, skin, weight, shape, and structure, majority of the studies on body image have focused on only body weight and shape (see Groesz, Levine & Murnen 2002). The present study posed the question that does media's portrayal of women with fair-skin as attractive and desirable contribute to body image issues in Indian women? The purpose of the study was to examine if media's idealization of fair skin colour has psychological consequences for young adult women. It was hypothesized that: (1) exposure to fair-skinned images will reduce satisfaction with skin colour in women and, (2) women exposed to fair-skinned images will generate more appearance related words than those in the control group.

Method

Participants: A purposive sample of college going women (aged 18–22 years) from University of Delhi were randomly assigned to the groups: experimental (N=14) and control group (N=14).

Materials: Images – In a pilot study, sixteen images for the fair-skin exposure condition were taken from leading Indian fashion magazines aimed at young women (*Femina, Cosmopolitan, Marie Claire*). Only those images with facial depictions were selected. In a pilot study to shortlist these images, ten women were

recruited at the University of Delhi and asked to rate ten female models featured in different advertisements on the basis of their perceived attractiveness and the extent to which the model was seen to epitomize the fair-skinned ideal. Out of the sixteen images, ten models with highest mean scores were selected. The ten control images (images of cars) were chosen so that they contained no images of people or any cues to body image. Acollage of images shown in the experimental group has been presented in Figure 1.



Figure 1.A collage of images presented in the experimental condition.

Measures: Respondents completed two measures: (1) an explicit measure assessing satisfaction with skin colour and, (2) an implicit measure assessing activation of appearance schemas.

Skin-Colour Satisfaction —Consistent with the method used by Bond and Cash (1992), participants were shown a palette of skin colour ranging from very fair/white to very dark brown/black (Figure 2). Each colour was assigned a number. Participants were asked to use the palette and (1) select the skin tone that most closely resembles their skin tone (real skin-color). They were then asked that if they had the ability to select their own skin colour then: (2) what colour on the skin colour palette displayed above would you choose (ideal skin colour)? Participants' ratings permitted the calculation of self-ideal discrepancy scores. The

discrepancy score was used as a measure of satisfaction with skin colour with higher scores indicative of greater dissatisfaction.



Figure 2: Palette of skin-colour ranging from very fair/white to very dark brown/black

Activation of Appearance Schemas – Tiggemann, Hargreavesa, Polivy and McFarlane (2004) developed a word-completion task used to assess activation of appearance-schemas. Respondents are presented with a 3-letter word-stem that could be completed to form either a word that is related to appearance and thinness, or a word that is unrelated. For example, the stem PRE...... can

be completed as pretty (appearance related) or present (non-appearance related). However, this task in its original form was not suitable for the specific purpose of the present study, since it includes word-stems that focused on overall-appearance including facial appearance, body shape and weight. The original task was modified and 10 words were selected based on the same criteria used by Tiggemann and colleagues (2004) to include stems that assessed only facial appearance schema activation. Table 1 gives examples of appearance and non-appearance words for word-stem completion task. The rationale behind this task is that women whose appearance schemas have been activated will produce more appearance—related words than women for whom schema—activation has not occurred.

Table 1 Examples of Appearance and Non-Appearance Words for Word-Stem Completion Task

Order	Word Stem	Appearance Word	Non-Appearance
1	SHI	Shine	Shirt
2	BEA	Beauty	Bean
3	WHI	White	While
4	COL	Colour	College
5	SKI	Skin	Skill
6	GLO	Glow	Globe
7	PRE	Pretty	Present
8	CLE	Clear	Clever
9	GOR	Gorgeous	Gorilla
10	FAC	Face	Fact

Procedure: Informed consent was taken from all participants at the beginning of the study and confidentiality and privacy were ensured and maintained. Participants in experimental group were shown a PowerPoint presentation of 10 media images judged to be representative of fair and attractive ideal images of women, whereas participants in control group were shown images of cars. Standard time of 5 seconds was chosen for each image. After a 5-minute interval, the respondents were asked to complete an

online form for the two measures to assess the affect of exposure to the media images. The entire procedure was done in person, in laboratory setting. Finally, debriefing was done for all. It was ensured that there were no long lasting effects of the media intervention.

Results

Demographic characteristics of the participants have been provided in Table 2. As can be seen, the participants in the two conditions were matched on the following self-reported variables: 1) age 2) Body Mass Index (BMI), and 3) perceived skin colour, 4) social media consumption.

	Experimental Group			Control-group		
	M	SD	M	SD	t	р
Age	19.64	1.01	19.50	1.34	0.32	.753
BMI	19.07	6.21	20.00	6.48	0.40	.691
Perceived Skin colour	4.68	1.12	2.23	3.93	1.06	.300
Social Media Consumption	4.29	3.14	4.75	4.11	0.36	.740

Table 2 Participant Characteristics

Note. Social media consumption operationalized as number of hours spent during the day watching TV shows and movies and reading magazines (non-educational) and using social networking portals such as Facebook and Instagram.

Skin Colour Satisfaction. As can be seen in Table 3, there was no significant difference in real-ideal skin colour discrepancy in the experimental and control group. Contrary to our expectations, women in experimental group did not express significantly greater dissatisfaction with skin colour after exposure to attractive and fair-skinned ideal media images relative to control group.

Appearance Schema Activation – As can be seen in Table 3, there was a significant difference between the mean percentages of appearance-related words generated in experimental group

relative to the control group. Table 4 presents the number and percentage of appearance related words generated in experimental and control group on the word completion test. Women exposed to attractive and fair-skinned ideal images showed activation of appearance schemas compared to the respondents in control group (Figure 3).

Table 3 Skin-colour Satisfaction and Schema Activation in Fair-images and Control group

	Experimental Group			Control Group		
	M	SD	M	SD	t	р
Skin-colour Statisfaction ^a	0.64	1.01	0.54	0.75	0.75	.107
Appearance Schema Activation ^b	42.14	10.89	23.57	8.29	4.294	.000***

Note. aSkin-colour satisfaction measured in terms of real-ideal skin-colour discrepancy. Greater real-ideal skin-colour discrepancy is related to lower skin-colour satisfaction; b Mean Percentage of appearance-related words generated.

Table 4 Number and Percentage of Appearance Related Words Generated in Experimental and Control Group on the Word Completion Test

		Experimental Group (N=14)		Control Group (N=14)	
S.No.	Word-stem	Number of Appearance Related Words	%	Number of Appearance Related Words	%
1	SHI	5	35.71	4	28.57
2	BEA	7	50.00	3	21.43
3	WHI	6	42.86	2	14.29
4	COL	6	42.86	3	21.43
5	SKI	3	21.43	4	28.57
6	GLA	5	35.71	3	21.43
7	PRE	6	42.86	2	14.29

8	CLE	6	42.86	5	35.71
9	GOR	6	42.86	2	14.29
10	FAC	9	64.29	5	35.71

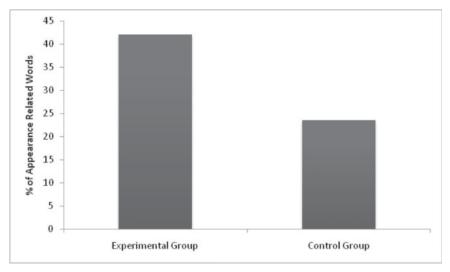


Figure 3. Percentage of Appearance Related Words Generated in Experimental and Control Group on the Word Completion Test.

Discussion

Media's constant representation of ideal images is likely to create unrealistic expectations in women regarding their appearances including body weight, shape, and skin colour (Hargreaves & Tiggemann 2002). Today, an increasing number of young Indian women are routinely exposed to Indian and Western media, which overwhelmingly portray western ideals when it comes to images of women. For instance, even though MTV aimed to 'Indianise' it's programming after it was introduced in 1994; Cullity (2002) found that the channel promoted many western values, notably the beauty ideals of 'whiteness' and 'thinness'.

The growing popularity of skin-lightening or 'fairness' creams and cosmetics in India merits scholarly attention. The fairness creams advertise fairness as a prerequisite for success and use celebrity endorsement to form a direct association between fair-

skin and experience of success (Goon & Craven 2003). Additionally, they suggest that dark-skin is the source of all problems in a woman's life, professional failures and relationship distress. Besides fairness cosmetics, women are also making use of technology to accomplish the goal of skin-lightening. For example, a very common practice among individuals using social networking sites and apps such as Facebook and Instagram is to add effects and 'filters' which makes them look fairer than they actually are (Rettberg 2014). A focused group discussion with the women revealed that even though they may themselves not rate 'fairness' as a predominant indicator of beauty but they realize the socio-cultural advantage of having a fair-skin and therefore have made attempts to appear fair (Karan 2008).

There is compelling evidence for the claim that thin-ideal media images fuel body dissatisfaction in women (Posavac, Posavac& Posavac 1998; Groesz, et al. 2002). Activation of appearance schemas has been suggested as the mediating process (Brown & Ditmar 2005; Cash, Melnyk & Hrabosky 2004). The findings of the present study extend the findings of previous research and report that there is an increase in appearance related schemas upon exposure to extremely fair and attractive ideal images of women. Harrison (2001) explains that activation of appearance related schemas can activate both real and ideal self-schema and can thus make us aware of the gap between two selfrepresentations. The awareness of the gap between the real and ideal appearances can in turn activate negative emotions. Further, among persons whose appearance schemas is strongly active, exposure to negative appearance related information would provoke increased image dissatisfaction (Altabe & Thompson 1996).

However, contrary to our predictions, the study did not find support for skin colour dissatisfaction in individuals exposed to fair and attractive media images. One of the possible reasons could be that women somehow find it easier to express dissatisfaction with body weight/shape than with skin colour; studies have shown that women are chronically dissatisfied with their body weight (Bordo 2004). However, explicit expression of

dissatisfaction with skin colour is considered to be socially undesirable, especially in case of urban and educated women. Irrespective, dissatisfaction with skin colour can be seen implicit in the use of fairness creams and cosmetics and in regular visits to beauty parlors and clinics for skin-bleaching and lightening.

The findings of the study draw attention to the subtle ways in which exposure to fair and attractive representations of women in media images can affect us. Women are likely to engage in thinking about appearances, which can activate the real-ideal appearance gap and fuel negative emotions. However, the findings of the study need to be examined in light its limitations. First, the sample size was small and restricted. Second, the exposure to media images was for a very short duration and that too used images taken from popular magazines. Finally, the experimental conditions cannot replicate the dynamic nature of media exposure in everyday life of women. Future studies need to address these limitations to explore negative impact of media images on activation skin colour dissatisfaction.

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Himalayan Community and Stewardship of Ecological Sustainability

Keywords: Ecology, Sustainability, Indigenous, Biodiversity, Stewardship.

The Himalayan region is a distinct natural entity marked with its high order of biodiversity, scenic beauty and ecological sensitivity. It is a pristine resource region endowed with potential natural resources, which are unique because they are important within the region but they are more relevant outside the region. These resources sustain the lives of millions inhabiting the lowlands and plains throughout its extent. The ecosystem services that the Himalayas provide are vast. The Himalayan river basins are home to about 1.3 billion people and supply water, food and energy to more than 3 billion people in the world.

The Himalayan region spans over eight countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, India, Myanmar, Nepal and Pakistan. This mountainous region characterises complex geological antecedents, diverse biological resources and unique cultural heritage. Himalayan region emerges as a complex interplay of natural and human elements at their critically best order of survival. The lofty mountains, glistening glaciers and alpine transhumance at high altitudes; the human settlements with their subsistence cultivation and livestock at medium altitudes and some industrial set ups and farms in the fringes of 'tarai' at lower altitudes - the entire ecological array is represented by the Himalayan region. Though the terrain and ground conditions have been challenging and difficult, human will and instincts, over a long period of time, have discovered the blessed worth of land, water, forest and serene environment of this region. Such adaptations and resilience has helped the people in this region lead a self-contained life over centuries. They have gradually learnt how to master their surroundings without conflicting with its natural impulses.

All through this, the hill communities have played a great stewardship to the natural endowments around them, and this

has reflected on their rituals, religious practices and folk traditions. These communities harnessed the indigenous knowledge to sustain the resources at micro level. They had a deep sense of resilience to find ways to adapt to a wide range of complex challenges, and essentially strived to connect with the biosphere and stay within their boundaries. Such resilience came to them naturally because they identified themselves as the steward of a sustainable mountain system. Sustainability was a much deeper concern engrained in their social ethos. They assumed a responsible position to ensure the future generations to meet their needs, by conscientiously regenerating what they consumed. Their livelihoods were in tune with the ecological integrity, and their needs adhered to austerity.

The Himalayan community, as it stands today involves not only the indigenous people but also all the traditional hill people and local communities living over number of generations. Irrespective of the fact that the vast and diverse Himalayan terrain is inhabited by multilingual and multiracial people, the people have a common heritage, and are dependent on natural resources for their existence. Community-driven conservation is found in more intensively utilized spaces where people have a long-standing stewardship relationships to nature and their ecosystems and have developed cropping, grazing, and water and forest management practices over a long adaptive process. In 'Man and Nature' (1864) Marsh hailed the 'civic necessity of informed public participation...as well as the necessity of stewardship.'

The growth of arboreal vegetation is so slow that, though he who buries an acorn may hope to see it shoot up to a miniature resemblance of the majestic tree which shall shade his remote descendants, yet the longest life hardly embraces the seedtime and the harvest of a forest.... But when we consider...the terrible evils necessarily resulting from the destruction of the forest, both the preservation of existing woods, and the far more costly extension of them where they have been unduly reduced, are among the most obvious of the duties which this age owes to those that are to come after it.

Marsh's inner sensitivity and special bond with nature could bring out the principle of sustainability way back in the 19th Century. In our times sustainability is defined as a requirement of our generation to manage the resource base such that the average quality of life that we ensure ourselves can potentially be shared by all future generations. ... [Geir B. Asheim, 'Sustainability,' The World Bank, 1994]. The Brundtland Commission of the United Nations observed on March 20, 1987 that **ecological sustainability** refers to the capacity of the biosphere to meet the needs of the present generation, without hindering future generations from being able to meet their needs.

The two core requirements for ecological sustainability are such as:

- 1. The diversity of life and the basis of its productivity must be maintained and must not be systematically diminished.
- 2. The society must organise itself so that this is easy to achieve, and must have the capability and resilience to resolve all the problems. Resilience addresses how much can planetary ecological systems withstand assault from human disturbances and still deliver the services current and future generations need from them (Walker and Salt, 2012).

As the Himalayan region opened to the opportunities of the materialistic and economic world, the development infiltrated through its folds, with a price tag attached to it. The mountains became susceptible to accelerated soil erosion, landslides and rapid loss of habitat and genetic diversity. On the human side, there prevailed widespread poverty and malnutrition among mountain inhabitants and loss of indigenous knowledge. The main problems pertained to climate change, loss of biosphere diversity, land use change and altered biogeochemical cycles. Urbanisation and consumerism with indiscriminate flows of people, capital and materials took heavy toll on the ecological sustainability of the region. The detailed discourse of such a devastation is untold in any forum of the progressive world (Prashanti, 2013). This scenario poses both a unique opportunity and challenge to the governments, internal organizations, the

private sectors and civil society, to manage such natural regions. In fact, such a situation has challenged, in many ways, the stewardship by the hill communities and indigenous people of the Himalayas in the context of ecological sustainability.

The core issues of ecological sustainability vis-à-vis the stewardship by the Himalayan community can be accounted as under:

A. Breaking down of traditional knowledge and practices.

Himalayan region is a versatile storehouse of traditional and indigenous knowledge. Since ages the traditional knowledge and practices of the hill communities had an in-built mechanism of the protection and conservation of their environment and resources. Their rituals, religious observations and customs are full of such facts. Even the folk tales of these mountains resound with such sensitivities of nature. They held the pristine lands in high sanctity and founded the religious places of worship in such high altitude zones. The fact is that such places were not easily accessible and only those who were determined to reach out to them, used to undertake pilgrimages. 'People were forbidden to wear shoes, litter around, pluck unripe flowers, make noise or kill birds and insects. Such religious overtones of the traditions were greatly helpful in conservation of ecosystem in such sensitive eco zones' (Gokhale and Negi, 2011).

The traditional conservation in old times were not written laws, they were handed down through generations as golden wisdom. 'The frequent isolation of mountain communities from one another, and the need for collective action to overcome many of the challenges of a harsh environment, often give rise to strong informal institutions. Traditions and collective decisions, while generally unwritten, command great respect' (Byers and Sainju, 1994). The methods of subsistence farming, land use patterns and forest uses, disaster risk management, all were guided by traditional knowledge. The steep slopes and wet zones were strictly forbidden for house construction. The ground storey of the houses were marked as living places for livestock and stall feeding. There had been a tradition of cohabiting with the

livestock, and the fodder was stored in the house for the rainy season when the grazing was not possible. The small water drainages on the saddles of the hills were protected and maintained as 'Khals', which were important water recharge points for the spring line, and probably the earliest ways of water harvesting amidst the green areas (Gokhale and Negi, 2011). Like other parts of the Himalayan lands, Sikkim also has the strategies practised by indigenous communities which are evolved over a long time, including terrace farming 'Bari khet', grazing cattle on barren lands and practicing traditional watershed activities 'Padhera'. Preventive measures include building temporary fuel wood storage structures during floods, plantation of fodder trees for better livestock management, and storing food grain in traditional earthen container 'Dhikuti' to ensure survival during rainfall months (Khawas, 2014). As an interesting example of such traditional knowledge of farming, before the sowing season there is a festival of 'Harela' in Uttarakhand in the Himalayas, in which the seeds of different types are sown in an earthen pot and kept in a sanctified corner till they sprout and grow as seedlings. On an appointed day these shoots are cut by the Head of the family and distributed among the family members with much festivity and joy. The true relevance of this ritual is that the quality of seeds to be sown in the next season are thus tested and checked by the most experienced member of the family. There was no dearth of such traditional wisdom in the old days throughout the Himalayan region. 'These traditional methods, developed over many generations, have sustained over a time scale similar to that of mountain ecosystem response and recovery' (Byers and Sainju, 1994), but gradually they are breaking down and being abandoned for more superficial measures of modern practices.

B. Fragile ecosystem and degradation of biodiversity

Mountain ecosystems are fragile. They are globally significant reservoirs of bio-diversity which contain rich assemblages of species and ecosystems evolved through complex processes. Many endemic species have evolved over centuries of isolation from other genetic pools. Their low resilience arises primarily from steepness, low temperatures and isolation. Climatic

variations, including temperature, radiation, wind, and moisture availability, occur over very short distances over the contours, creating a vertical gradient of climatic conditions. Soils tend to be thin, young, and highly erodible. Low temperatures cause vegetation growth and soil formation to occur very slowly. At higher altitudes, extreme diurnal temperature fluctuations require specialized survival adaptations. In this harsh environment for biological life, the time scale of ecosystem recovery may be hundreds of years (Messerli et al., 1983). In fragile mountain ecosystems, conditions of unsustainability emerge quickly and in a more pronounced manner than in relatively resilient lowland areas (Jodha, 1989).

The ecological sustainability in the Himalayan region, by and large, depended on the age old subsistence and traditional practices by the local communities in a true spirit of stewardship. The diversity of plant varieties and working animal breeds that we are familiar with today is thanks to centuries of the activities of farming communities and rural people in selecting and managing different genetic strains' (Swissaid). The local farmers had been contributing to conserve the plant diversity as much as possible. But today the irrational monoculture of commercial crops like potato farming and other cereals, are eliminating the diversity of plants. The hybrid varieties have caused damaging results as well, leading to genetic erosion. The Green Revolution Technologies are responsible for depletion of soil organic carbon. 'During the last few years, disconcerting trends have emerged in mountain subsistence communities. Persistent negative changes in relation to crop yields have emerged. The extent and severity of landslides has increased, irrigation and water supply shortages are common, and the diversity of mountain agriculture has been reduced. A greater amount of time is spent in fodder and fuel collection and, significantly, the inter-seasonal hunger gap (food deficit period) has been extended' (Jodha, 1989).

Communities living in Himalayan region have been dependent on forest for non-timber forest products (NTFPs) in the past before protected areas came into existence. In the recent past they have replaced harvest of NTFPs with alternative sources to earn livelihood, such communities could be 'saviors' of biodiversity and environment, if made equal partners in economic, social and environmental development (worldwewant, 2015). There is a need to work with 'hybrid technologies' derived by linking formal ecological knowledge and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) available with local communities. It is sure to provide invaluable insights as regards the conservation of biodiversity. Especially in the context of food security wherein the mountain-system is often emphasised for highly diversified socio-ecological systems operating in highly fragile environmental situations like Himalayas (Ramakrishnan, 2014).

The Himalayan herbal resource base is at great risk. Hundreds of species are now threatened because of over-harvesting, destructive collection techniques, and conversion of habitats to crop-based agriculture to other land-use. Of about 3500 flowering plants in Himachal Pradesh in the western Indian Himalayas, nearly 130 are in great demand in industry and 68 are threatened. Close to 90% of the plant material used locally and in the herbal industry is collected from the wild, as much as 70% of it destructively harvested (Planning Commission, Govt. of India, 2000). Even in the commercial exploitation of the plants, very little of the benefits flow back to the host communities, who are typically paid collector's wages for harvesting the required plant parts (Banerji and Basu, 2011).

C. Climate change and indigenous communities.

The impact of climate change is evident all over the Himalayan region, but it is particularly devastating for the indigenous people who practically depend for everything on the biological diversities and natural resources. The ecosystem of mountains is sensitive enough to easily get disrupted by the vagaries of climate. 'Tremendous geomorphic energy is unleashed in mountains, taking forms of volcanism, uplift, erosion, land-slides, glacial-lake outbursts, earthquakes, avalanches, torrents/debris flows, sedimentation, and floods. In this dynamic, high-risk environment, human infrastructures or alterations can occasionally lead to unexpected, or even catastrophic effects' (Gerrard, 1990).

The major consequences of climate change are as follows:

- 1. Some of the rare plants and animal species are struggling to survive. Their habitats are shrinking and endangered today which always had been the part of the life of mountain communities.
- 2. There are extremes of temperatures as well as precipitation. The annual/diurnal range has also increased over a very short period. The drastic changes in such climate regime have borne direct consequences in the lifestyles of local communities. It is increasingly difficult to cope with these unpredictable trends in agricultural practices, which is almost pushing them over the edge of financial stability.
- 3. The recession of glaciers is alarmingly rapid, at times causing dreadful flash floods in higher reaches which often take the shape of disasters. Though the indigenous mountain communities have been following the traditional ways to manage such challenges but the scale of such disasters is getting too voluminous to be handled with the resources at the disposal of these communities.
- 4. There are high incidences of rainfall in high altitude zones instead of steady snowfall to replenish the glaciers. The high runoff does not permit the ice to consolidate in the glaciers causing lean volume and shrinking coverage of snow.
- 5. The indigenous and mountain communities are directly affected by the conditions of climate change. The rituals and rites of the indigenous people are affected with such changes to the extent that their cultural identities are at stake.

D. Traditional communities and intellectual property rights.

The indigenous knowledge, cultural traditions and biological diversity are one of the most important IPR (Intellectual Property Right). The matter of IPR over the bio-cultural resources of the Himalayan communities, is of great concern. The major types of Intellectual Property Rights include: Patent- a legal monopoly that covers a wide range of products and processes; Plant

Breeder's Rights – a law that grants a certificate to those who breed new plant varieties; Copyright – a legal framework intended to protect artistic and cultural works; Trademarks – a legal monopoly over a name or a symbol; Trade secret – an intellectual property right used when the inventors do not wish to patent in order to protect themselves from competitors.

However, a gross ignorance among the indigenous people about the Intellectual Property Rights has been witnessed, which the outside world has thoroughly exploited. In the Himalayan region the medicinal and herbal plants are under grave threat of losing to the big multi-national companies and corporates without any revenue to the hill communities, who have just been reduced to the status of gatherers of such valuable natural resources. One of the most significant issues related to ecological responsibility is 'the collection, screening, and use for commercial and industrial purposes of their knowledge and of genetic and biological products which come from their lands or which are important to their societies. This raises some important questions about the nature of innovation, and of the relationships between natural resources, knowledge, and intellectual property rights' (Davis, undated). There is an example of Indian Himalayas in Kumaon region, where the process began with the marginalization of the local authority on the Brahm Kamal (Sasoria ovalata), a much revered flower of the Himalayas, which was never plucked when unripe; it was dedicated to God in high altitude pastures. In order to generate revenue, commercial exploitation of the forest began in addition to imposition of taxes on the land. This was the beginning of the external interference in the village system (Gokhale and Negi, 2011). The local communities, local healers, pastoralists have wonderful traditional knowledge of shrubs and herbs in Himalayan region. 'The Indigenous communities from which these products and knowledge are obtained receive little or no recognition for their contribution, and generally do not share equitably in benefits resulting from uses of biological products and knowledge' (Davis, undated).

There is an earnest appeal made by the indigenous people all around the world against the intellectual property rights as defined in the TRIPs Agreement (Article 27.3b of the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) of the World Trade Organization (WTO) Agreements). 'Indigenous knowledge and cultural heritage are collectively evolved through generations. Thus, no single person can claim invention or discovery of medicinal plants, seeds or other living things. The inherent conflict between these two knowledge systems and the manner in which they are protected and used will cause further disintegration of our traditional values and practices' (Indigenous Peoples' Statement). Such unfair policies propagated by certain capitalists' lobbies are going to seriously affect the stewardship in such ecosystem where no outside agency can ever guard the ecological sustainability in true sense.

E. Confrontational interests of local communities and the authorities

The confrontations of the local mountain communities and the authorities emerge from their evident clash of the interests. As interpreted in international law, treaties and rights instruments (including ILO Convention 169) on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the 'traditional territories' or 'customary territories' of indigenous peoples encompass the areas they inhabit, seasonally inhabit, or use. 'Use' includes cultural associations, including spiritual ones. ILO 169 (Article 13.2) defines territory as 'the total environment of the areas which the [indigenous] peoples concerned occupy or otherwise use.' James Anaya, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, considers territory 'to include not just areas of contemporary physical use, but also ancestral or traditional use that continues to have significance in the contemporary life of the community, including within cultural and religious domains. Indigenous peoples' autonomy over particular subjects of local or internal concern, along with their participation in wider decision-making, should, together, extend to matters throughout their respective territories in ways commensurate with the exercise of their rights to political participation, cultural integrity, and social and economic development' (Anaya, 2009).

Indigenous Peoples' and Community Conserved Territories and Areas (ICCAs, also referred to Community Conserved Areas, CCAs). The term ICCA is certainly broader, that it can be applied to the conservation practices of local communities as well as indigenous peoples. As a result, it is now often used as an umbrella term (Stevens, 2009). Rights-based conservation affirms human and indigenous rights by recognising that indigenous peoples and local communities are 'rights-holders' and not merely 'stakeholders' in their customary territories (Stevens, 2010).

The Nepal Himalayas, which have received maximum international attention in the context of the Sagarmata National Park, have not legally recognised or affirmed, for example, indigenous peoples' territories; collective 'ownership' or custodianship of lands and waters; customary law; or right to use, manage, and conserve land, water, and natural resources through their culture, self-governance, and customary institutions (Upreti and Adhikari, 2006). Villagers are often good land stewards, planning and maintaining their fields so as to minimize erosion, and good at reclaiming slipped fields. A rich array of indigenous strategies for subsistence conservation historically protected rangeland and forest from unregulated exploitation (Brower, undated).

In the context of the Indian Himalayas also such confrontational situations are playing havoc with the ecological sustainability. As a result, 'people are disillusioned with their surrounding resources. The government was only interested in collecting more revenue from the forests; thus, people got disheartened, became less concerned about the conservation aspect, and indulged in maximizing benefits from the existing scenario' (Gokhale and Negi, 2011). This ultimately resulted in ecological sustainability to lose ground slowly but surely.

The ecological sustainability of the Himalayan region can be managed by making the plans and strategies more inclusive for the Himalayan communities. The concerned authorities and governmental agencies should uphold the esteem of the stewards of these mountains, and lend them technological innovations and

financial backing. There are certain recommendations in this regard:

- 1. Their tenure rights should be well protected in the region where they have been living over generations. 'When tenure is insecure, as for tenant farmers or on state controlled lands, the motivation and resources for good stewardship may be missing' (Brower, undated)
- 2. Agriculture in the Himalayan mountain systems should be reinvented by integrating high value commercial crops along with subsistence farming in traditional way.
- 3. Agriculture should be practiced up to 15% slope based on land capability.
- 4. The agro-processing units should be located near the producers with sufficient incentives and insurances.
- 5. Local institutions should be empowered to take their own decisions regarding production and marketing of community products.
- 6. The time tested traditional methods of conservation of land, water and forest have to be revived and facilitated by latest techniques.
- 7. Green and Organic markets have to be sufficiently and directly linked with the eco-regions of Himalayas without the middle men or agencies.
- 8. Protecting the bio-resources should be the prime duty of local communities, but they should also stand to gain from these assets directly.
- 9. The livelihood opportunities should be directly linked to the industries from small to medium scale horticulture, floriculture, organic farming, herbal cosmetics, aromatic plants, bio-medicinal plants etc.
- 10. Development of women friendly small tools and implements.
- 11. Community-based ecotourism should be adequately developed, particularly as Homestays.

- 12. Welfare schemes on immunization of the livestock and subsidised fodder for stall feeding should be taken up effectively.
- 13. No living organism should be a subject of intellectual property right specially in the biodiversity region like Himalayas, where the hill communities are the real custodians of these natural endowments.
- 14. The local bodies like 'van panchayats' in the Indian Himalayas and similar others in the Nepal Himalayas etc. should be entrusted with the conservation and protection of forests around villages. In the past such responsibilities have proved to be true to stewardship in the region.
- 15. The resilience developed through traditional knowledge should be given due importance in the management of resources in such natural region.
- 16. The natural resources of Himalayan region should be inventoried on the basis of vertical zones along the slopes of these mountains as the most appropriate physical basis of planning. In the past the indigenous knowledge had unwritten norms about highlands, lowlands and intermediate areas, rather than spatial units as such.
- 17. The ecosystem services should be adopted to establish the link between ecosystems and human wellbeing within the framework of development.

Stewardship is a commitment by way of responding to all the challenges being faced by the Himalayan entity today. If the Himalayan community is recognized as a rightful partner in the custodianship of ecology, biodiversity and cultural resources, facilitated with scientific temper and technological innovations, only then it would be more sustainable than any other development model prevailing today. Stewardship means much more than ethical commitment, it needs to be broadened in more realistic and logistic terms of development and management of the Himalayan region.

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Rhetoric of Memory and Politics of Identity: A Study of Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul*

Introduction

A major thrust of recent scholarship on literature of migration and diaspora has been to draw upon individual testimonies and experiences especially of women refugees who were forced to migrate due to some political predicament. Memory has been a recurrent trope in such personal archives and literature of trauma. Scholars rely on oral testimonies and subjective impressions of refugees, war victims and survivors of calamities since memory seems to give voice to 'unheard stories' and newperspectives to view the past. History with its claim of objective accuracy has been criticized for its singular version of the past while memory is conceived as multiple, diverse and competing accounts of individual experiences. 1Yet the appeal to memory in determining the events of the past is as problematic as historical authenticity. My paper aims to conceptualize memory not as a custodian of the past but as an active agency of creation and a product of social interaction. I also wish to enquire into the complicated relation between memory and historiography. I argue that the act of remembering has a rhetorical dimension since it involves issues of agency, truth claims and relations of power.

This study is basedon the novel *The Bastard of Istanbul* by the acclaimed Turkish author Elif Shafak. The author, of Turkish origin, was born in 1971 France and lives her life as an expatriate in Europe and the USA. Shafak has published thirteen books, both fiction and non-fiction, in English and Turkish language. Her novels draw on varied cultural and literary traditions and display diverse interests ranging from political immigrants and minorities to spirituality and Sufism. *The Bastard of Istanbul* published in 2007 is driven by a dominant discourse of the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman Empire in 1894-96 and subsequently by the Turkish Republic from 1915-1923. The systematic state orchestrated massacre resulted in concomitant trauma and forced migration of Armenians from Turkey. The

Turkish nation refuses to acknowledge and take responsibility of any such act of violence perpetrated upon the Armenians. Taner Akcam in his study of Armenian Genocide and Ottoman Empire states that the Ottoman authorities having initiated a plan 'to free [themselves] of non-Turkish elements in the Aegean region", they then "under cover of war, expanded this plan to include all of Anatolia.' Akcam argues further:

The primary goal of this project, which can be described as 'ethnoreligious homogenization' of Anatolia, was a conscious reshaping of the region's demographic character on the basis of its Muslim Turkish population.²

Shafak's novel delves into the discursive strategy of Turkey to obliterate from public memory a state controlled act of systematic massacre against a Christian community of Armenians from Turkey, an episode which was almost equivalent to the horrors of the holocaust.³ After the Turkish edition of the novel was published in 2006, Shafak was put on trial for 'denigrating Tukishness' under article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code. Later the charges were dropped and she was acquitted. An article in *The Guardian* notes:

The case brought against Elif Shafak for references made...to the large scale massacre of Armenians by 'Turkish butchers' during the Armenian genocide of 1915 – the government continues to insist that these killings occurred in the context of equivalent factional violence against Muslim Turks – was finally dismissed in September 2006...⁴

Historical Context of the Armenian Genocide

The Armenian genocide was viewed by the young Turks to be a necessary condition for the construction of a monoethnic and monocultural Islamic Turkish nation state from the fabric of a pluralOttoman Empire.⁵ TanerAckamexplains that after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan War 1912-1913, the political authorities felt that the Ottoman Christians posed a threat to the empire's survival. Ackam further elucidates:

Thus the ruling Ottoman-Turkish authorities formed a policy which aimed at homogenizing the population of Anatolia, the territorial heart of the empire. This policy has two main components: the first was to disperse and relocate non-Turkish Muslims, such as Kurds and Arabs, among the Turkish majority with the purpose of their assimilation. The second component involved expelling non-Muslim non-Turkish people from Anatolia...essentially the region's entire Christian population.⁶

The annihilation of the Armenians and the resultant forced migration of the survivors from their ancestral homeland was an opportunity for the Turkish authorities to expropriate their 'abandoned property' and bring about an ethnic homogenization of Turkey. Elif Shafak's novel is informed by the politics behind the deadening silence regarding the Armenian genocide and the way traumatic memory shapes the lives of the surviving refugees and diaspora communities. It is important to understand the difference between the Armenian refugees and diaspora here. The Armenians who escaped the state orchestrated violence and sought asylum were refugees but the next generation Armenianswho grew up in host countries can be termed as the diaspora community. So in a way, the Armenian diaspora were not directly affected by the historical massacre but nonetheless carried the burden of displacement. Shafak's novel deals with adiasporaArmenian familywhich hadsettled in their host country America.

My purpose here is to investigate into the rhetoric of memory, an art of reclaiming memory to persuade, negotiate, identify and constitute a collective identity. In other words, I explore memory as a site of rhetorical contestation for the Armenian victims as well as the Turkish perpetrators of violence. The novel enquires into the implication of tenuously holding onto the cultural memory of the genocide by the Armenian refugees in their reconstructed lives as American diaspora; it simultaneously critiques the collective amnesia of the Armenian massacre for the Turks. This paper has a two-fold purpose: first, to closely analyse the relevance of memory and its erasure in shaping the lives of the subjects prominently the womensubjects and their

constant struggle of identity formation in Shafak's novel. In this context, I chart out the differences between individual memory (the act of remembering as a subjective process for a victim and forced migrant), cultural memory (memory as a product of interaction among members of the diaspora community) and public memory (product of political institutions or state maneuvered practices). In other words, I wish to distinguish between the traumatic memory of the Armenian survivors and witnesses of the calamity with the cultural memory of the second generation well-established Armenian American diaspora who carry a psychological burden of displacement and shame. The individual memory and cultural memory have to be distinguished from the collective amnesia of Turkey. Second, I examine the rhetorical tropes of memory and silence to develop an interpretive methodological tool to read such literature of trauma.

The Bastard of Istanbul

The Bastard of Istanbul is poised between two cultural and geographical imaginaries interweaving a plot about two families - the Armenian diaspora Tchakhmakhchian family in San Francisco and the Turkish Kazanci family in Istanbul. The descendants of the Armenian survivors of the massacre had severed all ties with the country of origin in their restructured lives in America. Yet the feelings of de-territorialisation, alienation andsense of betrayalforce ArmanoushTchakhmakhchian, a young Armenian-American woman to return to the ancestral land to share her sentiments of sorrow and expect an apology from her imagined perpetrator. Thus Armanoush visits the Kazanci family in Istanbul to seek some justice or at least an acknowledgement of their guilt and retrieve the memories of her ancestors in exile. Armanoush's journey of return to gain a deeper sense of her history confronts her with another reality about her shared cultural heritage with the Turks. Shafak's book focuses on multiple women's voices and how Turkish women and Armenian diaspora women share a lot of commonalities. Her narrative underlines the several points of convergence and divergence between the two communities rooted to the same land of origin. Both

communities link the family name with the professions by attaching a suffix. The Turkish women and the Armenian women of both families show rhetorical agency to persuade, negotiate and assert in the absence of the men of the family (the men of both of the families having died or shifted base). Yet they share traits of anxiety, indecisiveness and eccentricity, having been victimized and left alone by the male family members of the family. The women of different ethnic and religious identities also resemble eachother in their elaborate trappings of culinary habits.

My intervention into the issues of memory and history is through the lens of rhetoric. To understand the act of remembering as a rhetorical process, we need to register not simply the facts which are remembered but enquire into the process of remembrance (how), the agency (by whom), the purpose (why) and its effect on the audience. The act of recounting one's traumatic past is meant to persuade the listeners and construct a shared history of trauma. În the novel, a chat group of anonymous Armenian-American intellectuals by the name of Anoush Tree frequently meets in the cyberworld and discusses shared memory, common history and culture of the refugee community. However, their intellectual discussions construct a cultural memory where their sense of frustration, anger, fear, alienation and trauma are all directed against their common enemy in absentia - 'the Turks.' Most of these members belong to an elite intellectual class of Armenian diaspora whose lives have not been directly affected by the genocide. Yet the camaraderie of these individuals with different nicknames helps in political affiliation. The narrator claims, 'Nothing brought people together more swiftly and strongly – though transiently and shakily – than a shared enemy' (p. 113). Armanoush (a child of Armenian-American father, American mother and Turkish stepfather) constructs her Armenian identity and her affiliation to the ethnic diasporain the process of communication with members of this chat group. Thus the shared memory of pain, trauma and alienation as well as the anger and resentment against the perpetrator Turk is a consequence of a rhetorical act of persuasion and identification.

Kenneth Burke (1897–1993), the American literary theorist and philosopher, has proposed a 'new rhetoric' in the postmodern age whose key term is identification. According to Burke this identification is neither complete deliberation nor unconscious appeal but 'lies midway between aimless utterance and speech directly purposive.'7When individuals identify with one another, divisions still exist, although they are now hidden. Motive makes human action and interaction strategic and intentional, thus rhetorical. So the intellectual stimulation of this chat group is derived from their inability to both forget the trauma of their ancestors and forgive the perpetrators of the massacre. Though the motive of hatred for the perpetrators of genocide is shared by the Armenians, there is no concerted political action proposed by any member to resolve the differences. The Armenian diaspora seems to be at stasis since they are caught up in the memory of the past and cannot look towards a new future.

Armanoush, self-named 'Madame My-Exiled Soul' decides to return to the land of origin of her father's family to discover her roots. Armanoush's father had married a Kentucky woman but soon had to divorce her due to incompatibility issues. Armanoush had to stay with her American mother and Turkish stepfather but could spend her vacation with her Armenian father's family. So although she grew up in a mixed culture, she identified more with the Armenian Tchakhmakhchian family. Armanoush visits her stepfather's family in Turkey and finds a different ground reality of modern day Turkey whichexposes the faultlines and fissures of the dominant discourse of the Armenian-American virtual chat group. The diaspora groupmembers feel disturbed and refuse to be persuaded by Armanoush's perception. In a way, the community members in the act of remembering the trauma and persuading others to acknowledge the past injustices construct their own 'imaginary homeland.'8 Armanoush's subjective experience of her visit to the original homeland reveals gaps in the collective memory of the past violence.

Rhetorical Agency and Memory

While reclaiming memory is problematic, denial of memory

creates further challenges in the lives of the perpetrators of violence. Shafak constructs a parallel narrative concerning a group of young artists and intellectuals of Istanbul who gather at a coffee shop named Café Kundera. The group members do not carry any memory or responsibility of past injustices unlike the chat group Anoush Tree. They only share a sense of nihilism and world-weariness. They live only in the present having succeeded in obliterating the memory of the Armenian genocide and denial of their culpability for the violence of such magnitude. Yet they suffer from a sense of ennui, caught between the Eastand the West: The Exceptionally Untalented Poet, a stock character frequenting Café Kundera, moans in despair:

We are stuck. We are stuck between the East and the West. Between the past and the future. On the one hand here are the secular modernists, so proud of the regime they constructed, you cannot breathe a critical word. They've got the army and half of the state on their side. On the other hand there are the conventional traditionalists, so infatuated with the Ottoman past, you cannot breathe a critical word. They've got the general public and the remaining half of the state on their side (p. 81).

It is thus important to notice that the ennui or despondency of the Turkish intelligentsia is caused by their loss of freedom to engage in a debate. The despotic regime of Turkey does not allow dissident voices to exist. There is no space for deliberative rhetoric based on debates and discussions. 'Symbolic action' or rhetoric is replaced by 'military intervention.'The only rhetoric allowed to thrive in the state is epideictic rhetoric which is the rhetoric of praise for the past glory of the Ottoman Empire.Deliberative rhetoric that is argumentative and free speech has always been a characteristic of a republic.¹⁰ Though modern Turkey is called The Turkish Republic, the state controlled machinery stifle political debate and champion one-sided praise or epideictic rhetoric. In 2006, Stephen Pound MP initiated an adjournment debate on the issue of genocide. The briefing read:

Turkey is neuralgic and defensive about the charge of genocide despite the fact that the events occurred at the time of the Ottoman Empire as opposed to modern day Turkey...this defensiveness has meant that Turkey has historically stifled debate at home and devoted considerable diplomatic effort to dissuading any further.¹¹

Thus it is evident that constructedness of political identity and rhetorical agency is a result of a particular form of polity.

Memory: Individual and Cultural

It is not simply the educated elite males of Turkey who feel the brunt of the repressive regime. The women in the household also feel tortured and suffocated living in a stasis. Shafak shifts the focus to the Turkish women who live in dissociated world. Petite-Ma, the grandmother of Asya, has drifted to a clinical realm of amnesia and can be the only happy person in the family. Her clinical amnesia is symbolic of the forced state of amnesia inflicted by the Turkish government upon its citizens. For Aunt Cevriye, a Turkish national history teacher, facts about the Armenian massacre seem to be a 'grim story of a distant land.'

The new state in Turkey had been established in 1923 and that was as far as the genesis of this regime could extend. Whatever might or might not have happened preceding this commencement date was the issue of another era – and another people (p. 164).

The women in the Kazanci household are the worst sufferers of the forced amnesia imposed by the state and also erasing the violence of the male members of the family. Asya ironically states:

My family is a bunch of clean freaks. Brushing away the dirt and dust of the memories! They always talk about the past, but it is a cleaned version of the past. That's the Kazanci's technique of coping with problems; if something's nagging you, well, close your eyes, count to ten, wish it never happened, and the next thing you know, it has never happened, hurray! Every day we swallow yet another capsule of mendacity (p. 147).

But this dishonesty and forgetfulness does not bring bliss in the lives of the Turkish women in particular since the past is too burdensome and painful to be ignored or hidden.

Aunt Banu resorts to clairvoyance and spiritual exercises to exonerate her from guilt of her predecessors. She depends on two djinnis to tell her the dark secrets of history. Here images of dreams and voices of the djinns become the key vehicles of memory. Interestingly Aunt Banu uses relics for soothsaying starting with coffee cups and then resorting to tarot cards, silver coins, rosary beads, and pearls and finally ending with roasted hazelnuts. Francis Yates had explained how material artifacts facilitated memory since they were seen as synecdochic representation of larger events.¹² Aunt Banuis often seen in deep conversation with two invisible dinns on her shoulders that recalled the unknown past rather than predicted the future. The visuals offered by the diinns or the material objects used as relics constitute a cogent means of unearthing the past and linking it to the present. But Aunt Banu realizes that it is easier to know about the past about her clients than to seek knowledge about her own family's past. In the absence of memory, the visuals offered by the diinns narrate a story by placing it without a beginning and an end. When Aunt Banu gathers the knowledge about Armanoush's past, she realizes that it is linked with a violent history of incest in her own family, the knowledge of which leaves her completely devastated. She learns the bitter truth that Armanoush's step-father is the actual father of Asya. Retrieving the past is no longer a pastime or a spiritual exercise since the knowledge of the sexual violence committed in the past by Mustafa, Aunt Banu's only brother to his younger sister Zeliha, drives Aunt Banu to retributive justice. She decides to poison her brother as a punitive action of the past misdeed. The Turkish women are forced to come to terms with the family's collective shameof forced incest.

Memory is thus Janus faced – retaining or reclaiming memory results in pain and stasis; loss or denyial of memory causes distress and guilt. The two communities in the text have different ways of constructing history based upon their engagement with memory. Shafak says that while the Turkish intellectuals wish to look at history as a linear trajectory of progress of human civilization, the Armenian diaspora view it as repetitive and

circular where the past always seems to provide a lens to view the present and future. Moreover, Armenian women seem to be the bearers of oral memory where grandmothers transferhistorical facts to younger members of the family. A dialogue between the nineteen-year-old Turkish girl Asya with the same age Armenian girl Armanoush on the subject of history is fascinating. Armanoush explains that history, however painful keeps us 'alive and united.' For Asya, history is a privilege which makes Armanoush a part of a group with whom she can show solidarity. Asya explains to Armanoush:

Yours is a crusade for remembrance, whereas if it were me, I'd rather be just like Petite- Ma with no capacity for reminiscence whatsoever...For me, history starts today, you see? There is no continuity in time. You can't feel attached to ancestors if you can't even trace your own father (p. 179).

Asya is the bastard of Istanbul whose mother Zeliha has denied her the name of her father since it involved the dark shameful act of forced incest by her brother Mustafa. For Asya, the present is without a past. Her personal history is as silenced as the history of her nation. Her individual memory does not coalesce with collective memory; rather the absence of any subjective, collective and public memory has made her a Nihilist. She is in conflict with herself and the rest of the world.

Conclusion

I wish to conclude by quoting Shafak on the subject of history and memory. In an interview, Shafak explains that Turkey is 'a society of amnesia, with a poor memory and a limited sense of historical continuity.' ¹⁴

Notes

¹Two excellent studies on public memory are by Kendall R. Phillips titled *Framing Public Memory* (2004) and by Tammie M Kennedy, *Reclaiming Memoria for Writing Pedagogies: Towards a Theory of Rhetorical Memory.*

²Taner Ackam, The Young Turk's Crime against Humanity, p 29.

- ³ An UCLA conference in April 2005 titled "After Nine Decades: The Enduring Legacy of the Armenian Genocide" was a first concerted effort to discuss the Armenian Genocide by scholars.
- ⁴ Cited in https://www.theguardian.com/books/2007/aug/04/society1
- ⁵ The destruction of the Armenians was followed by the expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor and suppression of non-Turkish Muslim elements to form a homogenous Turkish society.
- ⁶ TanerAckam, A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility.p 9
- ⁷ Kenneth Burke, *Rhetoric of Motives*, xiii.
- ⁸ Borrowing Salman Rushdie's term in a book titled *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism* 1981-1991.
- ⁹Turkey has always been seen as a bridge between Middle East and Europe. In 2005, Turkey was considering becoming a part of E.L.
- ¹⁰ Aristotle distinguishes between three kinds of rhetoric: Judicial, Epideictic, Deliberative Rhetoric in *Art of Rhetoric*.
- ¹¹ Briefing Note, 2006. Referred to in *Armenian Genocide Legacy* by Alexis Demirdjian
- ¹² Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory*.
- ¹³Asya and Armanoush are in reality step sisters although they had no knowledge of it for nineteen years.
- ¹⁴Dld Women 14 Sense and Sensibility A conversation beyond Borders (Viviane Reding, ElifShafak)https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bXpIJ5JjYug.

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Fixed Point Theory: Its Emergence, Scope and Applications in Various Fields

Fixed Point theory is a highly rich, interesting and an applied branch of mathematics. The results which are related to the existence and uniqueness of fixed points are known as fixed point theorems. For a function f that has a set X as both domain and range, a fixed point of f is a point f is a point f in the study of functional equation f in the metric and topological spaces. The notion of a fixed point plays a crucial role in numerous branches of mathematics and its applications. Information about the existence of such points is often the crucial argument in solving a problem. In particular, topological methods of fixed point theory have been an increasing focus of interest over the last century.

Fixed point theory has played a central role in studying the problems of functional analysis and topology. Fixed point theorems are important and necessary tools for proving the existence and uniqueness of solutions to various mathematical models representing the phenomenon arising in different fields such as steady state temperature distributions, chemical equations, economic theories, mathematical economics, game theory, fluid flow, eigen value problems, random differential equations etc. Fixed points theorems have widely been used in physical, biological and social sciences as well. Let alone physics, chemistry or biology, fixed points theorems have been applied to even philosophy, linguistics and psychology. The placing of telephone wires and the electric wires is done by properly calculating fixed points of electromagnetic field in order to have minimum disturbance in telephone network. One can find papers on obtaining solutions of problems related to thermodynamics, monolayer phase transitions etc. by different fixed points theorems and algorithms. Hence the applications of fixed points theorems in physics and physical chemistry are evident. There is also a study which talks of applying fixed points for determining alkalinity and acidity. Studies have

also been done in transportation science for determining fixed points of origin/destination matrices using traffic counts on congested networks.

Fixed points have been applied in mathematical biology too. There have been applications of fixed points theorems on various models and systems related to population like a study on three competing species. In 2006, a model was proposed to understand the territorial behaviour and dynamics of endangered species. Through application of fixed points the study argues that for stability and equilibrium, there is a 'critical threshold' in the density of suitable habitat for a population to persist and below which the species is destined for extinction even if some suitable habitat still exists. Frank Wang (2010) applied Lambert W. function to the SIR model for the spread of an epidemic proposed by Kermack and Mckendrick in 1927. He proposed that a stable fixed point (asymptotic values of population in different classes) can be explained in terms of Lambert W. function.

Game theory is the area in which the concepts of fixed points are applied to different fields of social sciences, especially economics. One finds various applications of Brouwer's fixed point theorem to game theory, especially Scarf's core existence theorem and Nash equilibrium. Interestingly, fixed points have also been used to understand learning dynamics in context of learning complicated games. Fixed points theorems have also been applied to symbolic logicand scholars extend their applications to programming, information theory and artificial intelligence. They apply these theorems on semantics and syntax. The applications of fixed points on language in terms of semantics and syntax have been used by the philosophers and logicians to unearth the basic quest of mankind—the lie and the truth. Models have been proposed to identify which predicates may be false or true. When fixed point theorems are applied on ordered Banach spaces these theorems provide an exact orapproximate solutions to boundary value problems. The theory of fixed points acts as a bridge between analysis and topology. In mathematics, the problem of solving a system of equations can in general be reduced to the problem of determining the fixed points of a selfmapping T of an appropriate space X. These topological methods of fixed point theory are divided, roughly speaking, into two branches. The first one is the Banach contraction principle where the assumptions on the space can be very mild but a small change of the map can remove the fixed point. The second type, on the other hand, such as the Brouwer and Lefschetz fixed point theorems, give the existence of a fixed point not only for a given map but also for any of its deformations.

Metric spaces were developed by M. Frechet in 1906. The first fixed point theorem for contraction mappings in metric spaces was given by Stefan Banach, a Polish Mathematician in the explicit form in his Ph.D thesis in 1922 where it was used to establish the existence of a solution for an integral equation which is now popularly known as Banach contraction principle. This principle marked the beginning of metric fixed point theory. Since then because of its simplicity and usefulness it has become a very popular tool in solving existence problems in many branches of mathematical analysis but its extensions and generalizations were proved after 1968 when Kannan established some fixed point theorems for self-mapping of metric spaces.

Banach contraction principle is the most fundamental and powerful tool of non-linear analysis because of its wide range of applications to non-linear equations arising in physical and biological processes. It is a very popular tool in solving existence problems in many branches of mathematical analysis. Picard theorem, non-linear volterra integral equations, Fredholm integral equations, etc. are the examples where Banach contraction principle is mostly used besides supporting the convergence of schemes in computational mathematics. Two fundamental theorems concerning fixed points are those of Banach and Brouwer. In Banach's theorem X is a complete metric space with metric d and is required to be a contraction, that is, there must exist such that for all.

The conclusion is that has a fixed point, in fact exactly one of them. The origin of fixed point theorem is attributed to the work on differential equations by the French mathematicians Poincare and Picard. Various generalizations of this theorem were proved by Hadamard in 1910 andby Brouwer in 1912. The contribution of Schauderto this field is also highly appreciable.

Topological degree theory was initiated by E.L. Brouwer in 1912 in the finite dimensional case and extended by J. Leray and J.P. Schauderin 1930 to the infinite dimensional case. Brouwer's theorem requires X to be the closed unit ball in an Euclidean space and to be a map, that is a continuous function. Then again f has a fixed point. But in this case the set of fixed points need not be a single point, in fact every closed nonempty subset of the unit ball is the fixed point set for some map. The Brouwer's theorem asserts that a continuous mapping T of the closed unit ball in Rⁿ has atleast one fixed point, that is a point x such that T(x) = x. The existing literature contains various generalizations of this historic theorem. In this regard the survey article of Park deserves special mention. The metric on X in Banach's theorem is used in the crucial hypothesis about the function, that it is a contraction. The unit ball in Euclidean Space is also metric, and the metric topology determines the continuity of the function, but the focus of Brouwer's theorem is on topological characteristics of the unit ball, in particular that it is a contractible finite polyhedron. Among hundreds of fixed point theorems, Brouwer's theorem is particularly well known mainly due to its use across numerous fields of mathematics. In its original area, this result is one of the key theorems characterizing the topology of Euclideanspaces along with the Jordan curve theorem, the hairy ball theorem and the Borsuk–Ulam theorem. This earns it a place among the fundamental theorems of topology. The theorem is also used for proving deep results about differential equations, which ispresently covered in most introductory courses on differential geometry. It also appears in unlikely fields such as game theory.

The theorems of Banach and Brouwer illustrate the difference between the two principal branches of fixed point theory which are metric fixed point theory and topological fixed point theory. Although, fixed point theory is simply considered as a branch of topology yet the influence of nonlinear analysis and the related subject of dynamics is profound. The distinction between the metric and topological fixed point theories is far from precise and it can be difficult to determine to which a specific topic belongs. In the same manner, although fixed point theory is generally considered to be a branch of topology, the influence of non-linear analysis and the related subject of dynamics, is so profound that much of fixed point theory could just as well be considered a part of analysis.

The topological fixed point theory is not just about the equation, for instance, if the function f is multi-valued, taking points of X to subsets of the same space, a fixed point is a point such that A plethora of metrical fixed point theorems have been obtained, more or less important from a theoretical point of view, which establish usually the existence, or the existence and uniqueness of fixed points for a certain contractive operator. Among these fixed point theorems, only a small number are important from a practical point of view, that is, they offer a constructive method for finding the fixed points. Among the last ones only a few give information on the error estimate (the rate of convergence) of the method. However, from a practical point of view it is important not only to knowthe fixed point exists and, possibly, if they are unique, but also to be able to construct that fixed point(s). The constructive methods used in metrical fixed pointtheory are prevailingly iterative procedures, that is, approximate methods, which are also of crucial importance to have a priori or / and a posteriori errorestimates (or, alternatively, rate of convergence) for such a method. The pioneering work of Lefschetz was in the context of coincidence theory. For two mapsf,g:X'! Y between closed orientablemanifolds of the same dimension, a non-zero value

of the homotopy invariant that Lefschetz introduced implies the existence of a coincidence, that is, a point x " X such that f(x) = g(x). Another modification of the fixed point equation is $f^n(x) = x$ where f^n denotes the n-times iteration of a map f: X '! X. A point x such that $f^n(x) = x$ is called a Periodic point. The iterates of f constitute a discrete dynamical system on f and the periodic points can furnish important dynamical information.

Homology theory plays a fundamental role in fixed point theory or, more precisely, in topological fixed point theory. With the applications of homology theory one can obtain global fixed point theorems and local fixed point theorems. In 1923, Lefschetz proved a global fixed theorem, now called Lefschetz fixed point theorem. This theorem is still studied by a number of mathematicians and it is an important part of topological fixed point theory .The second important part of topological fixed point theory is mainly connected with local fixed point problems and it is called fixed point index theory, or, in particular, topological degree theory. Fixed point index theory was introduced by H. Hopf in the late 1920's for maps on finite polyhedra and later developed by B. O' Neill in 1953. This notion was redefined in 1965 by A. Dold.

The development of coincidence theory has been greatly influenced by fixed point theory, although not only by it. Brouwer's fixed point theorem had a great influence on the development of both fixed point theory and coincidence theory. Though the main emphasis of Brouwer's result was on the existence of a fixed point, a little after, in 1920's Nielsen in his studies of surfaces was interested in estimating the minimal number of fixed points among all maps in a given homotopy class of maps. For this purpose an invariant was defined which was termed as Nielsen number. From 1923 to 1927, in a series of papers, Lefschetz greatly generalized Brouwer's result for coincidence under the hypothesis that the spaces involved were compact orientable manifolds of the same dimension. This is perhaps the beginning of coincidence theory. In 1929, Hopf extended Lefschetz's result

for fixed points where the spaces in question were no longer manifolds but finite complexes. This is the famous Lefschetz–Hopf theorem. In 1936, Reidemeister described in an algebraic way not only the information about the Lefschetz–Hopf number but the Nielsen classes and their indices, at least for fixed points. Wecken in the early '40s showed that for self maps of a complex satisfying mild conditions, the map can always be deformed to have exactly the Nielsen number of fixed points. Then in 1955, Schirmer published her thesis which showed a Wecken type result for coincidences of maps between two closed orientable manifolds of the same dimension greater or equal to three. This was the first advance of the theory after Lefschetz.

John von Neumann's 1928 minimax theorem and intersection lemma given by him in 1937 have numerous generalizations and applications. In 1941, Kakutani's fixed point theorem was given to give simple proofs of these results. In 1950, John Nash established his celebrated equilibrium theorem by applying the Brouwer or the Kakutani fixed point theorem. Since then there have appeared several fixed point theorems from which generalizations of the Nash Theorem, the Debreu theorem in 1952 and many related results can be derived. Kakutanifixed point theorem, a noted generalization of Brouwer's fixed point theorem, plays a central role in the proof of existence of general equilibrium in market economies as developed by two economics Nobel prize winners G. Debreu and K. Arrow. On the other hand, in 1952, Fan and Glicksberg extended Kakutani's theorem to locally convex Hausdorff topological vector spaces, and Fan generalized the Von Neumann intersection lemma by applying his own fixed point theorem. In 1961, Fan obtained his own KKM lemma and in 1964 applied it to another intersection theorem for a finite family of sets having convex sections. This was used in 1966 in the proof of the Nash equilibrium theorem.

The homogenous spaces being the spaces of cosetstherefore, algebra plays an important role in the study of maps on such spaces. Another way in which algebra impacts fixed point

theory is by studyingequivariant maps. If a space is acted on by a group, then an equivariant map is one that respects the action. Topological fixed point theory is also known as Nielsen Theory. This terminology reflects the importance of the concepts introduced by Jacob Nielsen that furnish a homotopy invariant lower bound for the number of solutions to an equation. The tools of fixed point theory are those like the Lefschetz number, fixed point index, Nielsen number and for root problems the topological degree. Again the functions considered may be multivalued as well as single-valued. These powerful tools are then employed to obtain results about periodic solutions and solutions satisfying boundary conditions and other constraints, for differential inclusions.

Towards the end of eighties, metric space structure has gained much attention of the mathematicians because of the development of fixed point theory in ordinary metric spaces. There are a number of generalizations of metric spaces andBanach contraction principle. In the same sequence, in 1989, Bakhtin introduced the concept of b-metric space and presented the contraction mapping in b-metric spaces that is the generalization of the Banach contraction principle in metric spaces. In 1993, Czerwick further extended the concept of b-metric spaces by proving some fixed point theorems. In 1994, Matthews gave the notion of partial metric space as a part of the study of denotationalsemantics of dataflow networks and showed that the Banach contraction principle can be generalized even to the partial metric context for applications in program verification. Later on various mathematicians like Altun, Aydi, Samet, Oltra, Romaguera, Rus and many others studied fixed point theorems in partial metric spaces. O'Neill generalized the concept of partial metric space a bit further by admitting negative distances. Thepartial metric defined by O'Neill is called dualistic partial metric. Heckmanngeneralized it by omitting the small self distance axiom. The partial metric defined by Heckmann is called weak partial metric. Waszkiewicz gave the concept of a partial semi-metric. Kunji and Vajner gave a sufficient

condition for topologies to be partially metrizable. Romaguerahas given the idea of 0- complete partial metric space. Nashine et al. used this concept and proved some classical results. Later Shukla generalized both the concept of b-metric and partial metric spaces by introducing the partial b-metric spaces. He proved Banach contraction principle as well as the Kannan typefixed point theorem in partial b-metric spaces. The concept of quasi-partial metric space was given by Karapinar et al. He studied some interesting fixed point theorems on these spaces. Motivated by these researches the concept of quasi-partial b-metric space was introduced and some fixed point results were studied on this space. The topological properties of quasi- partial bmetric space were studied. Coupled and tripled fixed point theorems on quasi-partial b-metric spaces were proved and even the space was generalized from one to two quasi-partial b-metric spaces.

For the past twenty five years metric fixed point theory has been a flourishing area of research for many mathematicians. Although a substantial number of definitive results have now been discovered, a few questions lying at the heart of the theory remain open and there are many unanswered questions regarding the limits to which the theory may be extended. Some of the questions are merely tantalizing while others suggest substantial new avenues of research. We can conclude by raising a few questions which we have come across while working on quasi-partial b-metric space which is a totally new space introduced and the questions which are yet to be resolved: Can we define ordered quasi-partial b-metric spaces? Do fixed point results exists for ordered quasi-partial b-metric spaces? Is quasi-partial b-metric space regular? Is quasi-partial b-metric space normal and perfectly normal? Whether or under what conditions the quasi-partial b-metric topological space is metrizable? Whether even tupled fixed point theorems exists for quasi-partial b-metric spaces? Will common fixed point theorems via an implicit function exists for quasi- partial b-metric spaces? These

questions when answered will help in opening new dimension of research in fixed point theory.

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Measuring Knowledge Creation: An Assessment of India's Potential

Introduction

The world economies are moving forward like never before. It is true that after the financial crisis, the world is slowly adjusting to a new normal with lower rate of economic growth, which is below the equilibrium achieved in the previous decades. New economies are emerging and doing better than the advanced economies. These economies are based on new economic models, revolutionizing the industries, getting a new way of living which has led to rigorous competition among as well as within the economies. Hence, in the present day, the most important taskis creating and using new knowledge in order to survive in this extremely competitive world. Creation of knowledge has gathered worldwide attention as the most important source of sustainable advantage. It is considered to be the survival key for all types of institutions and organizations and has become the most crucial means of success in the international markets. Firms create knowledge in order to gain first mover advantage. The increase in the number of organizations dedicated to continuous knowledge creationis having profound effects on the world economy. However, an important question for the common man is, what is knowledge creation and how do we measure it. There are different indicators of measuring knowledge being created within organizations ranging from patents to prototypes. This papersimply defines the creation of knowledge, its main indicator and ways to measure it in the following sections. Apart from these basic concepts, it will discuss the trend of knowledge created and absorbed in the Indian economy and where does it stand in comparison to the top countries.

What is Knowledge Creation?

Knowledge can be defined as a belief which is in conformity with the facts. Knowledge is what is derived from sense (Bertrand 1926). He called it knowledge by acquaintance. The knowledge is a resultant of discussions and exchange of ideas. Schumpeter (1934) believed, with new knowledge, a producer can produce 'other things' or 'same things differently.' He termed the production of new entities or goods which are usable, as innovation or creation. Knowledge creation is formation of new ideasthrough interactions between explicit and implicit knowledge in individual human intellect (Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995). Although the terms 'information' and 'knowledge' are often used interchangeably, there is a clear distinction between information and knowledge. Information is a flow of messages, while knowledge is created and structured by the very gush of information, anchored on the commitment and beliefs of its holder.

In simple words, knowledge creation is developing a new useful way, process or product by combining resources in a different way.

How is Knowledge Creation Measured?

Knowledge possesses precise characteristics, which includes tacitness, embeddedness and subjectivity that inflict barriers to its identification and assessment (Mitchell and Boyle 2010). However, measurement of knowledge is a slightly difficult task (Nicolau and Esposto 2012). Not all of it can be captured in numbers. Quantification and measurement is the main challenge as a major part of it is intangible.

It is converted into something tangible when we put it to some use. Hence, creation of knowledge could be measured as a process or an output. As a process, knowledge creation is measured in terms of the means (the inputs used) through which knowledge is generated and can be differentiated from the end result (that is, output). As an output, knowledge creation is measured in terms of an immediate product of the knowledge creation process. Hence a comprehensive concept of the measurement of knowledge creation includes all the efforts taken to create knowledge as well as the outcome of the course of creating knowledge.

Mitchell and Boyle (2010) precisely defined, what all should be considered while measuring knowledge creation:

- a) Initiatives and efforts undertaken to generate new ideas or substance;
- b) New ideas that reflect a significant elaboration or enhancement of existing knowledge;
- c) Knowledge that is diffused, adopted and embedded as new products, services, processes and systems.

But how do we measure it all? What is the measurable indicator of knowledge creation? The next section will make it clearer.

Innovation as a measureable component of knowledge creation

The measurable component of knowledge creation can be captured by innovation. Innovation is the best possible proxy for knowledge creation. Innovation consists of the generation of a new idea and its implementation into a new product, process or service, leading to creation of pure profit for the innovative firm. It refers to all scientific, technological, organizational, financial and commercial activities which lead to, or are intended to lead to, the implementation of technologically new or improved products or services (Hashi and Stojcic 2010). Hence, an innovation contains new ideas which influence the behaviour of economic agents in a previously unknown way. Studies have discussed the relationship between knowledge creation and innovation and to what extent innovation can be taken as a proxy for knowledge creation. Academicians say innovation is a result of knowledge creation (Baldwin and Hanel 2003).

Literature has used knowledge creation and innovation interchangeably (Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995). However, knowledge creation is generation of a new idea whereas innovation is the implementation of a new idea and its conversion into a new product or process. Knowledge creation is a process of combining tacit and explicit knowledge. There is an additional knowledge (existing) which when added to knowledge creation becomes innovation, and that is the knowledge about markets. Combining knowledge creation with knowledge of new markets makes innovation. In simple words, innovation is implementation of new ideas to produce new goods or produce existing goods in

a different way. It is done for two kinds of markets:a new market is created which didn't exist earlier (for new goods) or a market which is already existing (hence, introducing better goods produced in a different way). Simple examples to illustrate the two types: example for the first type is, we lived in the world of landlines only to be jolted out of it by creation of mobile phones. A market was created out of nowhere only when the product was created. Continuous innovation has been taking place in the world of mobile phones. Starting from a simple handset for making calls to a phone which had a camera, further to a smart phone, which is not less than a computer. A simple example of thesecond type of market is, a huge market for blackboard exists but with innovation, white boards are created hence replacing most blackboards, only to be eventually replaced by smart boards. We can observe constant innovation makes the earlier product obsolete and it is rightly quoted as 'the process of creative destruction', i.e. by creating new, we destroy the old.

Measuring Innovation

We categorize the definition of innovation into two, which are as follows: first, a product innovation, which involves either a new improved product whose characteristics differs significantly from earlier products' characteristics. The characteristics may differ due to use of new technologies, knowledge or materials. Second, a process innovation, which is the adoption of 'new or significantly improved production methods, including methods of product delivery' in order to produce an existing good. It is a slightly difficult task to measure innovation and find its indicators due to its broad definition. For this, we need to make a distinction between innovation input and innovation output. Innovation input includes all the innovation efforts captured primarily by expenditure done by an organization on research and development. It is the most extensively used indicator of innovation. However, this measure doesn't guarantee new products. It just shows the efforts or the intentions put in by people. On the other hand, innovation output can be measured by all the new or improved products or processes introduced. A potential set of innovation output measures include patents, new

non patentable products, publications and prototypes. Any one measure would be an incomplete measure and there are benefits and drawbacks of all these measures separately. Hence, we have to look at it all in totality. We can't ignore innovation input because R&D expenditure is the most extensively used indicator of innovation effort. It provides information as regards the outlook, the firms, the state and policy makers have for investing in the future of an economy. On the other hand, the innovation output: patents represent the original/new ideas transformed into new products and processes.

Indicators of Innovation

Innovation Input: Research & Development (R&D) Expenditures

Research and experimental development expenditure comprises of creative work/efforts undertaken on a systematic basis in order to increase the existing stock of knowledge (Rogers 1998). It is one of the most important inputs for creating new knowledge, developing new products and processes, in short, for all innovation efforts. No doubt, it is the most important innovation input but the problem with the R&D expenditure being used as an indicator of innovation is that it only shows the intentions and efforts put in by the institutions and different sectors towards innovation but it doesn't guarantee innovation output. It takes a lot of effort and time to convert innovation input into innovation output. Moreover, the definition of R&D expenditure does not coincide with the definition of innovation. However, R&D expenditure is a very useful indicator of innovative capacity as well as the skilledlabouravailable and may be used as an indicator/proxy of innovation.

This measure includes the infrastructural capacity built to carry out Research & Development (R&D), firm's spending on other R&D equipments, training of R&D personnel and money spent on collaborative efforts (between organizations) to exchange and develop ideas.

Besides R&D spending, innovation also depends on the quality of scientists and engineers available along with the availability

and quality of the primary as well as the higher education system¹ prevailing in the economy.

India's Position in R&D Expenditure: If we throw a little light at the trends of R&D expenditure prevailing in India in the last decade, we note that there has been a rapid rise in R&D expenditure and a shift in its composition towards in-house and collaborative corporate R&D, hence sharing space with R&D in government laboratories and organizations especially in the last decade. Figure 1 shows the absolute values of national R&D expenditure. Though the money spent on R&D is increasing since the starting of the decade, it grew only by 8% in 2001-02 followed by a mere 3% increase in the next year but slowly the pace caught up and firms started investing more into R&D. The rate of growth crossed double digits and touched 24% in two years time. It slowed down a bit but till now the average rate of increase has been more than 15%. However, its share in GDP since last 15 years has been hovering between 0.8 to 0.88%, which is really low. It is very low in comparison to other countries (See Figure 2).

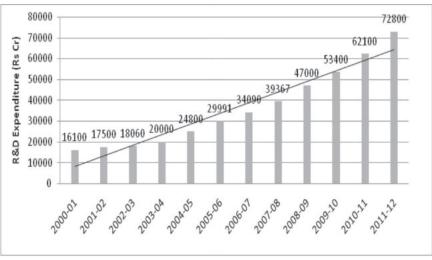


Figure 1: National R&D Expenditure (Rs Crore)

Source: Department of Science & Technology, Government of India

If we compare India's R&D as a share of GDP to other countries ratio indulged in R&D, we observe that India is at 24th position,

with less than 1% of GDP (0.8%) being directed towards R&D. Israel is leading in spending on R&D as a share of GDP (Figure 2), followed by Finland, Sweden, Japan among others. A lot more investment and efforts are required towards R&D by Indian Organizations/sectors, because research and development (R&D) is the basic constituent of promoting innovation and new product development. Hence, the culture of research needs to be further augmented in our country.

Figure 2: Comparison of countries Percentage share of R&D in GDP (2013)²

Source: World Bank Database

Within India, if we look at the main spenders in terms of Government and Private sector, we find that government spends a much larger amount on R&D as compared to the private sector thought the share of private has been increasing gradually.³ However, if we observe the ownership of R&D institutions (Figure 3), we find that private sector and the government sector own same percentage of R&D institutions and labs in India, which when combined with GERD⁴ statistics indicates that the average R&D expenditure by private sector is much lower.⁵ Moreover, within the government sector, PSUs own the least percentage of R&D institutions and state government owns the most.

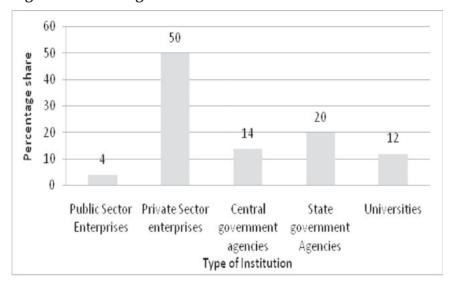


Figure 3: Percentage share of R&D Institutions in India(2013)⁶

Source: Department of Science & Technology, Government of India Innovation Output:

A more relevant measure of innovation activity is innovation output i.e. the true number of innovations; and the most used measure of innovation output is perhaps patents. The other measures of innovation output include non-patented new products, publications and prototypes.

1) Patents

The most important indicator of innovation is the number of patents of a certain firm/organization. Patent is an exclusive right granted by a sovereign state to an inventor or their assignee for a limited period of time in exchange for the public disclosure of an invention. Though patent is not a perfect indicator (Basberg1987; Gayle 2001) but studies (Archibugi and Pianta 1996; Acs and Audrets 1989; Griliches 1990) have revealed that patent data is a fairly good measure of innovation activities and hence can be used as an indicator of innovative output.

Umpteen numbers of studies have used patent as a measure of innovation (Kale and Little 2007; Jiang and Li 2009). A direct count

of patents has certainweaknesses: (1) the propensity to patent an invention of given quality may vary from firm to firm and from industry to industry; and (2) the quality of the underlying inventions may vary widely from patent to patent (Scherer 1965); (3) because applying to a patent has specific costs, which accrue to the research costs, many firms prefer the secret to the patent as a protecting device (Pessoa 2007). Although disadvantages of using patent data to measure innovation have been cited in the literature, such as the difference in the intrinsic value of patents and the lack of ability of patents to capture the whole range of innovation, they still provide a good proxy for the rate of innovation (Pepall et.al. 2008). This is because they are a mostly a result of hardcore innovation, which is a sign that the organization is indulged in innovation practices.

The Patent Law in India: The Indian Patents act says, an invention relating to a product or a process that is new, involving inventive step and capable of industrial application can be patented in India. However, it must not fall into the category of inventions that are non-patentable as provided under Section 3 and 4 of the (Indian) Patents Act, 19707. A patentable invention must satisfy the following three conditions of: (i) Novelty, (ii) Inventiveness (Non-obviousness), (iii) Usefulness.Patents are managed by the Indian Patent Office, which is administered by the office of the Controller General of Patents, Designs & Trade Marks (CGPDTM). People, firms and organizations from any country can file patent in the Indian Patent Office. A patent application can be filed, either alone or jointly, by true and first inventor or his assignee. Term of the patent is 20 years from the date of filling for all types of inventions.

India's Position of Patenting in India: Table 1 represents trend of the total patents filed and granted by Indian and Foreign Applicants and in the Indian Patent Office for the period 2001-02 to 2014-15 respectively. We note that in the Indian Patent Office, out of the total patent applications filed, a relatively small yet significant percentage of patents are of Indian origin.

Table 1: Patents Filed in India since 2001

Year	Total patents filed in India	Total patents filed by organizations with Indian origin	Percentage of filed patents of Indian origin	Growth of Patents filed by organizations with Indian Origin (%)
2001-02	10592	2371	22.38	8.81
2002-03	11466	2693	23.48	13.58
2003-04	12613	3218	25.51	19.49
2004-05	17466	3630	20.78	12.80
2005-06	24505	4521	18.44	24.55
2006-07	28940	5314	18.36	17.54
2007-08	35218	6040	17.15	13.66
2008-09	36812	6161	16.73	2.00
2009-10	34287	7044	20.54	14.33
2010-11	39400	8312	21.11	18.00
2011-12	43197	8921	20.65	7.33
2012-13	43674	9911	22.69	11.1
2013-14	42951	10941	25.4	10.3
2014-15	42763	12071	28.2	10.3

Source: Annual Reports of the Controller General of Patents, Designs and Trademarks, Government of India

Table 2 shows the organizational trend of patent filing in India by Indian Applicants. We observe the trend of filing of patents in the last 5 years and find that it is the technical universities and public sector research organizations which file the most number of patents. Since last few years, Indian Institute of Technology (Collective) has been filing the maximum number of patents, followed by CSIR, Amity University, and DRDO. Some Pharmaceutical firms and research organizations have also been consistently in the top 10 applicants.

2) Non Patented New Products

A second very important indicator of innovation output is new non-patented products and processes. It constitutes a big chunk

Table 2: Top Indian 10 Indian Applicants for Patents in the Indian Patent Office

Rank	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
1	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (199)	Indian Institute of Technology (152)	Indian Institute of Technology (205)	Indian Institute of Technology (342)	Indian Institute of Technology (337)
2	Infosys(156)	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (202)	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (202)	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (267)	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (317)
3	Indian Institute of Technology (152)	Tata Consultancy Services(162)	Amity University (140)	Defense Research and Development Organization (116)	Defense Research and Development Organization (98)
4	Amity University(114)	Amity University(140)	Defense Research and Development Organization (73)	Amity University(92)	Indian Council of Agricultural Research (68)
5	Indian Council of Agricultural Research (94)	Samsung India software operations(135)	Indian Council of Agricultural Research (68)	Saveetha School od Engineering, Saveetha University (74)	JRNR Vidyapeeth Deemed University (53)
6	Samsung India software operations(88)	Infosys (81)	Hetero research Foundation(62)	Indian Council of Agricultural Research (71)	Indian Institute of Science (46)
7	Defense Research and Development Organization (68)	Defense Research and Development Organization (73)	Indian Institute of Science (31)	Bharath University (37)	Sandeep Institute of Technology and research Centre (33)
8	Tejas Network (40	Indian Council of Agricultural Research (65)	Department of Biotechnology, Government of India (28)	Department of Biotechnology, Government of India (34)	Hindustan Institute of Science and Technology (31)
9	Hetero research Foundation(34)	Hetero research Foundation(62)	Aircraft Upgrade Research and Design Centre (23)	Indian Institute of Science (32)	GHR labs and Research Centre (31)
10	National Institute of Pharmaceutical and Educational Research(21)	Tejas Networks (40)	Tamil Nadu Agricultural University (16)	Jubilant Life Sciences Ltd (29)	Hetero research Foundation(22)

Source: Compiled from Annual Reports of the Controller General of Patents, Designs and Trademarks, Government of India

of innovative products of a firm. In many firms, inventions are never patented because a) other strategies, such as secrecy or an early market introduction, are given priority; b) innovative processes or products are just to enhance the features of the existing products; c) another reason why, a big proportion of products and processes are not patented is because the patent laws are quite strict and follow a strict rule in which certain stringent conditions should be met.

The measure non patented new products iscertainly an important indicator of innovation because it is the creation of new ideas and knowledge, which leads to development of new products as well as enhancement of the existing product and converting it into a new and better form even if is not a patentable outcome.

An expert from a well-known pharmaceutical company in his interview⁸ revealed that the Indian companies on the whole mostly copy the hard core innovations rather than being hard core innovators themselves. Each pure innovation requires approximately Rs1000Cr of investment and at least 10-12 years of time along with risk involved if the attempt fails. This is lacking in our economy because no single company is so big so as to invest such huge amount of resources on a single invention. Hence they believe in modifying the compositions of the existing product and try to develop a new enhanced product, which is generally not patentable.

Data for new products of a company is not readily available in an aggregate form in any database. Firm level data for new products launched by a firm is possible from the firm's own annual reports.

3) Publications

Yet another important indicator is publications in scholarly journals by a firm, which represent original theoretical ideas, formulas, techniques that can be further studied and converted into new products. Publications are an indicator of research capabilities and the extent of development of new ideas. These do not completely represent innovation i.e. they cannot be used as a substitute for other indicators but definitely they usefully complement the range of indicators of innovation available. They

are relatively a reliable way of measuring the degree of 'radicalness' of innovations being generated. These theoretical ideas are gradually converted into hardcore innovations. Since scientific research is becoming increasingly collaborative venture (Kannappanavar et.al. 2004), it is observed that there is a consistently increasing trend of collaborative authorship too.

In India, scientific publication output has shown a rising trend during the last decade (Figure 4). It increased by 56% from 26,900 in 2005 to 40,000 in 2010 to more than 49000 in 2013 as per the Science Citation Index(SCI) database. Also, during 2006-2010, India's growth rate of scientific research publication was 10% as per the SCI database respectively as against the world average of 4%. India's share in global research publication increased from 2.2% in 2000 to 3.5% in 2010. In 2010, India's largest shares of global research publication were in Chemistry (6.5%), Material Science (6.4%), Agricultural Sciences (6.2%), Pharmacology and Toxicology (6.1%), Micro biology (4.9%), Physics (4.6%) and Engineering (4.2%). The data is compiled by DST on the basis of SCI database. Moreover, India's volume of scientific publication remained far ahead of BRICS countries except China during last decade.

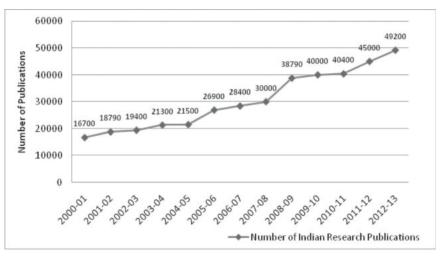


Figure 4: India's Research Publication Trend 2000-2013

Source: R&D Statisctics at a Glance Report, Department of Science and Technology, GOI

4) Prototypes

Another important indicator of innovation is a prototype. Prototypes which are defined as an early sample or model built to test a concept or process also indicate innovation activity of a firm. For example, in case of a pharmaceutical company, considered to be the first pure compound to have been discovered in any series of chemically or developmentally related therapeutic agents. A few prototypes have not been developed further because this has been unnecessary, commercially unacceptable or else unsuccessful. Some prototypes continue to serve as medicinal compounds in their own right, while others have been rendered obsolete by the analogues derived from them.

These prototypes are incomplete innovations, just a beginning of an idea which is further developed after many experiments and trials, into a complete product. It is not possible to collect data for such prototypes as there are umpteen numbers of such experiments in lieu of finding something concrete.

Where does India Stand?

World economyis evolving like never before and economies are making tremendous efforts to step up their growth.India is on the same track. We are taking measures to innovate and be one of the top economies but still it is a long way to go. Comparing the innovation index⁹ with other economies (Table 3), in 2015-16, we are at 42th position which is an improvement over the previous years.

Table 3: Comparison of Top Economies and India on Overall Competitiveness and Innovation (2015-16)

S.No.	Country	Overall Competitiveness Rank	Innovation Index Rank
1	Switzerland	1	1
2	Singapore	2	11
3	United States	3	4
4	Germany	4	6
5	Netherlands	5	8
6	Japan	6	5
7	India	55	42

Source: Global Competitiveness Report 2015-16

If we look at different factors which collectively form the innovation index for 2015-16, we note that India's stands at 50th rank for capacity of innovation; is at 31st position as a spender on R&D activities; and 61st rank when it comes to filing of patent applications. We are making serious efforts to mark a position and climb the global ladder by setting up supporting policies to favour innovation climate. Another strategy which is coming up to improve the pace of new product development is to collaborate with big international firms, research organizations and universities in order to fill the gaps, our R&D has; and also to reduce the time span of research and experimenting. Many collaborations are taking placebetween our high technology firms¹⁰ and international firms/organizations. Overall, it is important to create an atmosphere to innovate and produce new technologies, products and processes in order to be one of the top world economies.

Remarks

Creating knowledge is essential for survival of the economies and we are intensely into it. However, measuring knowledge creation is a little fiddly. We should know that it is the effort to innovate, which is to be considered to measure knowledge creation along with the results of these efforts in order to get a full picture. Overall, innovation input and output measures together give a fairly good measure of innovation and R&D activities taking place in an organization, though it is tough to gather reliable data for some of them.

Regarding India, data reveals that India is on a right track and has achieved a lot globally. However, it is still far behind many economies when it comes to investing resources and setting up world class infrastructure for research. Economies like Switzerland, Singapore, US are on the top when it comes to research and innovation,¹¹ whereas India is at 55th rank. Nevertheless, India's position has improved from 71st position in the previous year. We can observe a gradual improvement and a change in the mindset of the state, the corporate and the institutions (they are now investing time, energy and resources),

but still a long way to go before achieving what these top economies have achieved.

Notes

¹It determines the skills of the labour force. This quality of that education can be mediocre and curricula may not be adapted to the needs of businesses. This impacts the quality of innovation of the economy. Source: Global Competitiveness Report, 2015-16

⁹It comprises of factors including capacity for innovation, quality of scientific research institutions, company spending on R&D, university-industry collaboration in R&D, government procurement of advanced technology products, availability of scientists and engineers, patent applications, and intellectual property protection. Refer to Global Competitiveness Report, 2015-16.

² Latest data available is for the year 2013

³ Source: Department of Science and Technology, Government of India

⁴ Gross Expenditure on Research & Development

⁵ Source: Department of Science and Technology, Government of India

⁶ This is the latest data available.

⁷ For detailed category listing, see <u>www.ipindia.nic.in</u>, website of Controller General of Patents, Designs and Trademarks website.

⁸ Interview taken by the author for the purpose of case study of a company, dated 21st May 2014.

¹⁰ High technology firms are those firms which have very high R&D intensity. These include pharmaceuticals, information technology, automotive, defense, telecom and other chemicals (besides pharmaceuticals).

¹¹ According to Global Competitiveness Report, 2015-16

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Travelling Crime: Adapting Agatha Christie for Film and Television

This paper attempts to relate a study of visual parody to a study of visual adaptation in general. Christie is interestingas she 'spoofs' detective fiction in Partners in Crime and is 'spoofed' herself in Murder by Death. The reader imagined by the parodic text is an informed reader whose familiarity with culture and, in this case, crime, is assumed. This familiarity is now expected of audiences as cinema and television retell Christie. One concern with this generically cognizant reader is the canonization of the 'first' author: it is possible that by reworking the 'first' text, the 'first' creator is emphasized. This is sometimes visible in the insistence on fidelity between the 'first' text and its adaptation. The anxiety expressed by readers as they encounter film versions of novels is an example. As the twentieth century begins appropriating Christie plots to different media, and as detectives like Poirot and Marple are caricatured in Murder by Death, a double manoeuvre is visible. On the one hand, practitioners, fans and critics expect fidelity to the 'original', and on the other, each medium transforms the story differently. The death of author in the process of adaptation, therefore, is a corollary to the mechanics of adaptation. Does our understanding of Christie and her oeuvre change with every reappropriation?

The aim of this paper is to evaluate the impact of parody and adaptation in media by discussing both textual and visual parodies of/in Golden Age detective fiction. It is in two sections. The first discusses *Murder by Death* as a parody of Golden Age detective fiction and asks where it seems to be going. The second section, itself divided into sub sections, corroborates the observations made in the study of visual parody through a study of visual adaptation in general. It readsthe text of *Appointment with Death*, *Cards on the Table*, and *Death on the Nile* alongside the televisual retellings of *Appointment with Death* and *Cards on the Table* directed by Ashley Pearce and Sarah Harding respectively to ask if, like parody, Golden Age detective fiction in print and onscreen reaffirms the prejudices that the Mayhem Parva

elaborates. (Colin Watson's seminal 1977 essay "The Message of Mayhem Parva" conceptualizes the sleepy English village of the home counties as 'Mayhem Parva', or a fabular space which is the site of murder and mayhem and is never aware of it.) If it does, then the comparison between parody and adaptation is validated as both oppose and confirm the 'original'.

I

As a parodic work is usually comic, it raises urgent questionsabout reception and production, which in the case of Golden Age detective fiction, might reveal how historical distance facilitates the revisiting of a sub-genre. Two sets of questions are particularly germane to production and reception. First, can comedy only debunk, or can parody only be a denigration? Does it also celebrate? Second, does popular fiction in sometimes parodic self-referentiality make a narcissistic movement toward itself? In which case are genres self-aware? The Pawling anthology(Pawling 1984)prevents us from making any generalizations about 'pop' fiction and argues that since the popular text is embedded in space and time it may be selfdefeating to ignore the particular context. The meaning of texts changes with time and space. Keeping this caution in mind, it is possible to suggest that since both the 'original' and the parody are separated by space and time, studying the parody (or the adaptation) can revisit assumptions that the 'original' premises itself on. Further, such a study can also make visible the terms on which such a reworking takes place, and ask whom such a reworking benefit.

Murder by Death imposes itself upon the viewer as art that refers to an earlier work. In fact, because of its use of caricature, it precludes any reading except that of it being an adaptation. The laughter it can generate stems from a prior familiarity with Golden Age detective fiction and 'hard boiled' crime novels. Truman Capote, as Lionel Twain, brings this into relief during the denouement. It is a denouement with five differing explanations, none of which are held to be reliable at the end. Capote takes a moment to tell all assembled detectives how they

have been unfair to their readers. It is noteworthy that none of these fictional detectives respond to Twain's allegations: they remain poker faced as he rants. Their lack of response highlights this moment, separates it from the film. It is an ekphrastic moment as the medium of film explicitly records and criticizes another medium i.e. print. It becomes an emphatic acknowledgement of the film as a commentary on a genre. The film refers to itself and the director consciously intervenes here and is therefore a self-referential adaptation. The genre seems to be self-aware and is able to review itself critically.

Hutcheon argues that an adaptation, whether as product or process is a re-engagement with the 'first' (Hutcheon 2006, 24). She clarifies 'first' by arguing that the first may not be primary, nor the 'second' secondary and attests that whether through the lens of 'fidelity criticism' or otherwise, it is axiomatic to assume that an adaptation will transform the first. In which case it would be useful to elaborate the changes *Murder by Death* proclaims that solidify such an engagement.

The film upbraids the inadvertentexcesses of the genre. Sam Diamond's excessive sexism and homophobia bring the heteronormative assumptions of the 'hard boiled' novels into sharp focus. One significant change that Murder by Death successfully makes is to make its viewers aware of the undignified treatment meted out to the 'Watson figure'. The physical disaster that befalls all five pairs of detectivesis borne by these Watson figures. Another implicit change is the reference to the centrality of landscape in the genre, especially the country house in the 'country house mystery'. The intrusion of technology makes it possible for Twain to control the house and its 'murky' ambience, to the extent that he produces his own fog. This dramatizes the need and control of landscape in detective fiction. Additionally, the tables are turned, and the detective (the five detectives) who is usually victorious in the struggle against unyielding narratives of suspected criminals loses control of this narrative. If this subversion of the detective function can be read as a subversion of the author (as the detective is author-like in her narrative power); s/he is ironically made to acknowledge the centrality of

the author of the action i.e. Twain, who outwits them all in the end. Twain exemplifies a performance of authority and authorship. The detectives are outwitted. Since the detectives approximate authors in their narrative managerial capability, authorship is frustrated. Yet Twain 'authors' the action. So authorship is resurrected as Twain becomes the manager par excellence, almost the author herself/himself. Parody can be both criticism and celebration as it is a twin movement: away (frustration of authorship) and towards (resurrection) from the 'first'. The figure of Twain, in this reinforcement of the discursive power which the author can exercise, I argue, reinstates Christie.

The parody here can become a site for a debate on the extent of authorial prerogative. A case may also be made for a parodic 'contested homage' (Hutcheon 2006, 11) because it chooses to play around with extant motifs. This would account for the selfreferentiality that marks the text. It would seem the creators are cognizant of the above authorial reinforcement and must clarify their self awareness for the readers. On the other hand, the creators appeal to the leisure and pleasure of familiarity in audience reception, thus inadvertently perhaps, moving towards the 'first'. In any case, a compromised caricature emerges in Murder by Death. The answer to the debate on authorial prerogative is ambiguous- if authorship is questioned in the denouement it is also reestablished in the triumph of Twain, who is the 'author' of the action. I argue that this parody of Golden Age Detective Fiction is a pastiche of styles appropriated for a cozy joke. Any disturbance attributed to parody is transformed into fond humour byjocularity. This is emphasized by the Charles Addams cartoon cutouts that the film begins with. Caricature on camera and caricature in cartoon indelibly render the subject approachable with fondness (Devadawson 2014, 30). Thus we must negotiate with a diffusion of radical critique. The power to parody, or pastiche as in here, uses heavyallusion. The more conscientious the joke, the more care the 'original' has been combed with. In a logical movement, parody then canonizes the 'first', renews interest in the 'first', defamiliarizes it only to refamiliarize. As a corollary our own expectation of the parody to fulfil a severely political function must be cautioned.

As we will see, mediums of television and film, in a fraught use of visual appeal, transform the text somewhat, and the contexts of their reception further this transformation. The printed text, lacking this visual appeal, attempts to persuade its readers differently. For Raymond Williams, television technology in its mass readershipbecomes a cultural form amenable to commodification and propaganda (1974). In a pointed contrast, McLuhan opines this propaganda to be tame (1964), 'cold' and altogether incapable compared to film. Williams and McLuhan agree upon the value of commentary on television but sharply differ in their treatment of the impact the medium is responsible for. My intention is not to compare film and television but to try and discuss both as visual media that adapt the printed text.In this regard, the above preamble on parody is to lay the basis for an extended study of adaptation as rearrangement. The next section compares three Christie texts and their adaptations to arrive at a fuller understanding of visual reappropriation of detective fiction.

II

Golden Age detective fiction rarely interrogates class and gender boundaries, and if anything, underscores the performance of economic and sexual identification. A value-laden contrast between heterosexuality as opposed to effeminate homosexuality, an emphasis on the family as a sociological unit that secures identity and a (usually) frustrated portrayal of the woman who is loud with her opinions: all three become devices to conservatively illustrate the innocence of the Mayhem Parva. Cards on the Table, Appointment with Death and Death on the Nile play with these ideas. Agatha Christie's Poirot, the television series starring David Suchet as Poirot facilitates a vibrant discussion around these themes. Therefore, a principle of visuality operating within and upon the televisual retellings is also analyzed.

1 The Female Author

All three of these books feature women who write. Discussions in the narrative abound around the relationship between their work, lives and the stupendous failures or successes their output

has been. Dame Westbone in *Appointment with Death* is the travel writer (the tormented housemaid who recreates herself as a 'success' in the Ashley Pearce television episode), the not unpleasant 'feminist' Ariadne Oliver from Cards on the Table who is significantly jocularized in the Sarah Harding episode, and Salome Otterbourne from Death on the Nile; all three artists in their work speak of thrill, pleasure, discovery, and differing lusts: sexual, bloodlustand wanderlust. Christie is careful to endow them with distinct dialogues, and even have them respond to their work and any glamour or celebrity that their output arouses. Rhoda Dawes, who is the embodiment of innocence in the novel text and is thought to be unsuitable for the purposes of the television episode, is an admiring fan of Oliver. She is a foil for Oliver to be gracious to, and to reveal for the fan-reader how different crime solving and crime writing are. Through Oliver's ineffectual jocular feminism and championing of female unreported criminals, Christie's readers are shown how writing and detection may not meet. A self-referential gesture like this disturbing questions: is Christie a feminist? If Oliver is a feminist then why is her detective not a woman? But it is difficult to place Christie's work in the spectrum of progressive gender sensitization. Christie is merciless to Oliver, as even when Oliver is bested by Superintendentin conversation she immediately begins thinking of newspaper opinion pieces as a response to this failure. This can be read as blunting the difficulty of such questions. Christie seems toreassure her readers that female writers can be fondly joked about and not taken seriously.

On the other side of the spectrum is Salome, whose name evokes both tragedy and eroticism. She predictably writes erotic novels and owing to her dipsomania, is to be understood as a bathetic tragedy. It is the lack of glamour around her, the celebrity admiration found wanting that leads to depleted sales and presumably, her death. Christie, by this time, has already extracted comic mileage in Marple mysteries where Marple is forced to read one of her nephew's books of interest, which has passages of soft porn. But here is a more cautionary tale than Marple's. (Marple's nephew writes detective fiction and is called

Raymond West, a clear allusion to Raymond Chandler.) Salome's reliance on novels of sensation is proved to be short lived and ultimately pernicious.

Self-referential intervention may serve to interrupt cozy reading and to nudge a reader to consider her own responses to fiction or fictionalized crime. However, it is significant that neither Oliver nor Otterbourne are able to diagnose sexuality or criminality with accuracy, thereby furthering their function in the text as jokes. In uncharacteristic kindness, Oliver is allowed to justify her 'woman's intuition', which too could be understood as a sly comment on the inconsistency with which Oliver makes pronouncements about guilt in the novel. In other words, we have a series of severely compromised and gendered authors who are upbraided through farce or tragedy. Self-referentiality, while rampant, bolsters an uncritical reading of the texts. An uncritical reading would not question the need or desire for Mayhem Parva. Women who exercise choice and creativity would be a threat, and a positive negotiation with the representation of these women would disturb the easy and reassuring Mayhem Parva. Hence their parodic treatment by Christie.

2. The Heteronormative English Family

At the same time, however, the three texts problematize the notion of the family and heterosexual marital companionship. The televisual retellings intervene in the narrative by clearly pointing to incest, homosexuality and the impossibility of companionate marriages. This may point to a more complicated understanding of the conservatism implicit in self-referential jokes in popular fiction. The retellings differsharply from the earlier print compositions in the obviousness of the representations of these complexes and 'perversions'. Male homosexuality onscreen is dramatically signified when Mrs Craddock calls the doctor a 'pervert' in Harding's *Cards on the Table*. Interestingly female homosexuality is not given the benefit of such a dramatic emphasis. The characters make vague allusions to the possibility of female homosexuality. Harding takes great pains to bring forth Dawes' inability to come to terms with Anne's interest in Despard.

Poirot diagnoses her subsequent attempt at Anne's life as insecurity over losing a 'slave' but this deduction is shown to be inaccurate. The Anne-Dawes scene before the murderous boat ride is framed like a lover's quarrel and has Dawes and Anne declare their friendship for each other. The homoerotic overtones are barely offset by Poirot's inadvertent misreading of the situation. It is possible therefore to think about the visual adaptation as elaborating the limitations of a heteronormative Poirot. Yet, because the televisual text carefully details the spectacle of same-sex love, a relationship is drawn between criminality and sexuality. Hence, despite the filmic attempt to be nuanced there is an emphatic nod to an anachronistic notion of homosexuality.

Harding has Suchet be both cautionary and accusatory about the relationship between homosexuality and the heinous crime of murder. He advises discretion to Superintendent Wheeler after pointedly wondering aloud if Wheeler wishes to 'behave this way' in the future. More importantly, the denouement has Poirot make his usual dramatic annunciation and denounce the lounging body of the doctor as both homosexual and murderer. His justification for the claim is the 'regularity' of the bridge meetings with his bridge partner, the secretary's testimony that they practice for 'hours' ensconced in a closed room and the doctor's obvious unwillingness to enter into a sexual relationship with his apparently attractive secretary. Not only does some of the puzzle resolution rest on such flimsy ground, the ground goes unquestioned. For instance, if the doctor is indeed also interested in a sexual relationship with men of his own social standing then this is thoroughly inscribed on his body. His drawling lounge and other characters' dislike of him based on his 'manner', especially the Superintendent's discomfort with him, signal his sexual perversion. The cause of the Superintendent's discomfort is later revealed to be perhaps his own sexual confusion and 'indiscretions' and hence his discomfort with the doctor who he sees as apparently externalizing his own insecurity about sexuality. Herein lies the paradox. Harding and Suchet gesture to a nuanced understanding of sexuality that may transform victim

into victimizer. Superintendent Wheeler's dislike of the doctor is a case in point. The Superintendent appears to manipulate circumstance in order to incriminate the doctor. Harding does not comfort the viewer by having other characters take a firm sympathetic stance. Instead she allows the dissolution of the categories of victim and victimizer in the case of the doctor and the Superintendent. However, despite this nuance and despite the contemporary nuances advanced in ideas of gender, identity and the intersection between the public and private, Poirot 'outs' the doctor. The denouement reaffirms the comfortable gendered exclusions of the Mayhem Parva as it exploits the 'element' of homosexuality.

Appointment with Death and Death on the Nile also display this complicated relationship between text and retelling with respect to family. The Watson figure in the Appointment with Death episode, played by John Hannah, is insufficiently paternal and so allows for incest. The incest 'angle' is an amelioration by Ashley Pearce in the retelling, implying that the element of incest is seen as emphasizing the rhetorical rupture of a normative family by the director. Death on The Nile disrupts the family more dramatically than the other two novels. The Allertons - the mother-son couple whose relationships with Joanna or Poirot arouse incestuous, heterosexual jealousy in the other - are fascinating because Christie begins her text with an'unnatural' attachment in the mother/child scenario and resolves it in the end. Additionally, the ménage of Bellefort, Ridgeway, and Doyle unequivocally proves the impossibility of requited attachment in heterosexual unions. Doyle's attentions to Ridgeway are revealed to be a disguise and Bellefort and Doyle are not allowed to live. The two texts delineate a performance of ruptured familial and sexual relationships.

3. Re-arrangement

Another method used in Christie's fiction to identify criminality is the constant reference to visual apprehension of/by the criminal or detective. The 1937 *Cards on the Table* assures the reader that Shaitana's personality is the cause of his death and that 'spiritual

blackmail' is the reason for his murder but Harding complicates this. The retelling underscores the centrality of setting and performance in golden age murder and literalizes the 'gaze' of the Parva by observing that Mr Shaitana 'took photographs'. The gaze enabled (and disabled) by photography is clarified by Susan Sontag. For Sontag, photography as a record of criminality functions as a mode of exercising power over the photographed through a potent visual medium, thus enabling the viewer or the photographer and disabling the criminal.

The inventory started in 1839 and since then just about everything has been photographed, or so it seems...to photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge—and, therefore, like power...starting with their use by the Paris police in the murderous roundup of Communards in June 1871, photographs became a useful tool of modern states in the surveillance and control of their increasingly mobile populations... (Sontag 1977)

Shaitana's capability for re-arrangement is of paramount significance given that he exhibits criminal behavior. Harding capitalizes on this principle of visual apprehension. The scene of the photograph in Harding's reworking where Shaitana 'captures' all of guests, stages a visual record of criminals and their catchers. It is telling that Shaitana arranges his guests so he is centrestage, apparently to control the photograph better. Shaitana, of Syrian descent, is in effect overturning the gaze of white superiority by recording its ostensibly unreported crimes. The English homosexual apparently cannot have that and so murders the voyeur in cold blood. This is the complicated 'gaze' that I began with. Shaitana, who has already been identified as a bizarre element in the scenario, and whose criminality solidifies with his death is a criminal attempting to look back at criminals and various branches of the 'law'. As Sontag confirms, this positioning affords to him a view of everyone and therefore a kind of power over everyone. Such a position of power is proved tenuous as one criminal looking at another leads to anxiety and eventually murder.

This pose also makes him compete with Poirot over the control of narratives. In fact, the only gulf that separates Poirot and Shaitana is in the compassion for narratives they both attempt mastery over and a bourgeois attitude of good versus evil that pontificates the punishment of murder and the preservation of innocence. (A preservation mostly in the person of a beautiful young woman. This tendency is reminiscent of Carroll's search for pre-lapsarian innocence in photographs of prepubescent young women, further emphasizing the link between photography, criminality and also its obverse: innocence.) Otherwise as these museum pieces fence over curios and compassion, they are both criminals as they force the gazing subject to introspect and to revaluateitself. I shall expand on this when I discuss landscape in Christie's fiction.

Harding explores performance further by elaborating homosexual desire as performance. There are two notable scenes where physical touch is both a symptom of desire and an excuse for spatial/bodily arrangement meant to enhance visual appeal. Shaitana attempts to arrange Despard's hair as he photographs Despard who is plainly disgusted by this assumed intimacy with his body. Despard understands this as molestation and rebuffs Shaitana. Ostensibly Shaitana is justified in this intimacy for he is merely attempting better aesthetics. Later, Shaitana almost caresses his waiter's chest as he pushes him to attention, pirouettes him around as if he were a marionette and sends him off with a tray of drinks. A shot of him admiring the waiter's backside follows this sequence. The scene is a choreographed performance comprising the mastery Shaitana can demonstrate over the bodies of his servants and subjects. Shaitana's conduct is a performance of desire precisely because it is possible to read it as intended by the director to signal difference, as visual arrangement is the excuse for it.

As a corollary, the televisual episodes are marked by a predilection for understanding of crime as a performance that needs essential props: landscape, location and national identity are some of these props. Props facilitate a point of entry into the always already disturbed innocence of Mayhem Parva. None of these texts locate

crime in the home counties, as most Golden Age detective fiction usually does. (The novel *Cards on The Table* is an exception but as shall be demonstrated it is a conversation piece between two kinds of spaces.) The crime is always committed by an English person but in locales removed from suburban trappings. Could this mean that English people turn to criminality when exposed to foreign climates? Perhaps. As we will see Colonel Race's arguments against the assumption of Despard's guilt are based on national and racial stereotypes. This implicit elaboration of national identity that occurs is important as it dictates discourses of the coding of propriety and spaces. For instance, the doctor's body in *Cards on The Table* is coded into conforming to standards of proper behavior and found wanting, and is hence punished.

The removed locale in *Appointment with Death* and *Death on the Nile* is inspired by the author's own travel along the Nile and the Gulf countries. Christie admits to the appropriation of a convenient landscape in her fiction, emphasizing the use or performance of landscape.

I think, myself, that the book is one of the best of my 'foreign travel' ones, and if detective stories are 'escape literature' (and why shouldn't they be!) the reader can escape to sunny skies and blue water as well as to crime in the confines of an armchair. (Christie 1937, 3)

This admission is vital as it points to the viability of a particular landscape qua setting for a murder, used as a convenient prop. Some features of this landscape do not change. Crime, murder and investigation are still caught up in a vexed relationship between the personal and the public as in the Mayhem Parva. The investigation calls for a close search of the suspects' bodies and personalities and information is moved around through increasingly unreliable communication media. For instance, newspapers are withheld from Lady Boynton preventing her from redressing the reputation of her stocks at the exchange in *Appointment with Death*. A hollow book becomes a receptacle for an imitation necklace received by Tim Allerton and the interception of a telegram is critical to the interception of a

murderous agitator in Death on the Nile. This emphasizes an authorial understanding of crime as an excuse to 'delve' into fragile innocence. Traditional means of communication do not function; crime and the imperative to discover its cause becomes a legitimate reason to subject suspects to a search. Granted that the circle of suspects share class positions and this may prevent us from assuming that they cannot be sufficiently 'representative' of a larger social group, nevertheless they represent or stand in for a certain class. If so, then Golden Age detective fiction argues for the necessity of surveillance over this upwardly mobile upper middle class. Poirot's annunciation of criminal homosexuality is a triumph of this surveillance. It is this constant surveillance that is immanent in fiction but stems from 1914–1918 spy paranoia that motivates Christie to defuse the incest in Death on the Nile: thereby acknowledging the paranoia but resolving the paranoia in fiction. The retelling of *Appointment with Death* gives a sharp nod to this mood of surveillance when Pearce has Hannah encourage incest and then has Hannah and McGovern punished through death for daring to interrupt their biological daughter's idyllic family and childhood by incest. Criminal possibilities are heightened in a remote landscape only to be used as props to explain the desire to survey.

4. Museumizing Landscapes

The archaeological interest, which is important in *Appointment with Death* and parodied through the figure of Richetti in *Death on the Nile* provides opportunity to be in awe or fear of 'Oriental'architecture and non-Christian aesthetics in general. In fact, this familiar yet unfamiliar space is aconvenient literary foil because the author does not have to work towards transforming the home county into an unfamiliar space of fear and traumathe Syrian or Egyptian setting is already unfamiliar. Yet, given that the limited interaction that these Caucasian tourists have with the natives appears obsequious, peremptory and/or mediated by 'bakshish', the circle of suspects is narrow. The only character in *Death on the Nile* to enter into a conjugal relationship with a 'local woman' is described as 'big and truculent looking' and arouses deep suspicionin Colonel Race and Poirot. He is made

to admit that the relationship is nigh over. To bring home the moral, Race and Fleetwood argue in legal terms over the rectitude of his decision to propose to the English maid of Linnet Ridgeway. Fleetwood is shown to lose to Race. The Fleetwood incident then becomes a nice sub plot in counter to the main plot of marital murder. We see both the contemporary retellings and the twentieth century Christie texts using and reusing the performance of othering, intimately embedded in the use of landscape. This means they may not be so different thematically, especially if they reproduce the status quo in the last instance.

Unlike Harding's retelling the Christie text is at pains to distinguish Major Despard as a 'white man' who wouldn't commit murder without extenuating circumstances. Colonel Race naively believes in a pristine white justification for murder in the colony when Christie carefully assures her readers that despite the shift in landscape the murderer is always English or white. On the one hand, the text exploits a restricted circle of suspects, concluding with a white criminal; on the other characters who represent state authority like the Colonel are made to utter inconsistencies. This contradiction is an artistic prerogative that Christie exercises. Breaking the circle of suspects by having an 'outsider' commit the murder would mean subverting one of Knox's cardinal rules - 'No Chinamen must figure in the story' but the canonization of *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* in the oeuvre signals that she has done so with impunity. Knox's rule becomes more of a caution that resonates with the political subjection during the 'cutting of the Chinese melon'. Christie toes the line of cautioned representation along this fractured history of colonial intervention. She chooses to mostly not break the rules, not only solidifying them but exploiting them as she can, as with the Colonel. The expected location of crime within the foreign body, accent, costume, landscape, while not proved is a structure that determines the reading of the crime. Knox also means that in terms of the craft it is easy to have an outsider take responsibility for the murder. Christie duly avoids this ease to the reader but tantalizingly hints at the potential. Landscape as a process of othering is not only a prop but a central method of coding Golden Age detective fiction.

The discovery of ancient history and the grandeur concomitant with this discovery is a good entry point into the politics of 'situating' crime in a particular body or location. Said reminds us that this discovery of history was an invention. Ancient oriental history became a prop to denigrate contemporary socio political realities in the colonies. For Said, Orientalism organizes the discourse of the oriental other, policing utterances and dialogue around the Orient. Said is indebted to Foucault for his work on knowledge and power. Foucault argues that the gaze of power transforms both the viewer and the viewed:

...to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power...that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they themselves are the bearers. (Foucault 1977, 201)

Shaitana is the epitome of this phenomenon. We are told he is a collector of curiosities. For the purposes of the plot, the curios he has in mind are suspected murderers who have not been nabbed yet. It is no coincidence that not only do Poirot and Shaitana encounter each other as rival – 'They both paused. They were like duellists en garde.' (Christie 1936,9) – but that they encounter each other in a museum atmosphere: in a gallery sale. Museums, as purveyors of inhibited exhibition advocate transformation, metamorphosis even. The museum not only affects the nature of the object into a curiosity, nullifying material contexts of the object concerned but as Shaitana demonstrates also turn people into objects. The Bird-woman in Angela Carter's Nights in the Circus, for instance, is conscientiously aware of her position as a curiosity and a commodity. Museums are imbricated in a play of acquisition and display. This is why it is significant that the two are made to cross swords, as it were, in a museum. Christie by positioning a Syrian and a Belgian in a British museum asks her readers whom they prefer and how. It is a biased choice between bourgeois British loyalist or the wealthy nabob whose very body smells of scent. If there is use of xenophobia in such a scenario,

the example of Poirot displays the use of xenophobia that has been reappropriated by the Mayhem Parva for its own ends. The setting in the museum is an acknowledgement of the supremacy of landscape as it lays bare the embeddedness of characters performing themselves in particular landscapes. This demonstrates the centrality of setting and landscape in detective fiction, and the almost maniacal attention paid to them by televisual retellings.

In conclusion, adaptation on the twenty first century television and twentieth century pastiche film leaves significant gaps. Parody as pastiche unwillingly celebrates authorship and David Suchet embodies an unclear synonymy with the Christie texts. By compromising on redistributive social justice Suchet approximates the contradictions of the inter-war years. Suchet's unapologetic stance on sexuality, family and class becomes exaggerated. It is arguable that Harding and Pearce exaggerate Suchet-as-Poirot's bourgeois conservative encouragement of Englishness. Revisiting the Golden Age therefore may be a critical but compromised project. 'Outing' a character in Cards on the Table in the twenty-first century is anachronistic and insensitive. The adaptation of Dawes as the criminal and Anne as the victim intensifies the location of innocence in a young 'womanly' woman. The insertion of incest in *Appointment with Death* turns the episode into a palimpsest, makes an experiment of bringing out complexes. By having the incestuous father commit suicide, we are shown the failure of this experiment. This points to the electra complex itself as being an exploited prop. At the same time, the televisual retellings invest as deeply in landscape and performance as does the golden age. Hence, their fraught position on its rearrangement as they are unable to self referentially engage with the setting in the manner that Murder by Death can.

Any alternative offered by the female detective and the female authoris blunted by the comic. The female criminal on the other hand as my analysis shows retains a trace of 'innocence' (Poirot and Bellefort) and is shown consideration. Photography and museumization of performative landscapes, while emphasizing the biases of the 'first' author are unable to help critically revisit

the text. This proves Golden Age detective fiction in print and in visual adaptation to be deeply invested, perhaps uncritically, in the performance of crime and innocence. In effect this allows us to consider the relationship between visual parody and visual adaptation validated: both move away from and return toward the 'original'. In other words, the deft celebration of authorship that popular detective fiction displays may also be a celebration of the presumptions available to the 'first' writer.

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Effect of Six Weeks Aerobic Training on Level of Stress and Physical Self Concept of Female Undergraduate Students

Introduction

In this modern world, almost every individual is stressed. Life was much simpler in the past but now it seems that every day you need to work non-stop and live a life full of stress. The stress among the students comes from various aspects; it may be due to specific demands of academia, financial problems, work demands or any other developmental or social changes. All these aspects may tip the balance and result in disequilibrium and excessive stress. Lack of physical activity or poor coping strategies may result in additional stress in certain individuals, leading to negative patterns of behavior and decreased academic performance. Emerging and recently published scientific evidences have shown that the physical activities benefit the physical as well as the mental health of an individual. Self-concept may be defined as the totality of perceptions that each person has of themselves, and this self identity plays an important role in the psychological functioning of everyone. Literature has shown that people who participate in physical activities have better mental health and are more resilient to challenges of modern living. Activities like aerobic training or other socially supported physical activities have shown significant effect on mental well being. The highly stressful life of the students of University of Delhi and emergent need to look for the most feasible coping strategy to improve their well being has motivated the researcher to conduct this research.

Methodology

A total of forty five female undergraduate students of Kamala Nehru College, University of Delhi were randomly selected from the students enrolled in NSO activity. The selected students were in the age range of 17-20 years. The selected students underwent six weeks aerobics training. NSAD stress questionnaire by International Stress Management Association, UK and PSDQ-S

by Marsh, H. W., Martin, A. J. & Jackson, S. (2010) were used to measure level of stress in common life and physical self concept respectively. The results obtained from the questionnaire were quantified as per the manual of the questionnaire and further independent 't' test was employed to measure the significance in the effect of the aerobics training on level of stress and physical self concept of female undergraduate students.

Analysis of the Data and Findings

Table – 1: Effect of 6 weeks Aerobic Training on Level of Stress and Physical Self Concept of Female Undergraduate Students

Variable		N	Mean Change	Percentage	't' (2- tailed)	Sig.
Level of	Pre test Post test	45 45	13.23± 2.58 9.56± 1.36	27.74%	5.175**	0.001
Physical Self Concept			181.18± 6.58 202.27± 3.65		12.154**	0.001

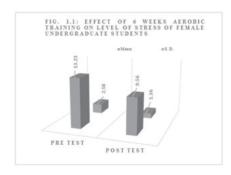
^{**}Significant at 0.001 level

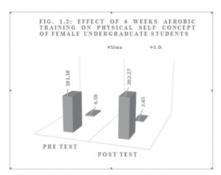
Table 1 shows that the level of stress of the selected female undergraduate students who underwent six weeks aerobics training as NSO activity had lowered down by 27.74% as the level of stress before and after the aerobic training were found as 13.23 ± 2.58 and 9.56 ± 1.36 . This decrease in the level of stress was found significant as the 't' values obtained was 5.175 at $p \le 0.05$.

Similarly the physical self concept of the selected female undergraduate students who underwent six weeks aerobics training as NSO activity had improved by 11.64% as the physical self concept before and after the aerobics training was found to be 181.18 ± 6.58 and 202.27 ± 3.65 . This increase in the physical self concept was found significant as the 't' value obtained was 12.154 at $p \le 0.05$.

Discussion and Conclusions

Physical activities particularly aerobic training has positive effects on physical as well as mental well being of the individuals (Norris *et. al.* 2000, Stephen *et. al.* 2005). During aerobic exercise the body





releases chemical substance (endorphin) that is similar in nature to opiates. Aerobic exercise has been shown to be as effective as anti-depressant medication in relieving the symptoms of stress and improving self concept. In the present study, 6 weeks aerobic training had resulted in 27.74% and 11.64% improvement in the level of stress and physical self concept of female undergraduate students respectively. The level of stress had decreased down from 13.23 ± 2.58 (Pre Test) to 9.56 ± 1.36 (Post Test) while the physical self concept had increased from 181.18± 6.58 (Pre Test) to 202.27± 3.65 (Post Test). The decrease in the level of stress and increase in the physical self concept were found significant as the 't' values obtained were 5.175 and 12.154 at p d" 0.05. Hence it is concluded that aerobic training must be included as a mandatory activity in the curriculum of the colleges to benefit students especially females to improve their mental/ psychological well being.

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Rural-Urban Migration in India: Emerging Challenges and Remedial Measures

Introduction:

During the last 50 years rural population has decreased from 82 percent to 68.9 percent and at present to 64 percent. Migration from rural to urban areas is up from 27.8 to 31.1 percent since 2001. It is estimated that approximately two million people are shifting from rural to urban areas annually and approximately 22 million people have migrated from rural to urban areas since 2001. Agriculture provides livelihood to over 52 percent of our population which lives in rural areas. It is reported that 57 percent of urban migrant households migrated from rural areas whereas 29 percent of rural migrant households migrated from urban areas. Loss of job opportunities in agriculture is the primary factor of driving people away from agriculture. Almost 240,000 debt ridden farmers committed suicide between 1995 and 2009. Agriculture itself is not proving a reliable source of income. High cost of cultivation, scarcity of irrigation water, stagnation of productivity in this sector and fluctuations in prices of agricultural products are the main factors responsible for converting agriculture in to non-profitable sector of employment.

United Nations also estimated that 60% of the urban growth of developing countries is due to the rate of natural increase of urban areas and the remaining 40% is due to migration. Simmons reports that the expansion of labour force, unemployment and underemployment in rural areas forced people to migrate. Agriculture sector is now overcrowded and disguised unemployment is very acute in this sector. There is need for onfarm and off-farm rural employment to combat rural poverty and to secure adequate livelihood within the households of small holders and landless agricultural labourers. There is need to strengthen employment opportunities in the rural areas to sustain agriculture and agriculture based industries. In rural area 10.1 percent of its labour force is unemployed as compare to 7.3 percent in urban areas. The demand for high value commodities such as fruits, milk, vegetables, meat, poultry and fish is increasing faster than food grains and their demand is expected to be more than 100 percent in the coming 20 years. Increase in

farm and non-farm products and services will boost employment opportunities in other sectors. There is a need to strengthen agrofood processing as food processing industry is employment intensive. It can reduce the heavy losses of Rs. 55,000 crores in food grains, fruits and vegetables. At present this sector employs about 13 million directly and about 35 million people indirectly. The state government should introduce high-tech agricultural ventures in the rural areas.

Thousands of people every year leave their native villages in search of food and employment. Majority of them end up as bonded labourers who are paid minimal daily wages. Alienation of land, labour and produce is the driving force for migration. Individual benefit occurs at the cost of net loss to both rural and urban areas and a decline in social welfare, through overcrowding and increased population in urban areas and a greater regional concentration of wealth, income and human capital. Agriculture and related cottage industries in rural areas are no more in a position to sustain the ever increasing population of rural areas.

Research objectives:

This paper examines the conditions and circumstances under which rural people migrate to urban areas and in what way rural migrants become stress for urban population and challenges and remedial measures to overcome this problem of excessive migration from rural areas to urban areas. This paper also makes an attempt to find factors responsible for migration and its impact on the economy of rural areas from where migration has taken place.

Methodology:

The present study is mainly based on secondary source and data is obtained from books and reports on migration impacts, causes, consequences and repercussions of migration on rural areas as well as on urban areas.

Migration from rural areas:

The families owning small agricultural land are insufficient to generate food security for the entire year or create additional surplus of cash to meet other basic needs. There are families who are completely landless and depend on wage labour, who look

for work in agriculture or civil works and often migrate to towns in the off season. In rural areas sluggish agricultural growth and limited development of the non-farm sector raises the incidence of rural poverty, unemployment and underemployment. In rural areas agriculture is stagnating and may not be able to provide further jobs. Rural poor are shifting towards the urban areas in order to improve their living standards, services and facilities, employment, satisfaction and to search for better livelihood opportunities as better employment prospects and infrastructure facilities are available in urban areas which motivate people to migrate to urban areas. Other reasons for migration from rural areas to urban areas may be due to reduced agriculture production and income and its effect on migrant rural families, marriage migration, income, health, education, inequality, cost of migration, poverty alleviation, void in village life etc. Migration also occurs due to disparities in regional development and from downtrodden and backward regions. Migration also prevails to avail better educational facilities available in the city. In rural areas there are a variety of jobs creation schemes for the poor but very few jobs are available which are well paid. Most of the migrants from backward regions like Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar generally get job in the lowest rungs like in construction of roads, irrigation projects commercial and residential complexes etc. According to Harris and Todaro (1970), income differentials between urban and rural areas are taken as the motivating factor in moving people from low income areas to relatively highincome areas. People are reluctant to migrate because of the cost of migration that hampers it. The cost of migration includes transport costs, uncertain earnings, health hazards, and higher costs of living in urban areas combined with poor living conditions. They don't have the connections to settle down in an urban area, where the rent is very high and the area itself is quite unfamiliar and they face a high risk because there is no guarantee that they will be employed throughout the year. Migration can contribute to the empowerment of women by providing women migrants and women whose husbands have migrated with income and greater status, autonomy and self-esteem. Migration helps individual and their families to increase their income, learn new skills, improve their social status, build up assets and improve their quality of life.

Impact of migration on urban population and urban areas:

Urban area has its own pain which is mostly borne by the women and the children who live in filthy conditions in the urban centres. There is overcrowding of cities and mushrooming of slums. Ruralurban migration leads to a misallocation of labour between rural and urban sectors in the sense that it raises urban employment, underemployment and poverty. Migration also results in a breakdown of social life. Immigrants add to their own misery by living on pavements or in slums and add to the misery of the cities by taxing the already inadequate city services and by adding to the unemployed and unskilled workforce of the city. Rural-urban migration creates a void in the village life and creates problem of water, housing, sanitation, pollution in urban centres. Rural migration leads to loss of traditional arts and technology. Urban system breaks down often due to stress and water, electricity, transportation, education, housing and other services fail. If urbanization continues at the same rate then another 634 million people will live in urban regions by 2030 and if this flow is not checked and corrected it would lead to extreme urban decay and malice where urban sustainability would then become difficult. It is the distressed migration found in our country which is resulting in overcrowding of cities and mushrooming of slums. The large cities have ceased to be places which are congenial for living. Cities growing uncontrollably have generated unmanageable problems whose symptoms include slums, congestion and pollution and unhygienic living conditions. Due to migration these cities have become the centres of the most brutal human living conditions, with large sections of the migrants living in slum areas. It is estimated that on an average more than one- fourth of population in the country live in the slums or in sub-human conditions.

According to Indian's union Urban Development Ministry, 20 percent of the country's urban household are denied access to safe drinking water, 58% do not have access to sanitation facilities. Our metropolitan cities are overcrowded, urban land has become extremely scarce, services are breaking down and human misery has increased beyond belief. With the increase in city size, the per capita investment requirements in the infrastructure and

overheads are also increasing at a rapid pace. As per the latest NSSO survey reports there are over 80 million poor people living in the cities and towns of India. The slum population is also increasing and as per TCPO estimates 2001, over 61.80million people living in slums. Urban poverty poses the problems of housing and shelter, water, sanitation, health, education, social security and livelihoods along with special needs of vulnerable groups like women, children and aged people. Poor people live in slums which are overcrowded, often polluted and lack basic civic amenities like clean drinking water, sanitation and health facilities. With growing poverty and slums, Indian cities have been grappling with the challenges of making the cities sustainable i.e. inclusive, productive, efficient and manageable. Urban poverty will become a major challenge for policymakers in our country as the urban population in the country is growing.

Table 1: Urbanization in India: Decadal trend and growth (1901-2011)

Census year	Percentage of urban population to total population	Urban population (millions)	Difference over the previous decade	Decadal urban growth rate (%)	No. of towns
1901	10.85	25.8	-	-	1827
1911	10.29	25.9	0.1	0.4	1815
1921	11.18	28.1	2.2	8.3	1949
1931	11.99	33.5	5.4	19.1	2072
1941	13.86	44.1	10.6	32.0	2250
1951	17.29	62.4	18.3	41.4	2843
1961	17.97	78.9	16.5	26.4	2365
1971	19.91	109.1	30.2	38.2	2590
1981	23.34	159.4	50.3	46.1	3378
1991	25.71	217.6	58.2	36.4	3768
2001	27.78	285.4	67.8	31.5	5161
2011	31.16	377.1	91.7	31.8	7935

Source: Urban statistics handbook 2000, National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi & Census of India, 2011.

Consequences and repercussions of migration on rural areas as well as on urban areas:

Employment opportunities are shrinking in rural areas due to increase in population. Decline in handicrafts, stagnant agricultural economy and absence of industrial growth has resulted in large scale seasonal migration as well as permanent migration from rural areas. Costs and risks of migration are heavy including the risk of disease, injury and not being able to send their children to school. At present, migrants cannot have access to subsidised food through the public distribution system which works on residential criteria. They cannot easily access state schools, cheap housing or government health care. When entire families migrate the situation is even worse. Children have to be removed from schools and live in precarious environments. Women and young girls are especially vulnerable to sexual exploitation. The migrants largely suffer while settling down in urban areas. These problems are loss of traditional arts and technology, problem of water, housing, sanitation, pollution, low earnings, increasing population, production, income reduction, consumption, civic amenities, urban poverty, and environment stress for urban population and on other activities.

Urban congestion is a cost of migration that is borne by society at large. Migration is largely connected to lack of education for children. Most migrant children work in brick kilns, in dhabas and workshops, in textile markets, weavers, rice go-down workers and on construction sites. In cities poor children can't pay admission fee, purchase books, school uniforms, bicycles etc. but migration has a positive impact at local regional and national levels. Migrants transfer resources to local areas such as financial or in kind remittances, as well as the generation and transmission of new skills and innovative ideas. The low educated or illiterate migrants who are placed in lower job positions seem to be more regular in remitting money to the rural areas. This remittance money from urban to rural areas has positive impact in food availability, access to health services and sending the children to school. It may reduce poverty and removes inequality and helps to overcome difficulties in periods of crisis. Sometimes labour

shortage in farm as well as in non-farm production process may have negative impact on rural economy. In cases if the remittance money along with new skills and innovative ideas are invested in farm and non-farm agricultural production, it may have positive impact for both agricultural production and rural employment. Thus by and large rural to urban migration seems to be an important factor in the social and economic development of the rural areas. Most of the migrants in cities work as washermen, shoemakers, hawkers, kerosene sellers, ricksawallas, thellawallas, laundry works, selling panmasala, khaini, ice cream on the road side, bag carriers, railway porters, FCI workers and important wholesale food stockists or other similar works. These migrant workers are deficient in sustenance, having scanty clothing, poor housing condition with minimum needs of material comfort.

Conclusion:

There is a need to focus on balanced regional development and investment should be given to those states which are lagging behind in development parameters. It is high time that government should tackle poverty of villages by attracting modern industry and commerce in rural areas. Now, it is our government's duty to ensure guaranteed employment for the rural poor and also have to give utmost priority to generation of diversified livelihood opportunities in rural India in a sustainable manner. Migration should be managed in such a way that it can play a positive role in the process of economic development and can provide a sound basis for national prosperity.

- ☆ Emphasis should be given to the development of small and medium towns and development of infrastructure so that the flow of migration to large cities can be checked.
- ☼ Population control measures must be made effective in both urban and rural areas in order to sustain urban situation. Balanced development of urban and rural areas is the only possible long term solution.
- ☆ The civic services in big urban centers must be augmented to make them fit for a reasonable level of living.

☆ Effective and efficient policy measures must be adopted to established agro-processing units, village cottage and handicrafts industrial units in the rural and semi-urban areas so that the rural people can get employment in these industries and are not compelled to migrate in search of job opportunities to big cities. In the same away, efforts must be made to improve agriculture, horticulture, dairying, animal husbandry and primary health and education in rural areas and nearby small towns.

Programmes like MNREGA will certainly have impact on seasonal rural-urban migrations by providing rural workers with employment during the lean season. This will reduce the problems of excessive population pressure in Indian cities as surplus labour will find employment in their own villages. The state as well as the central government should frame such policies which could harness the energy of the rural workers to assist in the upliftment of the underprivileged section of the society. Focus should be given more on non-farm economy. Investment in rural education, vocational training, health and early nutrition will improve people's job prospects. It will also reduce disparities between rural and urban people. We need to focus on agro food processing, need to engage agricultural graduates, create nonfarm employment opportunities, promote agri-tourism in rural areas, restart government institutions-like MNREGA, and bridge rural-urban divide-providing urban amenities in rural areas.

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Consumer Evaluation of Financial Services in India

Introduction

For the development of any nation or economy, financial services play a critical role. The growth of the financial sector largely depends upon the confidence of users/consumers in its fairness, transparency, accountability, responsiveness, accessibility and adaptability. Financial services in India have taken a giant leap from the days of standing in bank queues for several hours for opening a saving account or trying to get some Fixed Deposits done. The financial services sector has experienced a massive change with increasing use of online services. The financial sector is undergoing rapid expansion and with the induction of Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana, the procedure for opening of bank accounts has been simplified. Further the Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Beema Yojana (PMSBY) and Pradhan Mantri Ivoti Beema Yojana have been launched where primary eligibility is having a bank account. The extensive use of technology, innovative products and outsourcing of functions have enabled efficient conduct of various financial business by banks and other institutions providing greater access to consumers. With the recent demonetization in our country, there is increased need for digital payments and electronic modes of conducting banking transactions.

Are the consumers getting quality services from their banks and/ or insurance companies? This is the question that comes to mind. It is very frustrating for a customer seeking a loan to be later pressurized for it's hidden charges. The customers are also pushed towards annual service charge after being wooed with (so called) 'free' credit cards. Then there is over-billing, double debit, billing delays, pension disbursement, non-rectification of wrong bills, misleading advertisements and non-adherence to offers made. The list goes on. The need for consumer protection arises from an imbalance of power, information and resources between consumers and their financial service providers. Lack of financial literacy is the major cause of consumers being cheated. This leads to distrust amongst customers, which results in lower investments and higher financial loss.

This paper attempts to understand the nature of problems faced by the consumers in the banking sector and how they can seek easy disposal of their complaints. The framework of the undertaken study encompasses studying the various consumer segments, each demanding specific type of services and attention from the bank. By identifying the nature of problems faced by users of different consumer segments and evaluating various banking services such as Online Banking, Mobile Banking, Credit Card, Debit Cards/Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) and customers availing banking loans recommendations have been given for quick and speedy redressal of consumer complaints.

Literature Review

The increased competition in the financial sector has necessitated steps for protection of consumer interests. Lack of financial literacy leads to consumers being cheated resulting in huge financial losses. According to the Reserve Bank of India the number of cases of fraud on account of ATM, debit cards and credit cards in the Year 2012 were 5, 266.95 lakhs. Ensuring financial literacy becomes even more important as a lot of fine points are not communicated intentionally to the consumer at the time of selling the product or service. The low levels of transparency and the consequent inability of consumers to identify and understand the fine print from a large volume of information leads to an information asymmetry between the financial intermediary and the consumer. This section illustrates the related work done in this area.

Rugimbana (1995) found that the market of mobile banking has a vast potential because of its continuous functionality and the option to do banking virtually anywhere and anytime. Barnes and Corbitt (2003) reviewed that recent innovations in the stream of telecommunications has launched access to various new methods of banking, including Mobile Banking whereby customers interact with the bank using their mobile phones which are personal and unique to them. Singhal and Padhmanabhan (2008) studied customer perception towards internet banking. Malhotra and Singh (2009) studied the impact of internet banking on bank performance and risk. Internet banks have higher asset quality and are better managed to lower the expenses for building

and equipment. In contrast to developed countries Internet banks in India rely substantially on deposits, the traditional source of financing.

Bena (2010) works on evaluating customer satisfaction for a Romanian Bank. His survey concludes that customers are dissatisfied with respect to bank's reaction to complaints, promotion of their services and communication with the banks. Devi, Sebastina and Kanchana (2011) work on studying the awareness and opinion of consumers on Mobile Banking. They suggest that customers should be made aware of all the merits and demerits of mobile banking while offering them this service. The usage should be simplified further and as customers are wary of security issues while using technology in banking, the service providers must provide adequate security services. Lacangellera, Liberati and Mariani (2011) attempt to evaluate satisfaction of customers of Banks in Italy. They highlight the importance of highly satisfied customers, and conclude that the action taken by management in response to requests by customers, effectively impacts the satisfaction. Ramchandra (2012) has done a secondary data analysis of the Consumer Protection Act related to Banking Sector in India. Through a discussion of various related cases, he concludes that consumers have been provided positive justice against faulty banking services. Alagarsamy and Wilson (2013) have studied the consumer behavior towards banking services. Their findings suggest that a good environment should be provided by banks to deal with large number of customers, communication network should be effectively used by the banks and all the new schemes introduced by the banks should be properly displayed on the notice board of the banks.

A survey by the Internet and Mobile Association of India, conducted in 2013 finds that a higher number of people use credit cards for online shopping as compared to debit cards and cash on delivery. Singh (2013) focuses on the factors impeding the usage of internet banking in semi-urban areas. Trivedi and Patel (2013) attempt to find out the problems faced by e-banking users in India by conducting a primary survey. They report various problems faced by users such as misuse of their cards, feeling of insecurity while using e banking, ATM being out of order, etc.

Wadhe and Ghodke (2013) study the awareness and perception of consumers about mobile banking in India. Their survey results indicate the lack of awareness of consumers about banking transactions that can be done through mobile applications. Users of mobile banking find it a very easy mode of transaction and greatly value the flexibility offered to them via mobile banking. But, only limited number of customers are aware of the transactions that can be done through mobile banking. Also, not many consumers have used the facility of mobile banking. This highlights the importance of banks to reach the consumers and making them aware of mobile banking services. Vennila (2014) attempts to identify the major problems by users of e-banking services in Indian private banks. Through a primary survey, he reports that customers have faced problems like unauthorized access, data being lost or damaged by hackers, infrastructure and location problems of ATMs, improper ATM service, etc. Kaur and Kiran (2015) study the online banking service quality and customer loyalty of Public, Private and Foreign Bank consumers in India. They highlight the importance of service quality and report a positive relation between e-banking service quality factors and loyalty of customers. With increasingly cautious customers, service quality of online banking is highly dependent on security software for enhancing trust. A significant difference in facilities provided by public, private and foreign banks is reported.

Indian Banking Fraud Survey conducted by Deloitte in 2015 reported that more than 90% of the respondents indicated an increase in banking fraud incidents in the last two years. More than 100 fraud incidents have been witnessed in the retail banking segment by 25% institutions. The survey concludes that frauds have increased due to lack of oversight by managers, high pressures to meet unreasonable targets and collusion of employees with external parties. Fraudulent documentation, siphoning of funds and identity theft are the common frauds faced by consumers. These frauds are discovered with the help of internal whistleblowers, customer complaints and during reconciliation of accounts. David Hodgkinson in Mobile Banking overview, KPMG Team Report (2015), examined customer profile and behavior, business, offering and growth through mobile

banking sector. He studied the global user adoption trends, security issues during banking, regional and national banking trends, and impacts of m-banking on the banking on key performance metrics of the banks.

Though there has been a lot of research work that discusses the problems faced by users of banking services and their satisfaction level, but limited studies have focused on a detailed service wise analysis. Most of the existing work discusses the general problems faced by banking users. With this study, we intend to fill this research gap by discussing the problems of users of different services.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study on 'Consumer Evaluation of Financial service in India' have been stated as follows:

- 1. To study the customer perceptions (satisfaction levels) regarding quality of service provided by banks.
- 2. To understand the level of financial inclusion by focusing on banking services availed by lower income group.
- 3. To analyze the impact of financial inclusion and the level of satisfaction of customers regarding services provided by banks in the lower income group.
- 4. To compare the customer perception (satisfaction levels) and quality of service of debit card/ATM, credit card, mobile banking, online banking, loans provided by different banks.

Research Methodology

The methodology entails a systematic study of the present financial services in Indian market with special reference to the best practices prevalent in the global markets, with the help of secondary resources from Reserve Bank of India, Banking Ombudsman and Consumer Forums. By using Focus Group Method the tools that were instrumental in evaluating financial services were short listed. Primary data collection was done by Survey Method and a new strategy to protect consumers was formulated.

The study was divided into two parts. In Part A, a sizeable number of 300 respondents in the lower income group (income up to two Lakh per annum) were surveyed to find out the awareness level and problems faced with respect to usage of banking services, and the popularity of Government schemes like Jan Dhan Yojana amongst them. In part B, a total of 524 respondents were contacted. This was done to analyse the level of satisfaction and awareness of the users of Online Banking, Mobile Banking, Loans, Credit Cards, Debit Cards/ATMs. Certain general questions regarding the demographic profile of customers and the bank they use were addressed to all respondents. The respondents in both the surveys were asked various questions regarding the banking services they use and the problems faced by them. They were also asked how satisfied they are with their banks and if their problems and concerns are addressed appropriately by the banks.

Findings

PART A: Financial Inclusion and the Lower Income Group

In order to find out the nature of problems faced by the lower income group a face-to-face interview was conducted with 300 respondents. Out of them, 60% were male respondents and the remaining were females. 10% respondents are below 20 years of age, 70% between 20 to 40 years and the rest are above 40 years. 88% of our respondents have annual income below Rs. One Lakh. Around 48% of our respondents are salaried employees, 24% are contractual employees, 22% have their own business and the remaining are unemployed and daily wage laborers. Major findings of this phase are highlighted below:

(I) Opening a Bank Account:

While opening a Bank Account, some of the major problems reported by the respondents were inadequate documents, lengthy account opening procedures and lack of help from bank staff. Majority of the respondents were not aware of the documents required to open a bank account. According to RBI regulations there are three things which are essential to open an account, i.e., 'Proof of identity', 'Proof of address'

and a 'Photograph'. Aadhar card, Driving license, Voters' ID card, Passport and NREGA card serve as both Proof of identity and as Proof of address. However, PAN card serves only as a proof of identity.

Many women respondents said that they had to face problems while opening a bank account because of being migratory workers and having no permanent address. Also, they feel hesitant to go inside the bank branches as they feel that they are not properly dressed.

Out of the 300 respondents who were surveyed and administered the questionnaire, 40% of the respondents, especially women and transgenders felt highly dissatisfied with the help provided by the bank officials in opening their bank accounts. Only 25% of respondents said that they were satisfied with the help provided by bank officials (Fig. 1.1).

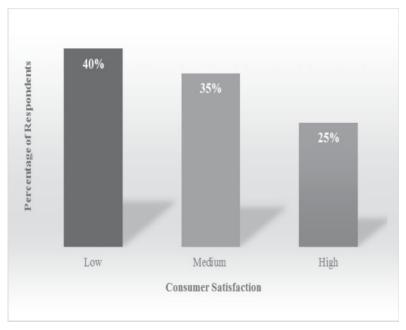


Fig. 1.1: Consumer satisfaction regarding help offered by bank officials while opening a Bank Account

(II) Nomination Details:

Nomination is a facility that enables a deposit account holder or safe deposit locker holder to nominate an individual, who can claim the proceeds of the deposit account or contents of the safe deposit locker, post the demise of the original depositor or locker holder. The Bank can release the account proceeds or contents of the locker to the nominee without insisting upon a Succession Certificate, Letter of Administration or Court Order.

The study found that 23% respondents did not have a nominee (Fig. 1.2). Thus in case of unexpected death of account holder the account proceeds would remain unclaimed. Common practice in banks while catering to less educated people is that they are asked to sign or thumb stamp at different spaces in a form and are neither explained about the terms of the document nor are they given the time to go through it themselves. Due to such practices, people are not aware that there is a person whom they can appoint as their nominee.

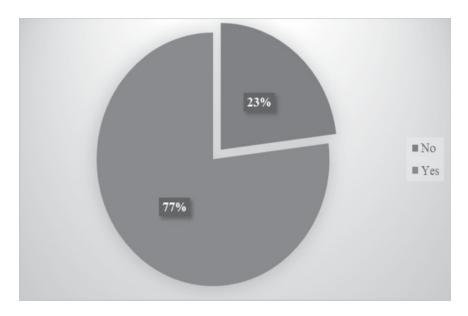


Fig 1.2: Nomination Details

(III) Quality of Service:

Respondents were asked to rate on a three-point scale the level of satisfaction they have regarding the quality of service provided by their banks. They were asked questions regarding behaviour of bank officials while getting passbook updated, clearing of local and outstation cheques, levy of charges without notice and whether the bank standards are meeting the expectations of customers.

Fig 1.3 shows that 65% of the respondents were highly dissatisfied with the quality of service offered by their banks. Only 26% of the respondents reported that they were highly satisfied with the quality of service provided by their bank.

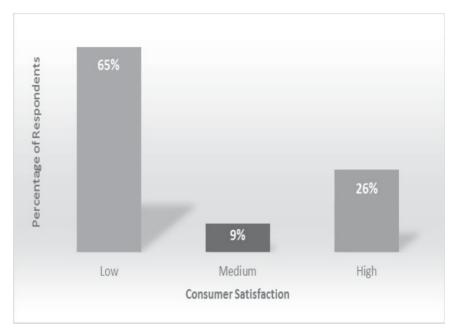


Fig. 1.3: Quality of service

The higher level of dissatisfaction reveals a major drawback of our banking system, and in most of the cases the aggrieved customer doesn't know which course of redressal to take and suffers losses due to this. Banks should be more helpful in solving the queries, issues and concerns of its customers.

Low Medium High Customer Satisfaction

(IV) Customer Satisfaction with the Bank:

Fig. 1.4: Satisfaction of customers with the bank

Assessing the post purchase satisfaction of customers with their bank is important because if customers are satisfied they would talk positively about it and would recommend it to others.

50% of the respondents said that they were highly dissatisfied with their bank and would not like to recommend it to others. Only 20% of the respondents said that they were highly satisfied with their banks and would recommend it to others. These days if the bank is giving a shoddy service customers would like to change it therefore a huge implication for the banks to improve their customer service and to redress complaints of the consumers instantly. Given the higher level of dissatisfaction of customers with the bank it is imperative that a robust complaint handling system is put in place and the helpline numbers should be prominently displayed at branches and website of the banks.

PART B: Results of Survey Conducted for Users of Specific Banking Services

The study has focused on consumers availing certain specific banking services such as; Online Banking, Mobile Banking, Loans, Credit Cards, Debit Cards/ATMs. For this, we surveyed a total of 524 respondents. Some general questions were asked from all of them. Then service specific questions were addressed to users of the above mentioned services. Table 1.1 shows the Nature of Banking Service vis-a-vis the number of respondents.

Table 1.1 Nature of Service vis-a-vis the number of respondents

Banking Service	Number of Respondents
Online Banking	100
Mobile Banking	100
Credit Cards	100
ATMs and Debit Cards	124
Loans	100
Total	524

Out of the 524 respondents, 48% are females and 52% are males. 43% respondents have annual income between Rs. Two to Rs. Five lakhs, 22% between Rs. five-eight lakhs and the rest 35% above Rs. Eight lakhs. 36% of these respondents work in the private sector, 20% in the government sector, 14% are self-employed while 30% are unemployed. The majority of respondents are well educated and net savvy.

(I) Common consumer complaints and concerns:

The common problems observed for users of all services are:

(i) Passbooks to account holders: Pass book is a ready reckoner of transactions and is handy and compact but many banks especially private banks have stopped issuing pass books or issue them only if the customer asks for it. Instead they issue Statement of Accounts to Saving Bank holders. 30% of the respondents revealed that they have discontinued taking pass book and receive Statement of Accounts either on a monthly or quarterly basis. This leads to inconvenience for customers as they can lose track of their available balance.

- (ii) Average monthly/quarterly Balance: 40% of the respondents were not aware that bank charges penal interest for not maintaining monthly/quarterly balance and it varies from bank to bank.
- (iii) Cheque Dropbox facility: As per the existing instructions from RBI, banks are required to ensure that both the drop box facility and the facility for acknowledgement of the cheques at the regular collection counters should be available and no respondents should refuse the same. But 80% of the respondents said that they use the cheque drop box facility and are not aware that they can deposit the cheques at the bank counter.
- (iv)Information regarding redressal mechanism: 39% of the respondents did not know where to lodge a complaint in case of any problem with the banking service.
- (v) Problems of Direct Selling Agents (DSAs): Many respondents complained about tall promises made by Sales agents but not met by the banks. Promises such as, free credit cards, no processing charges for loans were reported by 20% of the respondents.

(II) Online Banking:

As an endeavor to offer better services to customers, banks offer the facility of online banking that enables users to carry on all the banking activities without visiting the branch. But such facilities do come with a cost as there are chances of security being compromised. The survey was conducted to assess the level of satisfaction of customers while using this service.

(i) Change in passwords:

Passwords are the key to any online account. Customers should be wary of keeping their passwords secure and should continuously change them to prevent hacking of accounts.

The respondents were asked how often they change their passwords while availing online banking facility.

Though most of them are aware of safety requirements like using a strong password, only a few of them frequently change their passwords.

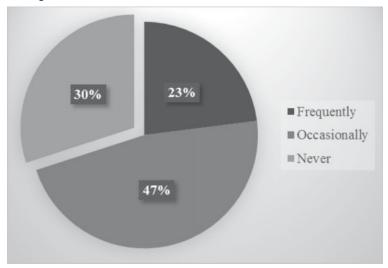


Fig 1.5: Frequency of changing passwords

As indicated in Fig. 1.5, 30% of the respondents have never changed their passwords whereas 47% have changed them only occasionally. In the light of current banking frauds, customers must be encouraged to frequently change their PINs and passwords. The bank officials must guide their customers regarding safety requirements.

(ii) Unauthorized access to bank accounts:

Respondents were asked about their fear while using online banking. As indicated by the Fig. 1.6, 65% of the respondents are scared of unauthorized access to their online bank accounts. Though the banking industry has evolved in a big way and has increasingly adopted the means of doing trade electronically, it has still not been successful in gathering the trust of its consumers. In spite of having strong security systems, we find customers being exposed to various frauds,

which leads to the lack of trust they have in the banking system.

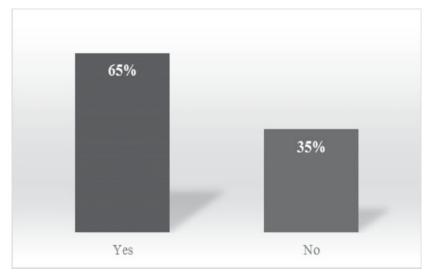


Fig. 1.6: Unauthorized access to bank accounts

(iii) Other problems of online banking:

1/3rd of the respondents reported that banks do not provide proper information to users of online banking services. A lack of financial awareness is observed as some of the respondents are not aware of various charges of the bank for availing online banking services. Also, some of the respondents who are aware of such charges do not feel that these charges are justified. This accounts for a major amount of consumer dissatisfaction.

39% of the respondents did not know where to lodge a complaint in case of any problem with this service. Respondents who lodged a complaint were satisfied with the resolution of their complaints.

(III) Mobile Banking:

Customers can make use of mobile applications for an easy access to their bank accounts. Mobile phones have reached almost every nook and corner of the country. With more than

1000 million cell phone users in India, the use of mobile banking is increasing in a big way and it is expected to be the future of banking.

Customers have used this service for checking balance, making payments and purchasing goods. Most of the respondents feel secure while using this service. An awareness problem is highlighted as 21% of the respondents are not aware of the charges for using this service, and 13% respondents feel that these charges are not justified. While using this service, customers have faced some problems due to weak internet connection.

(IV) Credit Cards:

The current lifestyle of youth that entails high amount of spending, encourages the customers to make use of credit cards, where goods and services can be availed on credit and customers also derive benefits of reward points.

(i) Customer Satisfaction regarding service quality:

Dissatisfaction is shown by users of credit cards as most of the respondents feel that they are charged with unreasonable amounts for availing this service. This is shown in the graph below:

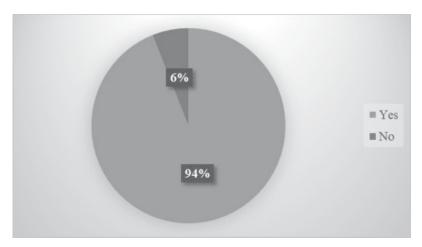


Fig 1.7: Customers who feel charges are exorbitant

As indicated by Fig. 1.7, 94% of the customers surveyed feel that bank charges for this service are exorbitant, which is a major cause of customer dissatisfaction. Some of the respondents faced problems of unknown purchases being charged to their card, incorrect debit related to transactional charges and additional charges that they are not aware of. Also, increased dissatisfaction is reflected as around 27% of the respondents felt that banks have not been helpful in solving their problems.

(ii) Lack of financial education:

There is a lack of financial awareness and education amongst respondents as some of them are not aware of credit card charges, most of the people are unaware of charges beyond the due date and 20% respondents are not aware about the security features available.

In the light of recent scenario, where customers are increasingly exposed to financial frauds, it is very important for banks to empower customers by providing them the knowledge which is necessary for them to be secure and protect themselves against frauds.

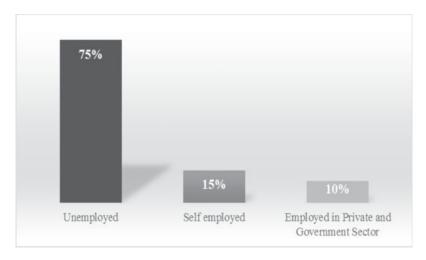


Fig. 1.8: Awareness about security features vis-à-vis employment status

Further analysis of our results shows that, the awareness about security features can be considerably related with the employment status of customers. This is shown in the graph that follows.

Out of the 20% respondents who were unaware about security features, 75% are unemployed and 60% of them were women. This indicates a major lack of awareness amongst females and unemployed people. Thus, more awareness programs are needed for this section.

Although the Reserve Bank of India has now made the issuance of chip and PIN cards compulsory, approximately $1/3^{rd}$ of the respondents are still using their older cards without a chip and PIN. This leaves them vulnerable to various frauds.

(V) ATMs/Debit Cards:

Increasing use of ATMs and Debit cards is being made in today's time as money can be instantly withdrawn from accounts by using debit cards. But, consumers have increasingly faced problems of incorrect amount being debited from their accounts and they face harassment when problems are not resolved by their banks.

The study indicates that 63% of the respondents are dissatisfied with the number and location of ATMs installed by their banks and almost 1/4th of the respondents are not satisfied with the fee charged for ATM service. 25% customers have faced problems, which are mostly related to incorrect debits and PIN being compromised.

Problems faced by most of the ATM and Debit card users have not been satisfactorily resolved by the banks. As seen in Fig. 1.9, 64% of the respondents are dissatisfied with the resolution of problems by their banks. This is a huge implication for banks that the problems of the users of ATM/ Debit Cards should be handled instantly.

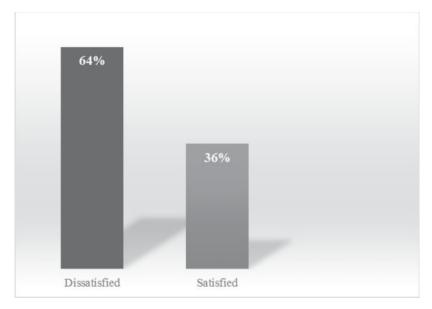


Fig. 1.9: Resolution of consumer problems

(VI) Loans:

Customers who had availed loans from banks were studied. Majority of the respondents had taken loan for buying cars (38%), followed by home loan (25%), personal loan (24%) and remaining 13% have taken loan for other purposes such as education.

Lack of financial literacy is observed in 23% of the respondents, as they did not know the rate of interest charged on their loans, and whether the rate was fixed or floating. This lack of financial awareness exists mostly with women homemakers. Customer dissatisfaction is also observed, where main problems faced by people are concerned with delay in receiving the loan even after approval.

The results of this section also highlight lack of financial awareness amongst customers. These problems exist mainly amongst unemployed and women homemakers. But educated and working population also suffers from lack of financial awareness. Thus, people who are educated are not necessarily financially literate and aware. This increasingly leads to the

need for empowering banking users by providing them adequate financial literacy through various programs. Also, customers have expressed dissatisfaction in various cases as banks have not been helpful in solving their grievances. There is a need for banks to improve their customer service and also improve their complaint handling procedure.

Summary and Conclusion

For an apt financial development, it is imperative to first understand it's micro-determinants. The focus needs to be on beneficiaries and stakeholders. It cannot be assumed that mere use of following technology (ATM, Credit cards, debit cards, online banking and mobile banking) or clause (terms and conditions) will help in financial impetus. The customer base of banks in the country especially like ours is dominated by low income and middle class customers, who have diverse financial needs for savings/credit/ investments /retirement planning etc. To educate consumers, we need to have more programs on financial literacy and awareness. Customer care cells of banks should be proactive and try to reduce the dissonance amongst the consumers. The benefits of better financial literacy may generate greater results. On one hand, individuals may save more, and better manage risk, by purchasing insurance contracts. On the other hand there will be increased demand by households for financial services that may improve risk-sharing, reduce economic volatility, improve intermediation, and speed up overall financial development. This will facilitate competition in the financial services sector and, ultimately, make a way for more efficient allocation of capital within the society.

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History, Presented through Pain and Suffering of the Individual, in Coetzee's Fiction

J.M. Coetzee, in one of his interviews with David Atwell, makes the following statement that also features as the epigraph to Atwell's critical account, *Doubling the Point*, of Coetzee's works:

I am not a herald of community or anything else, as you correctly recognize someone who has intimations of freedom (as every chained prisoner has) and constructs representations – which are shadows themselves – of people slipping their chains and turning their faces to the light. (Atwell 1992, 341)

This statement is characteristic of Coetzee, who is deeply conscious of the fragile and complicated sense of reality and history in South Africa. He, as an author, historian and recorder of not just events but actions of human beings afflicted by forces of history, is skeptical of the role of the author or poet as a chronicler of events. This skepticism and doubt arises because Coetzee is placed in such a geographical location the history of which is marked by large scale migration, ethnic conflict and antiapartheid struggle. Gurleena Mehta and Harish Narang in Apartheid in Fiction define the literary project undertaken by the South African writers in order to present reality: 'South African writers, with their peculiar history of "apartheid" and the consequent political, cultural and psychological situation, understandably adopt an attitude closer to that of the hostility between the world of the white man and that of the black. Arbitrary censorship is imposed on the creative writers; many are banned, imprisoned or exiled' (Mehta and Narang 1990, 3). A little distinct from this position of the binary opposites of the black and white is the position occupied by the white liberal South African writers and intellectuals like J.M. Coetzee and Nadine Gordimer, who fall into the dangerous position of not subscribing to any particular ideology but opting for the middle ground. They, despite being whites, are neither a part of the apparatus of oppression nor are they a part of the resistance movements. Other than the perpetrators and the victims they fall into the third

category of the beneficiaries who do nothing to aggravate the conflicts yet are implicated in the struggles and are not completely unaffected by the repercussions of the war. Coetzee does not present one view but acknowledges the existence of a multiplicity and plurality of views. He refuses to submit to the regime of either/or and does not want to fall into any neat, conventional categories. He is not a polemicist i.e. one who takes sides but a diagnostician who seeks to diagnose and understand positions. He tries to gauge what makes people do what they do. He is deeply concerned with language and textuality and writes in a context where there are harsh realities and urgent ethical questions to be answered. Coetzee's works have been constructed as exemplaries of a certain kind of South African Literature and his fiction has been received as embodying a 'powerful, moral critique of apartheid (Barnett 1999, 288).' South African writers are trapped in a stifling and overly politicized situation and 'trapped' by their location into dealing repeatedly with the same themes of living in an oppressive society. Keeping this compromised/ affected lifestyle in mind an individual's anguished, paradoxical relationship with history can be seen both in the raw events that influence lives and in the way the narrator organizes those events. All these anxieties of the author will be addressed and analyzed in this paper in which I shall look at two early works of J.M. Coetzee, Life and Times of Michael K (LMK for subsequent citations) and Waiting for the Barbarians (WB for subsequent citations). Both these works clearly outline the position of Coetzee as a white South African writer who has for his protagonists, a white magistrate serving the Empire, enjoying the authority, yet feeling guilty and questioning his motives for being the servant of the Empire, and a hare lipped black gardener wanting to live a normal, rooted life amidst a time replete with political turmoil.

A white man in a colonial society, Coetzee inadvertently becomes part of the most dominant group, but as a white 'liberal' he begins to occupy a vulnerable position. He has described the white man's position in South Africa as 'the veiled unfreedom of the white man in South Africa' who is seated on a 'lonely throne' (Atwell 1992, 97). The Magistrate in *Waiting for the Barbarians* realizes that

his suffering – both inflicted and cushioned by his authority as a white – is insignificant in comparison with the suffering around him. The Magistrate ponders: 'How can I regard myself as a victim of persecution when my sufferings are so petty? Yet they are all the more degrading for their pettiness' (WB 93). Coetzee's fiction is marked by the persistent theme of the inevitability and the impossibility of escaping from one's caste affiliations, something that he also relates to on a personal level. Of his own status of belonging to the so-called 'master caste' Coetzee has written: 'The masters, in South Africa, form a closed hereditary caste. Everyone born with a white skin is born into the caste. Since there is no way of escaping the skin you are born with ("can the leopard change its spots"), you cannot resign from the caste. You can imagine resigning, you can perform a symbolic resignation, but short of actually shaking the dust of the country off your feet, there is no way of actually doing it' (Atwell 1992, 96).

Coetzee manages this detachment by affirming that his position with respect to that of his masters, Colonel Joll 'civil guard of the Third Bureau, unsleeping guardian of the Empire' (WB, 21), is more passive and feminised. This feminization of the magistrate, who is now the enemy of the state, is showcased in the form of a staged mock hanging by the new emissaries of the Empire who humiliate and embarrass him. The Magistrate's loss of power is reinforced by parading him dressed as a woman. Through this public humiliation and the treatment of the magistrate as a clown, an object of ridicule, the officers reinforce the masculine nature of their authority. The magistrate probably wants to absolve himself of the guilt of working for a torturous Empire which is why he offers himself as the sacrificial lamb to atone all the sins and probably start anew. He says, 'I wanted to do what was right, I wanted to make reparation:... there must always be a place for penance and reparation' (WB, 88). The magistrate is reduced to the state of an animal, as Mandel says to him, 'Do your best to behave like a man' (WB, 128). He is helpless when he says,'A scapegoat is named, a festival is declared, the laws are suspended: who would not flock to see the entertainment? What is it I object to in these spectacles of abasement and suffering and death that our new regime puts on but their lack of decorum?'(WB, 131). Having opposed the new regime publicly, 'No! You are depraving these people!' (WB, 116), the magistrate knows that he is reduced to being a puppet in the hands of Colonel Joll and Mandell, '...I do tricks for them' (l27), 'As long as the rope remains taut I know they are playing. If the rope goes slack, and I slip, I will die' (WB, 130).

On the one hand Coetzee creates a figure of dissent in the magistrate, who vociferously voices his opinions, and on the other hand he creates the figure of Michael K – a hare-lipped, obedient son, otherwise inarticulate yet determined against all odds to put his mother's soul to rest and in the process, possibly, find his roots and even form new ones to pay back his due to mother earth. Through the figure of Michael K Coetzee tells us that in the midst of darkness and warfare a sliver of hope exists in the form of Michael K's perseverance to grow pumpkins no matter how hostile the environment might be. The ecstasy at the birth of something new amidst a time of utter destruction and desolation can be seen when 'came the evening when the first pumpkin was ripe enough to cut. K had marked it out as the first fruit, the first born' (LMK, 13). He knelt and prayed, 'for what we are about to receive make us truly thankful... Now it is completed, he said to himself. All that remains is to live here quietly for the rest of my life, eating the food that my own labour has made the earth toyield. All that remains is to be a tender of the soil' (LMK, 113). His garden then becomes a medium of personal expression and a mode of communication with his mother who according to him 'makes the plants grow' (LMK, 130). All he asks is to live. No matter which side you are on, at the end of the day you have to grow things. Through Michael K Coetzee asserts the significance of something as basic yet life giving as cultivation, to which the question of ideology is entirely irrelevant. What K performs is a sacred act but war destroys this respect and reverence that he pays to mother earth by trying to have an essential connection with it. The neglected orchard at the Visagies signifies war torn land that has not been tended to for a very long time but K's perseverance leaves a spark of hope and a possibility of happiness in an otherwise war torn state.

Coetzee's use of an inarticulate, isolated, silent protagonist shows his way of dealing with a strong, intrusive history. It signifies that the inability to speak in itself is empowering. The speech that corresponds to silence implies that what needs to be said/ articulated is difficult. As the magistrate says, 'No thought that I think, no articulation, however antonymic, of the origin of my desire seems to upset me. "I must be tired", I think. "Or perhaps whatever can be articulated is falsely put." My lips move, silently composing and recomposing the words. "Or perhaps it is the case that only that which has not been articulated has to be lived through" (WB, 70). What the magistrate cannot articulate/ understand is why he desires the barbarian girl. 'She is incomplete!'(WB, 45). 'I am with her not for whatever raptures she may promise or yield but for other reasons, which remain as obscure to me as ever' (WB, 70). It seems that the barbarian girl is an allegory for the Empire that the magistrate serves. In the beginning it pulls him towards itself but gradually he gets disenchanted with it. 'I cease to comprehend what pleasure I can ever have found in her obstinate, phlegmatic body, and even discover in myself stirrings of outrage. I become withdrawn, irritable; the girl turns her back and goes to sleep' (WB, 45). Later when the magistrate is accused of 'treasonously consorting' (WB, 85). with the enemy he is elated, 'my alliance with the guardians of the empire is over, I have set myself in opposition, the bond is broken, I am a free man' (WB, 85).

At the literal level, the barbarian girl represents the uninhibited desire of the white man for the black woman facilitated by the power hierarchies that are constructed with respect to gender, class, religion and race. Coetzee's use of the theme of exploitation, seems like his favourite approach to explore the need of another person to fill one's gentler emotional needs. 'The craving to touch and be touched by another human body sometimes comes over me with such force that I groan' (WB, 105). Coming to terms with the realities of life and death, however forcefully, redeem man of his otherwise fractured existence of nothingness. It has been a constant attempt of Coetzee's, to test his characters in extreme situations that make them interrogate what it means to be human. The entirety of human suffering and torture can be seen in the

politically motivated cruelty in both the novels under scrutiny. This compels Coetzee to make his characters go through a self-analytical and soul searching expedition as well, in most of his works. According to Clive Barnett a recurrent theme in reviews of 'South African writers is their being "trapped" by their location into dealing repeatedly with the same themes of living in an oppressive society' (Barnett 1999, 290). Coetzee escapes this trap as he creates, in *Waiting for the Barbarians*, a timeless, spaceless and nameless world which does not require him to deal with immediate political realities. They (South African writers) are 'trapped into dealing with human beings who are almost exclusively aff1icted by racialism. South African society is presented here as a singularly and uniquely racist society, such that race is identified as the only axis of power of significance' (Barnett 1999, 290).

To understand the above mentioned psychological afflictions it becomes indispensable to look at the political ramifications of the apartheid system that entailed apartness and became a monster to be contented with resulting in the segregation of South Africans based on racial inequalities. Nelson Mandela, in No Easy Walk To Freedom, says 'The breaking up of African homes and families and the forcible detention of Africans in farm colonies for spurious statutory offences are a few examples of the actual workings of the hideous and pernicious doctrines of racial inequality. To these can be added scores of thousands of foul misdeeds committed against the people by the government' (41). This discrimination is clearly seen when Anna K, Michael K's mother finds the sudden upheaval and unrest around her house difficult to comprehend, 'What I don't understand is why they don't let me know anything. What must I do if someone knocks on the door and says I must clear out at once, he wants the room for his domestic? Where must I go?' (LMK, 18). Gurleena Mehta highlights this state of the country when she says that 'South Africa is the only place which has the terrible and unique distinction of proclaiming racial segregation as a fundamental doctrine imposed by legislation' (Mehta and Narang 1990, 7). But more than the racial inequality another aspect that South African identity and in effect Coetzee's fiction is marked with is the

uninhibited and relentless use of torture pain and suffering in the conception of characters. Coetzee clearly condemns his own country and reveals the universal truths about torture and oppression, with the depiction of state approved torture that maims the barbarian woman and publicly humiliates the magistrate. All this points towards the ill treatment of political prisoners in South Africa. Barbara Eckstein in her essay says that the novel *Waiting for the Barbarians* is about 'physical torture, the body of pain,' (Eckstein 1989, 176) which has a strong bearing on the language of the novel as well.

The Oxford English Dictionary distinguishes between two kinds of torture. The means of extortion; the second, referred to as judicial torture, is 'inflicted by a judicial or quasi-judicial authority for the purpose of forcing an accused or suspected person to confess, or an unwilling witness to give evidence or information.' (Eckstein 1989, 177)

Alan Sheridan, the translator of Foucault's Discipline and Punish also refers to the public mutilation and execution of convicted criminals as a form of torture. First is 'the infliction of excruciating pain ... by cruel tyrants, savages, brigands etc.' (Eckstein 1989, 177). All these forms of torture are clearly mentioned in Coetzee's works. Waiting for the Barbarians can be seen as a work highlighting the impact of the torture chamber on the life of a man of conscience. This said man of conscience, known only as the Magistrate, is the chief administrator of a small village on the frontier situated between the land of the civilized and that of the barbarians (Eckstein). When the magistrate asks Colonel Joll – 'an official of the Third Bureau of the Civil Guard, guardians of the State, specialists in the obscurer motions of sedition, devotees of truth, doctors of interrogation' – (WB, 9) to describe the way he interrogates a prisoner, he is told that they have 'set procedures that they go through' (WB, 4) and that the prisoner is tortured until he discloses the truth. The magistrate realizes that 'Pain is truth, all else is subject to doubt' (WB, 5). He realizes that for no fault of his he is also getting implicated in the whole process and expresses the desire to break free. 'I did not mean to get embroiled in this. I am a country magistrate, a responsible official in the

service of the Empire, serving out my days on this lazy frontier, waiting to retire' (WB, 8). He wishes that he had gone on a hunting trip instead.

Witnessing the brutal, cruel beating of the barbarians by the officials of the Third Bureau, the Magistrate pleads, 'Look! We are the great miracle of creation! But from some blows this miraculous body cannot repair itself! How-! Look at these men! Men! (WB, 117). He fails to comprehend the barbarity of the officials who reduce the barbarians to worse than the state of an animal. All this torture along with the humiliation of suffering a mock hanging in a woman's smock is what the magistrate has to bear which rips apart his psyche. He admits, 'The truth is that I am not myself, I have been terror-stricken, I perceive, since the moment in my cell when I saw the guard's fingers clamp over the shoulder of the little boy to remind him not to speak to me, and knew that, whatever it was that had happened that day, I was to bear the blame for it' (WB, 104). Earlier it is probably because he realizes his mistake in passively letting the barbarian girl be tortured that he undertakes the daily ritual of massaging her feet, probably as a way of absolving himself of the sin of not fighting against the physical torture. He applies the same thing to himself that he thinks Colonel Joll must also do, 'I find myself wondering too whether he has a private ritual of purification, carried out behind closed doors, to enable him to return and break bread with other men' (WB, 13). As 'Edward Peters explains in Torture that pain always has physical and psychological dimensions and that these dimensions are dependent upon the unique history of an individual, including his fears and his hopes for the future' (Eckstein 1989, 179).

State approved cruelty can also be seen in *Life and Times of Michael K* as one motorcyclist tells K 'you want to stop on the expressway; you pull fifty metres off the roadside. That's the regulation: fifty metres either side. Anything nearer, you can get shot, no warning, no questions asked. Understand?' (LMK, 22) K begins to follow the policy of the survival of the fittest and survives by hunting. 'It was hard to believe that he had become this savage with the bared knife' (LMK, 52)... I must be hard, the thought came to

him, I must press through to the end, I must not relent' (LMK, 53). He perseveres and tries to hold on even in situations of utter desolation. In Eckstein's essay Elaine Scarry says in *The Bodv in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World,* 'The goal of the torturer is to make the one, the body, emphatically and crushingly present by destroying it, and to make the other, the voice, absent by destroying it. It is in part this combination that makes torture, like any experience of great physical pain, mimetic of death; for in death the body is emphatically present while that more elusive part represented by the voice is so alarmingly absent that heavens are created to explain its where about' (Eckstein 1989, 184).

Michael K is the model of passive suffering rather than active struggle and resistance. Both the protagonists also share a distinct relationship with food in their attempt to survive in their respective worlds. The magistrate says, 'I want to be fat again, fatter than ever before. I want a belly that gurgles with contentment when I fold my palms over it,... I want a life of simple satisfactions. I want (vain hope!) never to know hunger again' (WB, 142). Michael K on the other hand knows that there is no dearth of food: 'The pigs don't know there is a war on, he said. The pineapples don't know there is a war on. Food keeps growing. Someone has to eat it' (LMK, 16). In his attempt to grow pumpkins can be seen Michael K's desire to continue life: 'K knew that he would not crawl out and stand up and cross from darkness into firelight to announce himself. He even knew the reason why: because enough men had gone off to war saying the time for gardening was when the war was over; Whereas there must be men to stay behind and keep gardening alive, or at least the idea of gardening; because once that cord was broken, the earth would grow hard and forget her children. That was why' (LMK, 109). Towards the end K says, 'They want me to open my heart and tell them the story of a life lived in cages. They want to hear about all the cages I have lived in, as if I were a budgie or a white mouse or a monkey' (LMK, 181). But Michael K refuses to tell his story simply because he is unable to. The normal circumstances- where a man's emotions overflow to such an extent that he is no longer able to contain them and thus expresses them in an outburst of personal narration- are not available to Michael K. Despite being

silenced Michael K is able to contemplate the meaning of the Huis Norenius in his life and knows that the institution was shaped by patriarchal authority: 'My mother was the one whose ashes I brought back, he thought, and my father was Huis Norenius. My father was the list of rules on the door of the dormitory, the twenty-one rules of which the first was "There will be silence in dormitories at all times ..." (LMK 104-105). Having never learned to talk about himself Michael K is unable to construct a narrative about himself. 'Always, when he tried to explain himself to himself, there remained a gap, a hole, a darkness before which his understanding balked, into which it was useless to pour words. The words were eaten up, the gap remained, his was always a story with a hole in it: a wrong story, always wrong' (LMK, 110). There is a constant demand for true stories but the irony lies in the fact that the veracity of the stories is to be decided by the listener. Michael K's stories, since he is a part of the margins, will never fit into the global framework.

The Magistrate of Waiting for the Barbarians also tries to find himself in the historyof the Empire. He says, 'I will not disappear into the earth without leaving my mark on them' (WB, 123). Like an archaeologist the Magistrate excavates the ruins but the diggers 'work half-heartedly not sharing his interest' (LMK, 15). The wooden slips that he collects 'form an allegory. They can be read in many orders' (LMK, 122). This collection makes the Magistrate, a saviour of the historical ruins. While pleading with the Colonel to stop torturing the barbarians he is ridiculed for behaving as if he is 'The One Just Man, the man who is prepared to sacrifice his freedom to his principles' (LMK, 124). The Magistrate pleads the case of history believing that 'History will bear me out!' (LMK, 125). Towards the end he blames everything on the colonial project, on the contempt that the so-called civilized people have for the barbarians. 'What has made it impossible for us to live in time like fish in water, like birds in air like children? It is the fault of Empire! Empire has created the time of history. Empire has located its existence not in the smooth, recurrent spinning time of the cycle of the seasons but in the jagged time of rise and fall of beginning and end, of catastrophe. Empire dooms itself to live in history and plot against history. One thought alone preoccupies

the submerged mind of Empire: how not to end, how not to die, how to prolong its era. By day it pursues its enemies. It is cunning and ruthless, it sends its bloodhounds everywhere. By night it feeds on images of disaster: the sack of cities, the rape of populations, pyramids of bones, acres of desolation' (WB, 146).

Hence, we can see that in both these novels of Coetzee history is represented through the pain, suffering and torture inflicted on the bodies of the protagonists who despite being distinct individuals are mired in the politics of the same South African situation.

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Social Marketing of Organ Donation in India: Issues and Challenges

Introduction

Marketing of a socially desirable idea can be termed as social marketing. A social marketing campaign is designed to influence behaviour of people towards a social problem. Social marketing is not new for India. There have been successful social marketing campaigns in the past which have brought about a significant change in the society and the mindset of people. The Polio Campaign is an excellent example of a successful social marketing campaign.

Social marketing of organ donation is also not new. There have been efforts in the past to create awareness about organ donation. The Eye Bank Association's campaign with AishwaryaRai was one of the popular campaigns on this topic. However, despite the efforts, organ donation has not got the desired response.

Objectives of the Study

- · To understand concept of organ donation.
- To determine the reasons behind low rate of organ donation in India.
- To assess the impact of social marketing on organ donation campaigns.
- To study the impact of age and gender on decisions related to organ donation.

Hypothesis

· Hypothesis 1:

H₀: There is no significant difference in people'sperception of the ways to overcome misconceptions regarding organ donation (Mean of 'One to one conversation' = Mean of 'Huge advertising campaign') Social marketing of organ donation in India: Issues and Challenges

· Hypothesis 2:

H₀: There is no significant difference in the willingness to donate organs on the basis of gender.

· Hypothesis 3:

H₀: There is no significant difference in the willingness to donate organs on the basis of age group.

· Hypothesis 4:

H₀: There is no significant difference in the willingness to attend workshops to remove misconceptions regarding organ donation on the basis of age group.

Organ Donation in India

Organ donation essentially means pledging of organs to be transplanted to a person in need after the donor's death. A living donor may also be able to donate certain organs. Living donors are usually family members. Deceased organ donation requires consent of the donor as well as signature of two witnesses, one of whom should be a close relation. After the donor's death, the family still has the right to veto the organ donation. There is a massive shortage of organ donation in India. Due to various reasons, ranging from lack of awareness to religious ones, people are not coming forward to donate their organs.

In 1994, The Transplantation of Human Organs Act was passed. It recognized brain death. Brain death is legal death but the heart still beats. With the help of mechanical ventilation, the vital organs may be kept alive and functional for some time.

Present Condition of Organ Donation in India

ORGAN (Organ Receiving & Giving Awareness Network) India, an initiative of the Parashar Foundation along with The MOHAN (Multiple Organ Harvesting Aid Network) Foundation, conducted a study on deceased organ donation in Delhi and NCR. The report mentioned that though the organ donation rate has been rising slowly in India, it is still very far behind compared to many of the developed nations.

Organ transplantation in India has a relatively short history compared to other developed countries. It was first highlighted in the kidney trade scandals that were widely practiced during the 1980s. Foreign patients flocked to India for transplants from paid donors. Such transplants were done in substandard hospitals and the results of such operations were also poor. However in the last ten years, there has been an advancement in the field of deceased organ donation in India. It is now that organs have been donated and transplanted from patients who are brain dead. Also, transplantations represent one of the best examples of scientific achievement of medical science. But it cannot be neglected that even after so much advancement, the number of patients desperately needing a transplant far outnumbers the available organs, leading to a competition for organs. The reason behind this is the low percentage of organ donations from the deceased.

In India, since 1995, we have managed to do over 900 organs like kidneys, heart, liver, lungs and pancreas transplants. However in the west, approximately 25,000 transplants of various organs is undertaken every year and almost 85% of organs come from brain dead or cadaver patients. Following points highlight the achievements or backlogs of organ donation in India:

- India is one of the lowest organ donating countries in the world. Statistics show that less than one in a million in India donates their organs.
- Earlier only kidney donors were available. Now this has inched up to liver, heart, eyes and other organ donations as well.
- A bone bank at AIIMS barely has 30 donated bones since its inception in 1999.
- · Skin donation is really important for burn patients. But there is a need of spreading awareness regarding the same because not many people in India are aware of the fact that skin can also be donated.
- Between August 2012 and July 2013, there were 99 donors from Tamil Nadu alone.

- Apollo hospitals have performed over 5037 kidney transplants, 1370 liver transplants, 16 heart transplants and 8 lung transplant surgeries till date, according to AnandKhakhar which was possible only due to adequate donations.
- Tamil Nadu continues to lead the nation in organ donation, since it started the Cadaver Organ Transplantation Programme in 2008. It has had 374 donors and a total of 2079 organs.

Myths and Misconceptions Associated with Organ Donation

A major reason behind the failure of organ donation drives in India has been the myths and misconceptions which have been deep-rooted in the minds of people. For years people have been living in a bubble about what organ donation really is and how is the process undertaken. Lack of awareness often makes them avert from the idea of organ donation as a result of which the figures around organ and tissue donation in India have always been meager. In order to achieve the objective of organ donation at a large scale, the first step must be to remove those misconceptions. The following are the common myths and misconceptions associated with organ donation:

· Religious Reasons

This is probably the most commonly cited reason for lack of willingness to donate organs. None of the religions is against organ donation. The most popular example in support of organ donation maybe the story of Rishi Dadhichi. He readily gave his bones to create the vajraweapon which helped the Devas win their fight against Vrutrasur, the head of the demons.

Christianity also reacts favourably towards organ donation. When the Bible was written, the concept of organ donation was unknown. However, looking at the broad principles of Christianity oflove, care and compassion for fellow human beings, it is evident that there is no opposition to organ donation.

Islam is also not against organ donation. However, they lay down certain rules in this regard. Those rules must be followed in order to donate organs during lifetime or after death. Even after specifying those rules, the basic rule is 'necessities permit the prohibited'. This means that even if something is prohibited, it may be done if necessary. Saving a life is given utmost importance in Islam.

These are just some examples of major religions supporting organ donation. Most religions support organ donation and consider it a matter of personal choice. It is seen as a charitable and humanitarian act.

Lack of Trust on Doctors

People think that if they are a registered donor, doctors will remove their organs before they have passed away. It's high time that people understand that taking away their right to live while they are still in a medically recoverable condition is against law and no doctor can ever indulge in such an illegitimate act. People also fear that if they register to donate only one organ, the doctors may try to retrieve other organs as well. This is not the case.

Brain Death

Organs are removed once the person is declared brain dead. Many people wrongly assume that there is a possibility of recovering even after brain death. However, this is not the case. Once the person is declared brain-dead, it is only due to machines that the heart may keep beating for some time. Once the machines are turned off, the person cannot survive. Brain death is an actual death though the body may be supported for sometime artificially. Brain death is not like coma from which a person can recover. It is death. To determine brain death, more than one diagnosis of brain death and a series of tests over a period of time are required before the donor's family is presented with the opportunity to donate.

· Age and Health

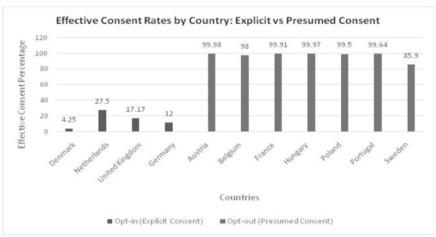
A common misconception is that a person needs to be of a particular age to donate organs and tissues. The suitability of the donor is determined at the time of the death on a case by case basis.

Cost of Organ Donation

Many people are unwilling to donate their organs as they fear that their family will have to bear its cost whereas in reality, the donor's family does not have to pay for it.

Organ Donation around the World

Opt-in and opt-out method: These are the two methods of voluntarily consenting to become an organ donor. Opt-in method means that those who wish to become donors need to explicitly give their consent and express their desire to become donors. On the other hand, in opt-out method, the consent is presumed. Those who do not wish to donate their organs, need to opt out. Countries like Spain, Austria, Belgium, Italy, Norway, Israel, Sweden, Turkey, among others choose to go for opt-out method of obtaining voluntary consent. Research shows that countries going for opt-out method have nearly 25 to 30% higher organ donation rate than countries going for opt-in method. Interestingly, countries having a Catholic or orthodox majority exhibit a higher rate of organ donation than countries having a Protestant majority.



Source: http://www.dangoldstein.com/papers/Defaults Science.pdf

 Incentives and Financial Assistance: Various countries offer both financial and non-financial incentives to attract potential organ donors.

Steps Being Taken to Improve Organ Donation

- In India, financial assistance is being provided under the National Organ Transplant Programme for hiring transplant coordinators in hospitals and trauma centres. Financial assistance has been sanctioned for establishing four Regional Organ and Tissue Transplant Organisation (ROTTO) in Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Assam and Chandigarh.
- By educating people about organs and tissues donation by seminars, one to one talk, advertisements, etc. It will help in making them aware and will help them to clarify the misconceptions.
- A number of steps have been taken over the years to try to increase the supply of organs. The first attempt was from state laws permitting the use of organ donor cards or family consent to donate a deceased relative's organs. Then, states began requiring hospitals to ask all patients' families about organ donation. Most recently, state laws required hospitals to honour a patient's donor card even when the family opposed donation. None of these policies has significantly increased the supply of organs.
- Two basic strategies have been proposed to **provide incentives** for people to sell their organs upon their death. One strategy is simply to permit organ sale by changing the National Organ Transplant Act (NOTA), the federal law that bans organ sales. Then, individuals would be free to broker contracts with persons interested in selling at prices mutually agreed upon by both parties. Markets already exist on the Internet between potential live donors and people in need of organs, but these transactions are illegal. The other strategy is a regulated market in which the government would act as the purchaser of organs—setting a fixed price and enforcing conditions of sale. Both proposals havedrawn heated ethical criticism.

- There is another option for increasing the organ supply that has not been tried in the United States but is practiced abroad. Spain, Italy, Austria, Belgium, and some other European countries have enacted laws that create **presumed consent**, or what I prefer to call 'default to donation.' In such a system, the presumption is that you want to be an organ donor upon your death—the default to donation. People who don't want to be organ donors have to say so by registering this wish on a computer, carrying a card, or telling their loved ones. With default to donation, no one's rights are taken away—voluntary altruism remains the moral foundation for making organs available, and, therefore, procuring organs is consistent with medical ethics.
- The need for organ transplantation may eventually be reduced by stem cell therapies. Scientists hope to repair or even replace damaged organs with new cells grown from adult or embryonic stem cells. Earlier this year, researchers at the University of Minnesota reported that they had built a beating heart in a laboratory with stem cells from neonatal and foetal rats. And British scientists are undertaking pioneering clinical trials that attempt to repair the hearts of heart attack patients by injecting them with stem cells.

Methodology and Data Collection

Primary data was collected from various parts of Delhi-NCR for the purpose of this study. Questionnaires were filled regarding organ donation. The team of students from Kamala Nehru College, University of Delhi, personally guided and monitored the data collection process.

182 respondents were surveyed for the purpose of this project. Out of these, 72 were females and 110 were males. The respondents belong to different age groups and varied professions. Convenience sampling was used for this purpose.Non-parametric tests were used to analyse the data. Chisquare test is used to assess the fit between a set of observed and expected values. The null hypothesis assumes that the expected values are equal for different groups. Mann-Whitney U test is

another non-parametric test used to test whether two independent samples of observations are drawn from the same population.

Results

Perception of the ways to overcome misconceptions regarding organ donation: Chi-square test was used to measure the difference in the respondents' perception of the more appropriate way to overcome the misconceptions and spread awareness about organ donation. The results show that there is a significant difference in the two ways, i.e., personal interaction and advertising campaigns, as perceived by the respondents.

Best way to overcome misconceptions and spread awareness

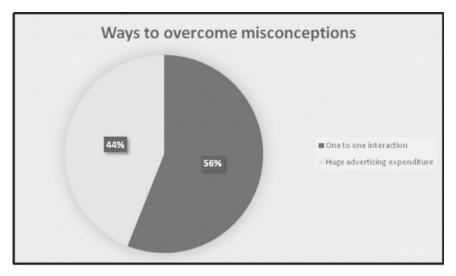
	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
One to one interaction with people	102	91.0	11.0
Huge advertisement campaigns	80	91.0	-11.0
Total	182		

Test Statistics

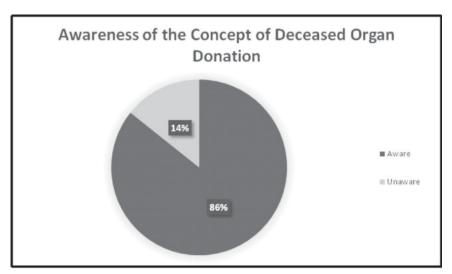
	Best way to overcome misconceptions and spread awareness
Chi-Square	2.659 ^a
Df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.103

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 91.0.

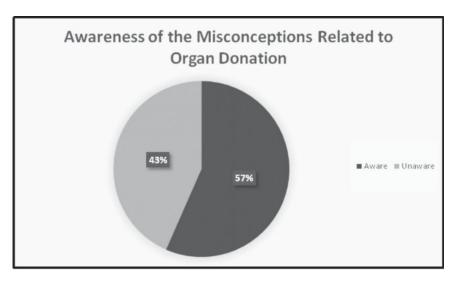
Social marketing of organ donation in India: Issues and Challenges



56% respondents felt that a more personalised and one-to-one interaction was an appropriate method for overcoming the misconceptions related to organ donation. Whereas, 44% thought that there was a need to incur huge advertising expenditure in order to educate people about the misconceptions.



86% of the respondents were aware of the concept of deceased organ donation while 14% were not familiar with it. In order to familiarize the unaware, the team conducted a street play after the study.



Around 57% of the respondents were aware of the various misconceptions related to organ donation. A large number of respondents (43%) were not aware of these misconceptions. After the study, the team worked towards educating them through various videos, interaction and a street play. It helped in spreading awareness among those who were unaware and strengthened the understanding of the importance of organ donation.

Willingness to donate organs in the future: Mann-Whitney U test for two independent samples was used to assess the differences in the willingness to donate organs on the basis of gender and chisquare was used for assessing the differences in the willingness to donate organs on the basis of age.

On the Basis of Gender:

Ranks

	Gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Will you consider	Male	110	92.55	10180.00
donating your organs	Female	72	89.90	6473.00
in the future?	Total	182		

Test Statistics^a

	Will you consider donating your organs in the future?
Mann-Whitney U	3845.000
Wilcoxon W	6473.000
Z	384
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.701

a. Grouping Variable: Gender

On the Basis of Age:

Redefined Age * Will you consider donating your organs in the future? Crosstabulation

Count	Will you consider donating your organs in the future?				
		Yes	No	Maybe	Total
Redefined Age	1-20	8	6	32	46
	21-40	25	6	51	82
	41 and above	23	3	28	54
Total		56	15	111	182

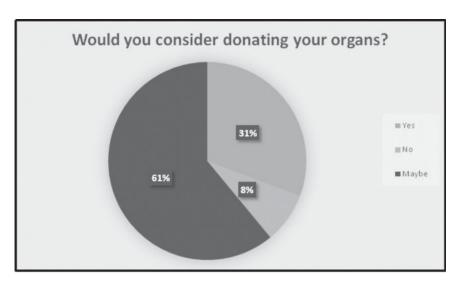
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.289ª	4	.082
Likelihood Ratio	8.413	4	.078
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.541	1	.019
N of Valid Cases	182		

a. 2 cells (22.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.79.

The output table reveals that there are significant differences due to gender and age on the willingness to donate organs.

Overall inclination to donate organs can be assessed from the chart below.



After educating the respondents about the misconceptions related to deceased organ donation, they were asked whether they would consider donating their organs in future. 31% agreed to donate their organs while 61% felt that they may consider organ donation in the future. 8% did not want to donate their organs. Also, many people did register for organ donation and became organ donors.

Willingness to attend workshops to remove misconceptions: Chi-square test and cross-tabulation were used. The results reveal that there was no significant difference in the interest to attend workshops to clarify misconceptions based on age group.

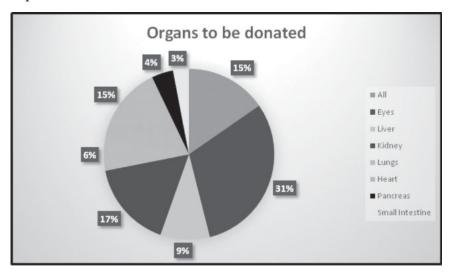
Redefined Age * Interest in attending workshops or programs to clarify misconceptions & Cross tabulation

Count	Interest in attending workshops or programs to clarify misconceptions				
	Yes No Total				
Redefined Age	1-20	35	11	46	
	21-40	44	38	82	
	41 and above	24	30	54	
Total		103	79	182	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.648ª	2	.005
Likelihood Ratio	11.096	2	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.795	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	182		

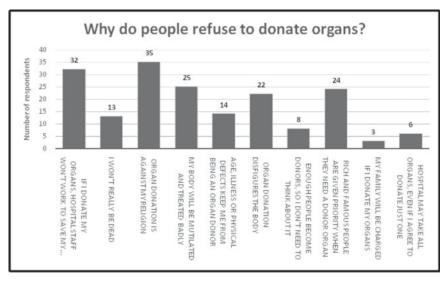
a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19.97.



Whenever they decide to donate, 15% of the respondents would donate all their organs. 31% would donate their eyes, 17% would be willing to donate their kidney, 15% would donate their heart. 9% would consider donating their liver while 6% would donate their lungs. 4% of the respondents would donate their pancreas and 3% would donate their small intestines.

Respondents were asked to choose from a list of reasons, the most common reason for their lack of willingness to become organ donors. It was revealed that the most common reason was the misconception that organ donation was against their religion. It was followed by the misconception that if a person is an organ

donor, the hospital staff would not hard enough try to save them. The least common reason was that the donor's family would be charged for the expenses incurred in organ donation.



Conclusion

Shortage of organ donors is a critical issue world over. India also faces an acute shortage in this area. Unawareness and various misconception surrounding organ donation has led to further aggravating the problem. The study attempted to not only ascertain the causes behind the reluctance to donate organs but also made an attempt to educate the respondents and encouraged many to become organ donors.

Contribution of the Study

This study has various social implications. Knowing about the attitude, perception and awareness level of people about organ donation can serve as a guide for framing policies regarding it. The study included not only a survey but also contributed to persuade people to become organ donors. Many of the respondents became registered organ donors. Organ donation camps were also organized by the team after the survey. Sensitization of the youth and the unawares as well as registering new donors is the greatest contribution of this study.

Social marketing of organ donation in India: Issues and Challenges

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Intensity Regulation Process in Sports

Introduction

Training of an athlete goes well for weeks and there is a feeling of confidence and excitement for the upcoming competition. Suddenly, just before the competition, the athlete experiences difficulty in breathing, muscle tension, butterflies in the stomach, and feelings of uncertainty and apprehension. Intensity has a central role in precompetitive preparation and is the most critical psychological factor before competitive performance. It is important for athletes to learn to control and maintain their pre competition and competitive intensity. Intensity is the physiological reactions (such as heart rate, respiration, blood flow, and adrenaline) that athletes experience before and during a competition and whether they perceive that intensity as helpful or harmful is an individual perception. Athletes' level of intensity will determine how well they perform in competition. Athletes should identify their optimal level of intensity, recognize situations in which intensity is less than optimal or more than optimal, and to determine the possible causes of these changes. It is also important for athletes to learn the skills to monitor and adjust their intensity before and during competition to ensure that their intensity remains at an optimal level throughout the competition. The ability to identify an athlete's optimal intensity is important for both coaches and athletes when attempting to maximize athletic performances. If there are two competitors who are equally prepared in terms of physical training, the competition will always go to the athlete who is the most prepared mentally. That individual will be able to control his intensity level and get the most out of his performance.

Intensity

The term intensity is recommended over other more commonly used terms, such as arousal, anxiety and nervousness. Intensity is recommended because it has positive associations and athletes typically view intensity as an integral contributor to optimal performance (Taylor 2001; Taylor and Wilson 2002). Intensity has

three important qualities that affect performance. First, there exists a physiological activation that includes heart rate, glandular and cortical activity and blood flow. Second, behavioural responses. Third, cognitive and emotional responses are exhibited in terms of positive or negative perceptions of the physiological and behavioural symptoms of intensity. During both training and competition, athletes experience levels of intensity ranging from deep relaxation to highly energized states. Intensity may be experienced by the athletes positively leading to increase in confidence, motivation, stamina, strength, endurance, and sensory acuity or negatively leading to fear, dread, muscle tension, breathing difficulty, and loose of confidence, motivation, focus and coordination. The ability of athletes to monitor and control their intensity will dictate out how they perform in training and competition.

Intensity is unique for each athlete

It would be much simpler for coaches, if all athletes performed their best at the same level of intensity. But this, however, is not the case. The inverted-U hypothesis (Yerkes and Dodson 1908), suggested that as intensity increases performance will improve, but only to some extent, after which more intensity hurts performance. The inverted-U hypothesis suggests that all individuals should possess moderate levels of intensity, regardless of physiology, skill levels, experience, competitive settings or other factors. However, the inverted-U hypothesis does not account for the individual differences in the way the athletes respond to the stress of competition or the unique demands of different sports. The Individual zone of optimal functioning (IZOF) model asserts that optimal intensity varies depending on the unique characteristics of the athlete (Hanin 2000). Hanin (2000) believes that intensity is (1) a part of athletes' responses to the competitive situation, (2) determined by how athletes perceive the situation, and (3) a reflection of their past experiences in similar situations.

Another view of the individual nature of intensity was offered by reversal theory (Jones 1995), which states that the most

important factor in understanding the relationship between intensity and performance is athletes' own interpretations of their perceived intensity. For example, high intensity can be beneficial to performance if athletes perceive their high intensity as positive. On the other hand, if athletes interpret their intensity negatively, intensity will hurt performance (Kerr 1997).

Reversal theory further suggests that there can be shift in the perceptions of intensity throughout the duration of a sporting competition (Kerr 1989). For example, a golfer may begin a round feeling confident and motivated about her performance and, as a result, interpret the accompanying intensity as positive. However, as a round progresses and she makes several bad shots, her perception of her intensity may shift. The same level of intensity that was once viewed as positive is now seen as negative and thus negatively affects her golf performance.

Intensity is multifaceted

Intensity is being affected by many physical, psychological and emotional factors. Hardy (1990, 1996) proposed the cusp catastrophe model, which suggests that intensity possesses thought (i.e., worry and apprehension) and somatic (i.e., physiological activity) components. This theory asserts that decline in performance will only occur when high somatic intensity and high cognitive intensity are both present. When this situation arises, "catastrophe" occurs, resulting in a rapid and dramatic deterioration in athletic performance (Cox 1998). For example, a pole vaulter who is apprehensive over an upcoming meet may experience high levels of cognitive intensity, as expressed by negative thoughts and doubts about his ability to achieve his goals. These worrisome thoughts are manifested in physiological experiences of over intensity, such as muscle tightness and rapid breathing, both of which may be detrimental to successful performance. The challenge for coaches is to identify the precise reasons for changes in intensity in individual athletes. Only when an athlete can identify the specific causes for changes in intensity, then, they will be able to learn to control them and thus perform their best.

Factors influencing intensity

Perceptions of Ability:

The perception that athletes hold about their ability to succeed in a given competition influence their level of intensity and whether they interpret it as positive or negative. Landers and Boutcher (1986) proposed five areas that affect the perception of one's ability: 1) demands of the situation, 2) the individual's resources for effectively managing the demands, 3) consequences of the situation, 4) meaning that is attached to the consequences, and 5) recognition of bodily reactions.

Perceptions of Competitive Situation:

Taylor (2001) suggested that the specified setting in which an athlete performs may also influence intensity. For example, a gymnast might experience higher intensity while performing on the balance beam than on the floor. Situational factors that are present at competition also influence intensity. Competitive condition such as the facility, weather, and crowd size may affect intensity. How familiar athletes are with the competitive situation and condition will also affect intensity. It is likely that the level of the competition, such as weather the competition is above, at, or below the athlete's typical level, will influence intensity. Competition above athlete's usual level would cause an increase in intensity, whereas competition at a lower level might lead to a decline in intensity. The level of opposition could be expected to have a similar effect on intensity. The athletes who perceive that their abilities exceed the demands of a competitive situation (that is, they are better than their opponents) will experiences boredom, which will lower the intensity, and if the demands of the situation exceed their abilities, they will become frustrated or fearful and their intensity will increase.

Identifying optimal intensity

Optimal Intensity refers to the ideal level of physiological and cognitive intensity that will allow athletes to perform their best (Hanin 2000; Taylor, 2001). There is no one optimal level of intensity for all athletes; rather, optimal intensity is personal for

each athlete. So, the first goal of the coach is to first work with intensity regulation and to teach them how to identify their optimal intensity.

Experiment with Different Intensities in Training:

Athletes who are unsure of their optimal intensity can use training to experiment with varying intensity levels and their impact on performance. For example, a 400-meter runner can divide a training session in to three parts in which, using the intensity regulation techniques and she runs two intervals each at low, moderate and high levels of intensity (with adequate rest in between). She can then use her feelings during each segment of workout and identify her optimal intensity.

Identify Relevant Personal Factors:

Hanin (1986) developed a retrospective method for assessing an athlete's IZOF. Hanin and others (Morgan and Ellickson 1989) found that recall of precompetitive intensity remained highly accurate even 18 days after a competition. An important finding of IZOF research is that athlete can successfully predict precompetitive levels of intensity up to 48 hours before competition. This ability can be used as a reference point for intervention with athletes (Hanin 2000). With this knowledge, coaches can use significant deviations from optimal intensity to guide the type of interventions (example, raising or lowering intensity) they recommend.

Compare Successful and Unsuccessful Performances:

Coaches can ask the athletes the following questions concerning the optimal intensity they have experienced in the past:

- Before and during successful competition, how did the athlete feel physically? For example, did he have increased heart rate and sweating or was he calm and at ease? Athletes should be as specific as possible in describing their physiological conditions.
- · What were the athlete's thoughts and emotions at the time: positive and excited, neutral or low?

· What social influences are typically present or absent during successful performances, such as family, coaches and friends?

The same questions should be asked about poor performances. Typically, what emerges from this examination is a consistent pattern of physiological, cognitive and social activity that is associated with optimal and non-optimal intensity, as well as the corresponding level of performance. Athletes can summarize those factors that are associated with both successful and unsuccessful performances. The purpose of this exercise is to help athletes understand what their body feels like, what they are thinking and feeling and with whom they are interacting in performance situations that are both good and poor. The goal of intensity identification is to make athletes aware of these differences before they compete so they can then take proactive steps to reproduce those factors that are associated with good performance through the use of intensity regulation.

General intensity control strategies

With a clear understanding of what optimal and non-optimal intensity feels like and how it influences performance, athletes can now develop skills to achieve and maintain optimal intensity.

Precompetitive Management:

The time immediately before the competition is the most crucial period of competitive preparation. What athlete thinks, feel and do before they compete will dictate how they perform. Athletes should have three goals before they compete: their equipment should be prepared, their bodies should be properly warmed up and they should be mentally prepared to perform their best.

Mental Imagery:

It is one of the most commonly used mental training strategies by athletes, can be used to adjust their intensity up or down before competition. High energy images of intense competition, strong effort, and success can raise intensity. Calming images of relaxing scenes, peace and tranquillity can reduce intensity.

Key Words:

A common pitfall that many athletes experience is that they become so absorbed in the heat of the competition that they forget to do important things to perform optimally, such as monitoring and adjusting their intensity. Athletes can develop key words to remind them of what they need to do to achieve optimal intensity. Coaches can encourage athletes to identify intensity key words that have either an energizing or a calming effect and to use them before and during competition to have maintain optimal intensity.

Music:

Music has a profound emotional and physiological impact on people. Music can create feelings of happiness, sadness or inspiration. It can excite or calm people. Although this relationship has not been studied in the sports world, many well-known athletes including Olympic 400-meter champion Michael Johnson, use music to regulate intensity before competition. Athletes can select the appropriate style of music to reach their optimal intensity. For instance, athletes who need to increase their intensity should listen to high-energy music, whereas those needing to reduce intensity should listen to relaxing music.

Controlling over intensity

Over Intensity is the most common form of non-optimal intensity. Athletes experience over intensity for a variety of reasons, but the outcomes are the same-physical and psychological discomfort and poor competitive performance. To gain control of their over intensity, athletes must follow several steps: 1) Understand its causes so that they can solve the fundamental problem that is leading to over intensity, 2) recognize its symptoms so that appropriate intensity control techniques can be used and 3) apply the most effective "psych-down" strategies to achieve and maintain optimal intensity.

Causes of over Intensity: Athletes experience over intensity for a reason.

Lack of Confidence:

Athletes who lack confidence are placed in a threatening position; they must perform in a competitive situation for which they have little faith in their ability to succeed. Assuming that athletes are well prepared physically and technically, a lack of confidence is most often caused by negative, inaccurate or extreme cognitive appraisal of a competitive situation. There is the perception by the athletes that they cannot cope effectively with the five areas of appraisal (i.e. demands, resources, consequences, meaning and recognition of bodily reactions). Thus, by developing their confidence, athletes can reduce their over intensity at its source by re-evaluating the situation positively and accurately.

Internal Focus:

Athletes who become distracted by thoughts, physical sensations and emotions, particularly when those distractions lower confidence, are more likely to experience a shift away from optimal intensity. Internal distractions, such as negative thoughts, discomforting emotions, thoughts about past failures, and a preoccupation with technique, can cause athletes to feel threatened and to experience over intensity. Another internal distraction that is common among athletes involves focusing on the outcome of competition rather than on its process. This emphasis causes athletes to feel pressure to achieve the desired outcome and detracts from their focus on performing their best.

External Focus:

Athletes who focus on external factors that can interfere with performance increase the likelihood that they will experience over intensity. Social causes of over intensity come primarily from pressure that athletes feel from significant others including parents, coaches, friends, community and media. Over intensity results from the perception that if athletes do not live up to the socially derived expectations, they will disappoint people who are important to them, and they will not be loved, respected or supported.

Focusing on environmental factors, such as the setting, competitive conditions, noise, unfamiliarity with the situation, unexpected events, and worry over uncontrollable aspects of the competitive situation can also cause athletes to feel over intensity. These factors can have an unsettling effect on athletes, cause them to lose confidence and as a result , elevate their intensity to a level that may hurt performance.

Symptoms of over intensity

Intensity can be manifested in three ways: physical, behaviourally and psychologically (Hanin, 2000; Jones 1995; Kerr 1997). The most apparent physical symptoms include extreme muscle tension, stomach butterflies, difficulty in breathing and excessive perspiration. Other more subtle physical signs include increased heart rate, fatigue and decreased motor coordination. Behavioural indicators include an increase in pace during competition, increase in performance irrelevant or superstitious behaviors, tense body language, more mistakes and decrease in competitive performance. Psychological symptoms of over intensity include negative self-talk, a shift from performance relevant thoughts to performance irrelevant thoughts, a decline in motivation, an excessive narrowing of concentration and emotions such as frustration, anger and fear.

Cognitive psych-down techniques

Reducing over intensity using psychological psych-down techniques focuses on changing the causes of over intensity. There are variety of psychological strategies that athlete can use to lower their intensity. These techniques can be used first during training sessions and then before and during competitions to achieve and maintain optimal intensity.

Build Confidence:

The most effective way to relieve the psychological and emotional causes of over intensity is to develop athletes' confidence in their ability to achieve goals. Many useful techniques that athletes can learn to improve their confidence such as positive self-talk and thought stopping. Most important, confidence should develop

progressively out of athletes' experience in training and competition. Confidence should be grounded in quality preparation; the consistent use of mental skills in training, positive responses to adversity; support from others, such as coaches, teammates family and friends; and daily success in training. Confidence built in this way will be well founded, deeply ingrained, and resilient in the face of obstacles, mistakes, and failure.

Often athletes, particularly those who are young and less experienced, become so overwhelmed by the approaching competition that they lose perspective and are simply not able to view the situation objectively. This loss of perspective further hurts confidence as the competitions approaches. This distortion may lead to irrational thinking which further increases intensity. The coaches can assist athletes rationally assessing the upcoming competition by discussing the five appraisal areas, either individually or in a team setting. Typically, by being shown another way of viewing the situation athletes are able to recognize the extremity of their thinking and accept a more realistic perspective, which then shifts their intensity to an optimal level.

Redirect Focus:

The ability of athletes to redirect their focus on to the cues that will help them to perform their best is essential for relieving over intensity. If athletes are not focused on those things that cause over intensity, such as negative thoughts and emotions, worry about the outcome, and expectation of others, they are less likely to experience increased intensity. By attending to cues that are important to performance, athletes also feel more confident and have a greater sense of control over their efforts, which can also reduce intensity.

Physical psych-down techniques

Although preventing the causes of over intensity is the ideal intervention, there will be times when athletes experience over intensity before and during competition. At these times they must have the tools to immediately identify its primary symptoms and

take active steps to reduce their intensity to an optimal level. The coaches can play an essential role in providing athletes with the information and skills they need to act quickly and effectively when they experience over intensity.

Breathing:

When athletes are experiencing over intensity, their respiratory system contracts, so that oxygen intake is inadequate for the demands of competition. Williams and Harris (1998) suggested that breathing is the simplest and most effective technique for reducing over intensity. Controlled breathing provides oxygen to enrich the blood and allow athletes to give their best efforts. Breathing is also the primary way in which carbon dioxide in the tissues is associated with muscle fatigue and cramping, both of which can seriously impair athletic performance. Without sufficient oxygen, the body's ability to resynthesize energy is impaired, which also adversely affects performance. Taking deep, rhythmic breaths will allow athletes to replenish their body's oxygen supply and reduce the noticeable symptoms of over intensity.

Controlled breathing also has psychological benefits. A significant problem with over intensity is that athletes tend to become focused on its negative symptoms such as muscle tension, high heart rate and stomach butterflies. By taking slow, deep breaths, athletes alleviate some of these symptoms, thereby increasing confidence and feelings of control and well-being. Additionally, by focusing on their breathing, athletes will pay less attention to the negative feelings associated with over intensity.

Muscle Relaxation:

Muscle tension is one of the most uncomfortable and debilitating symptoms of over intensity (Landers and Boutcher 1986). Tight muscles inhibit coordination and flexibility, disrupt technique, hurt performance and increase the likelihood of injury. Coaches can teach athletes practical and easy to use techniques of muscle relaxation. Passive relaxation is a common strategy that works effectively with all. This technique involves deep breathing and

a procedure in which athletes focus on relaxing their muscles and imagine the tension gradually draining from their bodies. For athletes who experience significant muscle tension, progressive relaxation will be more effective in relaxing tense muscles. This technique involves alternating tension and relaxation and major muscle groups (head and neck, arms and shoulders, chest and back and legs). Somewhat counterintuitive, progressive relaxation requires athlete to be tense rather than relax their muscles. The procedure involves tensing a muscle group for five seconds, taking a deep breath, and repeating.

Relaxation training increases athletes' awareness of their muscle tension and how it affects performance. The relaxation process teaches athletes to discriminate between states of complete tension and total relaxation. Once athletes recognize their muscle tension, they have the ability to actively reduce their tension, lower their intensity, and improve their performances. Because muscle relaxation takes practice, coaches can foster its use by making it a regular part of training.

Smiling:

Smiling is a surprising yet effective technique for inducing relaxation in athletes. A review of the research on the effects of smiling revealed several causes. First, as people grow up, they learn that smiling is associated with happiness and good feelings. Also research has demonstrated that smiling actually alters blood flow in the brain, causing the release of neurochemicals that produce a calming effect. Finally, it is difficult to think and feel in a way that is contrary to one's body language.

Controlling under intensity

Under intensity typically is characterized by lethargy accompanied by a loss of motivation and difficulty in focusing. It may be evident in some athletes in some competitive situations such as when an athlete is heavily favoured to win or when an athlete has a big lead and feels assured of victory. Coaches can help athletes to recognize when a decrease in intensity may happen and how they can respond to it to maintain their optimal intensity.

Causes of under intensity:

Like over intensity, under intensity is caused by an interaction of psychological and situational factors. This relationship is based largely in how athletes perceive themselves relative to the competitive situation and those against whom they will be competing.

Over confidence

Athletes who are over confident believe that they will win easily. Over confidence is caused by athletes' perceptions that they are far superior to their opponents and that the conditions are ideally suited for them. This over confidence prevents athletes from preparing fully for competition, giving maximum effort, and marshalling their full psychological and physical capabilities while competing. Because athletes don't feel the need to perform up to their abilities, they lack the motivation and focus. Intensity tends to stay low because athletes don't feel it is necessary to raise their heart rate, respiration, blood flow, adrenaline, and other physical factors to an optimal level.

· Lack of motivation:

A lack of interest in or motivation to compete will also produce under intensity. Athletes who lack the desire to perform will not feel the need to activate themselves physiologically. Additionally, athletes who perceive that their ability exceeds the demands of the competitive situation will experience boredom, which is reflected in under intensity.

Physical causes:

Fatigue from over training or over competing, sleeping difficulties, and competitive stress can cause under intensity. Other physical causes of under intensity include nutritional deficiencies and injuries. In all cases athletes suffering from these physical causes will simply not have the physiological resources to activate their bodies to perform their best in competition.

Lack of importance:

Recent research indicates that athletes tend to have lower precompetitive intensity before competitions considered as easy or less important by both the coach and athlete compared with those competitions considered hard or difficult. This lower intensity may reflect the athletes' perceptions that the competition they are about to face is not worthy or demanding of their total athletic ability.

Let-downs in intensity can also bring the level of performance to decline. A decrease in intensity causes all the things that enables an athlete to perform well to disappear. Physically, you no longer have the blood flow, oxygen, and adrenaline necessary for the strength, agility, and stamina you need to perform your best. Mentally, you lose the motivation and focus that enables you to perform well. Just like psych-down techniques when your intensity is too high, you can use psych-up techniques to raise your intensity when it drops.

Psych-up techniques

Psych-up techniques aim to control intensity at its source, by altering the thoughts that trigger the decline in intensity. These strategies change the beliefs and perceptions that cause athletes to lose intensity before and during a competition. By teaching these techniques to athletes, coaches can help them to counter these "let downs" and maintain optimal intensity that will enable them to perform their best.

· Raise personal Importance of Competition:

Athletes' intensity can be affected by how they perceive the importance of the competition and the difficulty of the opponent. Athletes who see little importance in the competition may experience under intensity, and poor performance is likely to follow. In such instances, the athlete needs to raise the personal importance of the competition by finding value in the competition and resetting his competitive goals according to those new perceptions. If the competition is not seen as important or the opponents are not seen as

challenging, then athletes need to shift their motivation and focus from the outcome to other aspects of the competition that will maintain intensity and maximize performance, such as working on new technique or tactics. By altering their perceptions about the competition and challenging their goals in a way that will challenge and motivate them, athletes can internally elevate their intensity and maintain a high level of performance.

· Bring back over-confident athlete to confident Athlete:

Although it is important for athletes to believe they can be successful, over confidence can often lead to disaster. Confident athletes believe they can be successful if they work hard and perform their best. Over confident athletes believe that their victory is guaranteed no matter what they do. Athletes need to be reminded that an overwhelming favourite can be beaten if they lack intensity and did not expend the necessary effort to win. The emphasis for bringing confidence back down to earth involves helping athletes understand what they need to be successful and maintaining a healthy respect for their opponents.

High energy self-talk:

One of the main causes of drops in intensity is let down thoughts such as "I have this competition won," "The game is over," or "I can't win this," will all result in decrease in intensity because our mind is sending messages to our body that it no longer needs to perform. When this happens, we can be sure of that our performance will decline. When we start to have these thoughts, we need to replace them with high-energy self-talk. Self-talk such as "Keep attacking," and "Stay pumped" will keep one motivated and focused, and our body will respond with more intensity. This kind of self-talk will raise physiological intensity to an optimal level.

· Intense breathing:

Just as deep breathing can reduce intensity, intense breathing can increase it. When the intensity level is dropping, several hard exhales can take body and mind to a more intense level. It's a useful practice before a performance to take two intense breaths. In fact, intense breathing should be a part of training and competitive routines when the intensity goes down. As intensity is, most basically, a physiological activity, so, the most direct way to increase intensity is with physical action. The benefit of physical Psych-up techniques is that they act directly on the intensity that athletes experience before and during a competition. Whereas other psych-up techniques may take time to influence performance, physical psych-up strategies have an instantaneous effect on performance. The type of physical activity will largely depend on the sport, but many times any type of running, jumping or active movement will be beneficial. The point is to elevate the athlete's heart rate and blood flow.

Intensity keywords:

Intensity keywords can be used to counter let-downs and to psych yourself up. Saying intensity keywords such as "Charge" and "Hustle" with conviction and energy will raise our intensity and generate positive thoughts and emotions that will enable us to perform our best.

· High-energy body language:

It is difficult using high-energy self-talk and intensity keywords without also having high-energy body language. It is another effective means of raising intensity. By combining energetic physical action, quick and forceful movement, positive thinking and strong positive emotions and techniques such as pumping their fist, slapping their thighs or giving high-fives to their teammates will also get them fired up and will increase their intensity. High energy body language has the powerful effect of drawing athletes' focus in to the present, sharpening awareness of their goals, increasing their motivation and resolve, and making them excited about competing.

Music:

Music has a profound physiological and emotional impact on us. Music can be used to raise our intensity and get us psyched up and motivated. The over-all sensation of listening to high-energy music (e.g., rock, hip-hop) is a generalized sense of excitement and energy.

Key Competitive Situations:

There are common competitive situations in which we expect that our intensity will shift away from prime intensity. If we can identify these situations when they occur, we can more quickly take steps to prevent a change in intensity that may hurt our performance. These competitive situations usually relate to when we're either ahead or behind in a competition or the competition is on the line.

· Physical activity:

The benefit of physical psych-up techniques is that they act directly on the intensity that athletes experience before and during a competition. Whereas other psych-up techniques may take time to influence performance, physical psych-up strategies have an instantaneous effect on performance. When coaches teach these methods to athletes, the athletes learn to recognize and act immediately on the lower intensity, enabling them to regain their optimal intensity and to return to high level of performance. Intensity is partially the result of the amount physiological activity athletes experience before a competition. The most direct way to increase intensity in athletes is through vigorous physical activity. The type of physical activity will largely depend on the sport, but many times any type of running, jumping or active movement will be beneficial. The point is to elevate the athlete's heart rate and blood flow.

Conclusion

Intensity is the physiological reactions that athlete experience before and during a competition and it is an individual perception whether they perceive that intensity as helpful or harmful. Athletes' level of intensity will determine their performance in the competition. There are theories explaining the relationship between intensity and athletic performance. Because optimal intensity is personal, athletes must determine their own optimal level of intensity. Over intensity is characterised by muscle tension, shallow breathing, rapid heart rate and doubts about an athlete's ability to succeed. On the other hand, under intensity is characterized by a loss of motivation and difficulty in focusing. It is therefore important for athletes and coaches to use variety of strategies to raise or to lower their intensity to an optimal level.

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The Aesthetics of Symmetry

'Symmetry is a vast subject, significant in art and nature. Mathematics lies at its root, and it would be hard to find a better one on which to demonstrate the working of the mathematical intellect.'

- Hermann Weyl

Have you ever seen plants and trees around you? Have you ever had a careful look at its branches and leaves? At the first place you may think that such an arrangement of leaves and branches is something which is random, but randomness to what extent? One, Two, Three, . . . at the most countable many. In fact the exit places of the branches and leaves on the structure of the plant, the shape of each and every leaf, the degree of bending of branches all follow a simple mathematical principle, symmetry.

How will you react if you see a person wearing a pair of shoes with one shoe black and other as white? It sounds funny, Right? Again, imagine a person wearing spectacles with one side circular frame and other as a rectangular frame? What makes these instances appear witty to a normal human being? An answer to these is the absence of an element which is symmetry. Symmetry is a feature that usually appeals to the masses.

For centuries, symmetry has continued to provide ever deepening and surprising subject of study for artists, architects, philosophers, astronomers, mathematicians and physicists. The ancient Greeks were downright gripped with it-and even today we come across symmetry in everything from drafting our room layout to styling our hair. The patterns that we see or stumble upon everyday probably on a morning walk along a beach, on the way to work, during outings or at some festivities. It could be synthetic or natural. Symmetry, in everyday language refers to a sense of appropriate and magnificent proportion and balance. If an object is not symmetrical, it leads to visual delights. The objects which are regular are always more likeable and provides a sense of serenity and harmony. A more precise definition of 'symmetry' in mathematics is that an object remains invariant to

a transformation, such as turning, flipping or sliding and including various other transforms too. For symmetry of two objects, they must possess same size and shape with one object possessing a different orientation from the other.

A fundamental part of mathematics involves identification and exploration of patterns and symmetry plays an imperative role in its formation. Patterns are astounding designs with innumerable and dazzling features that encircle our life from all around. Over the centuries, designs and patterns have been used as ornamental elements on walls, ceilings, doors, domes and minarets with symmetry being an ornamental tool. Indian culture being full of designs and colors makes major use of patterns and symmetries. Symmetry provided an infinite source of ideas for structure organizational designs, which further gave rise to the formation of various ornaments that prevailed in the history of modern art. Through the series of time, patterns and designs went through from being primitive and simple to complex and enigmatic structures.

In the early 20th century, George David Birkhoff, one of the famous mathematicians of Harvard, talked about a mathematical formula which he used to study the beauty of art work. According to him, if something is highly complex, it will be more appealing only if it is less symmetrical. Alternatively, if something is highly symmetrical it is better if it is less complex. Birkhoff even suggested ways to do this but his methods were too subjective for people's understanding. Despite his failed efforts, his idea that symmetry is a crucial determining factor for an object's aesthetic appeal is always present in some form or the other. Human beings and some animals are highly attuned to symmetry and it is almost ingrained into our behavior.

Symmetries are crucial for understanding science. Even the laws of nature are symmetrical. If the laws were not symmetrical then things would not have been in the manner they are today. Livio in his famous book, 'The Equation that could not be solved', quoted 'Because our brains are so fine tuned to detect symmetry, is it possible that both the tools that we use to determine the

laws of nature and indeed our theories themselves have symmetry in them partly because our brains like to catch onto the symmetrical part of the universe and not because it's the most fundamental thing?'

Symmetry finds its ways into architecture at every scale, from the overall external views of monuments through the layout of the floor plans, and down to the design of individual building elements such as tile and pebble mosaics.

Islamic architecture makes detailed use of symmetry both in their structure and in their ornamentation. Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque, standing on the eastern side of Naghsh-e Jahan Square in Iran is one such architectural master piece during the Islamic period. Four types of ornamentation² can be found in Islamic art: calligraphy, figural forms (human and animal), vegetal motifs, and geometric patterns. Geometry is deeply penetrated into Islamic art. Geometric shapes are extremely versatile and can be tremendously complex. From simple polygons and rectangles to the highly complex interlaces of stars and irregular polygons which are themselves symmetric were used as framing devices. The four basic shapes, or 'repeat units,' from which the more complicated patterns were constructed are: circles and interlaced circles; squares or other four-sided polygons; the star pattern and a few multisided polygons.

The Islamic architecture contributed widely to expansion and development of geometry by making extensive use of botanical and floral patterns imitated from Sassanid and Byzantine architecture during early 8th and late 7th centuries. It was promoted through Umayyad architecture which was in full swing between 661 AD and 750 AD. The Dome of Rock, which was built in 688–691 AD is a unique monument in Islamic religious architecture designed in an octagonal shape which itself has eight rotational³ and four reflection⁴ line of symmetries. In 705 AD, The Great Mosque of Damascus was originally decorated with floral patterns similar to natural scenery of Damascus. Later, many times it was revamped and redecorated imbibing more of vegetal and floral patterns into the designs. Geometry being

absent, figural and floral motifs in the form of and wall paintings was a key feature of Umayyad buildings. By the end of the Umayyad era, however, the use of figural patterns in mosques became narrow.

From middle 8th to middle 13th century, Abbasids architecture was popular with The Great Mosque of Kairouan being an admirable example of Abbasid-Aghlabid buildings. Basic geometrical shapes are also witnessed along with the ornaments of floral patterns on this building. These solitary geometrical figures are among the initial attempts in Islamic architecture. Patterns used in the Mosque of Ibn-Tulun are among the primary examples of interlaced geometrical patterns in Muslim art. This era showed a major change from floral patterns to strong geometric patterns. Sophistication was bought in and mixed with 6 and 8 point geometry decorations.⁵

During this period, the Seljuks architecture started an artistic movement strongly by making extensive use of regular geometrical shapes thereby transforming the ornaments from floral and figural into new geometrical designs. The Tomb Towers of Kharaqan, in the Qazvin region of Iran, serves as an example of early Seljuk architecture. The Mosque of Baybars is one of the earliest buildings built by the Mamluks in Cairo. The only noticeable geometrical ornaments in this building are window grilles with the same 12 point patterns as those found in the Kharaqan tombs in Iran.

Ottoman architecture was influential during 13th and 14th century with geometrical ornaments being secondary decorative patterns amongst Ottoman artists. Only a few famous structures such as Yesil Mosque of Iznik and Ulu-Cami or the Great Mosque of Bursa made a broad use of six, eight and ten point geometric patterns on its walls, doors and ceilings. These buildings are an exception to Ottoman architecture which saw only minute tinge of patterns and geometric structures. Although the Ottomans built the most striving architectural masterpieces but by the end of fourteenth century, the application of geometrical patterns became limited as seen in buildings such as Sehzade Complex,

designed by Ottomans which witnesses only a few 6 and 10 point patterns that too on its main entrance.

Symmetry today is linked with each aspect of life that affects us. With the development of educational research especially in the field of mathematics, solid-state quantum and particle physics chemistry biology, philosophy and crystallography, symmetries have become a universal need. The roots of the theory of symmetry lay in its close relations with the theory of painting i.e. canons and theory of proportions. Symmetry emerged as the main principle in every art, painting, sculpture, architecture music dance and poetry. Symmetry was used to express balance and proportion. Various building blocks of symmetry emerged in the medieval period. These blocks were further associated with elements of nature and life thus, proving symmetry to be a building a block.

The theory of patterns is not just confined to what we read above but there is a new research showing that patterns help humans understand the various messages using our brain. It is said that humans are the World's Best Pattern-Recognition Machines. In the human brain, these patterns are transformed as recursive probabilistic fractals into physical steps. These concrete steps including moving hand, kicking etc. Symmetry is a nature's gift to both humans and animals. Their body is planned in such a way that it exhibits mirror or bilateral symmetry running from head to toe. These symmetrical bodies cannot always be a coincidence. Fossilized evidence shows that bilateral symmetry was detected almost five hundred million years ago. According to the researches, a boy who is bilaterally symmetrical is easier for the brain to recognize while in different orientations and positions and as a result, visual perception becomes easier. Symmetry is helpful with mate selection. Many experiments were conducted with birds and insects which revealed that females preferred to mate with males possessing the most symmetrical sexual ornaments. Research suggests that women have more orgasms during sex with men who were more symmetrical regardless of their level of romantic attachment. Symmetry affects complete personality of human beings. Symmetry is an important

aspect in human psychology. Research supports that asymmetry in face or body of men, may lead them to depression, anxiety, headaches and stomach problems too whereas women who lack symmetry in face are less healthy and more prone to emotional instability and depression. Even the signs of aggression are more obvious in people whose body is asymmetrical.

In the 16th century, Iznik tiles and pottery became popular worldwide, which is based on art of ceramics. The name 'Iznik' comes from the name of a town in Turkey where these tiles and pottery were made. These tiles were designed with great perfection and were treated as luxurious objects. The specialty of these tiles lies in the fact that they were painted with stylized and symmetrical designs of flowers, leaves and fruits and many abstract linear motifs which were mostly based on the natural forms added to its beauty. These ceramic wares were of high quality which was made for the domestic market of the Ottoman Émpire. Though Iznik being the main centre of production, such ceramic wares were also produced in the city of Kutahya and in Istanbul. These tiles were mainly used to decorate many monuments in the Ottoman Empire in Turkey. Many buildings are famous in Turkey for their iznik tiles like Suleymaniye mosque, Topkapi palace, Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Mosque, Rustem Pasha Mosque and the tomb of Selim II in Hagia Sophia Complex. The spread of iznik tiles have also been in various parts of the world such as Mosques in Japan and Ashgabat, Montreal Friendship and Peace Garden in Canada, Berlin ITB fair building in Germany, Al Zubair museum in Oman and ISR business center in Baku.

Primarily, most of the textiles are decorated with embroideries and prints. Usually, a basic design or motif is printed or embodied periodically to form a uniform texture. Symmetries also lay its importance in textiles such as Kashmiri shawls, Indonesian batik, Ikat fabric, Ajrak fabric and many other than carpets. Patterns appear whenever strong graphic elements like lines, colors, shapes or forms repeat themselves. Kashmiri shawls are eminent for these patterns. 'Cone' pattern is a prominent feature of Kashmiri shawls accompanied with brilliance, glowing and

enduring qualities of colors. These patterns are created on a very fine, soft, short, flossy-under-wool known as Pashm or Pashmina.⁶ Some shawls which are woven in single piece but in small segments sewn together with precision are known as TilliWalla or Kanikar.⁷ The others on which over a ground of plain pashmina is worked by needle are known as Amlikar. In such shawls, a minute and elaborate pattern is constructed.

The Paisley motifs which are a part of Indian fabrics were evolved from 1600's floral and tree-of-life designs that were created in expensive, tapestry-woven Mughal textiles. These motifs designs in shawls essentially depicts single plants with large flowers and thin wavy stems, small leaves and roots which became more and more dense with the passage of time. It is distinguished by a twisted tear drop shape and is basically derived from boteh⁸ motif. Kashmiri shawls served as a wonderful example of various types of symmetry like rotational and reflection symmetry. Some shawls have motifs which are inspired from nature representing reflective symmetry.

'Chand Dar' as the name signifies moon shawl has large pattern woven or embroidered in the centre. The motifs of Chand Dar are inspired from nature's beauty in the manner that mango, almond, chinar leaf, apple blossom, tulip, lily flower, cherries, birds like parrot, all find place on shawls. No wild animals were depicted but hunting scenes called 'Shikargah' were shown in some shawls for trade and commercial purposes.

Ajrak Sindhi is the name given to the block printed fabric, which has a rich cultural valuetraceable from the earliest archaeological findings of the old Indus civilization of Mohenjo-Daro. More than a fabric, ajrak is a Sindhi tradition that represents their culture. It has been equally popular till today among its urban, rural and nomad users. The Ajrak shawls particularly displayed special designs and patterns made by block printing by stamps. Ajrak shawls have become a symbol of the Sindhi culture and tradition. One cannot even imagine the depth of geometry involved on the garments in printing. The prints were transferred from geometric shapes on wooden blocks to fabric. This type of printing was

firstly used in China and afterwards, it was adopted in Mohenjodaro. These types of shawls were about 2.5-3 meters long patterned with mostly a deep crimson red and indigo blue background, bearing symmetrical patterns with scattered unprinted sparkling white motifs, mostly stars. It is mostly made on a cotton cloth whose suppleness reminds of smooth silk. Airak is literally used in Sindh (Pakistan) from the cradle to the grave. It is used as a hammock for infants, headgear for girls, bridal accessory, a turban and a shawl, a bed cover, a tablecloth, a gift item and a token of respect to honor a guest. Most of the heads of state and dignitaries of Pakistan have used ajrak in their public meetings to show respect and as a token of solidarity for Sindh Province. Ajrak designs and patterns are very similar in terms of dominant structural characteristics as well as colors. Sindhi airak fabric designs are examples of both reflection and rotational symmetry. They are constructed so beautifully that even after rotating, the designs do not seem to change.

Batik is an ancient method of textile decoration and has a long tradition in Java, Indonesia. These patterns make use of certain plane groups. 'Batik' is an Indonesian word meaning 'drawing with wax'. The significance of batik print patterns lies in the fact that they were considered as a protection against evil influences. These patterns are broadly categorized as geometric patterns, non-geometric patterns, 'Pasisiran'-batiks and samplers. Of these, the most popular are geometric patterns like 'Banji', 'Ceplok', 'Ganggong', 'Kawung' which are symmetrical in nature. 'Pasisiran'-batiks too involve symmetry especially the old court patterns which depicts beliefs and the origin of philosophy about the Javanese people. Special batik patterns were reserved for special people for special occasions like weddings, circumcisions, cremations etc. For centuries, artists were unaware of the mathematical laws of plane symmetry. The perfect insight of a design was one of the conditions for the placement of patterns on the cloth. However, sometimes 'mistakes' were built in deliberately to disturb the perfect symmetry. The reason may be the Islamic belief that only Allah can be faultless.

Javanese batik is also made by either drawing dots or lines of resist or by printing the design with a copper stamp. It was known by the 12th century in Katiri East Java. The remarkable fact about these motifs was, they were based on plane symmetry in spite of being drawn from hand. The knowledge of symmetry groups was also possessed by artisans since all rotational symmetry groups were involved. The symmetry elements in these traditional Javanese batik patterns symbolized ancient philosophy models 'Dualism' and 'Mardala'. Translational symmetry also found relevant place in these designs.

Ikat is a dyeing technique which is generally employed to prepare pattern in textiles which involves resist dyeing process before the fabric is dyed or weaved. Designs are prepared in the yarns instead of a finished cloth as in the case of batik and tie-dye. History of development of ikat lacks the information about its origin. Not much is known to the scholars but probably different beliefs are common in different locations. Several pre-Columbian Central and South American cultures are producers of ikat fabrics. The beauty of ikat is that it is a combination of animals, plants, geometric motifs and ethnographic symbolism. The patterns are a result of combination of the wrap dye and weft thread color. The whole pattern is based on 'mirror image' symmetry where whatever pattern or design is woven on the right; it is duplicated on the left in reverse order. There are patterns repeatedly dyed at regular intervals in symmetrical or asymmetrical ways. These patterns are dyed in any manner be it vertical, horizontal or diagonal. There are two types of ikats known as wrap ikat and weft ikat. In wrap ikat, patterns are visible in wrap even before the generation of fabric whereas in weft ikat, weaving or weft thread carries the dyed patterns. Ikat patterns are drawn with so much precision that one has to look at it very carefully to find the pattern. There is a lot of diversity in ikat patterns ranging from simple stripes to zigzag patterns and from hooks to circular patterns.

The motifs are packed with reflection and rotational symmetry. In particular, the Indonesian ikat fabric follows bilateral symmetry. The basic unit for this fabric pattern is quadrilateral

but due to this reflection symmetry throughout, it looks like 'Isosceles Trapezoids'. The designs of Indonesian Ikat fabrics also makes use of rotational symmetry keeps the design unchanged even after a certain amount of rotation. Some designs are based on n-fold rotational symmetry of order n.¹⁰

This is indeed one of the specialty of ikat that it has a repeating geometric and floral patterns throughout the fabric. In other words, one can say that Indonesian Ikat is a refined version of tie and dye.

The whole discussion highlights how chronologically, religiously, regionally and by various vivid modes, symmetry in various geometrical patterns has evolved. We learned how through the series of time, patterns and deigns went through from being primitive and simple to complex and enigmatic structures. From basic, 6 to 8 point geometric patterns prevailing in the ninth century to the aw-inspiring ornaments made purely out of principles of symmetry. We also get to know that simpler patterns were popular in textiles and fabrics which may be attributed to the passion of artisans for weaving textures that were symmetric in nature and their insistence on designing them.

Symmetry and patterns are one of the central inventions which now with the developing technology provides people ways to orient themselves. Not just for decoration purposes, patterns are now used in highly complex biological structures. Therefore, it is rightly quotes that, to understand is to perceive patterns. The truth and advancement lies outside fixed patterns and that is what we see today.

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Notes

¹Mosaic is the art of creating images with an assemblage of small pieces of colored glass, stone, or other materials. If small rounded pieces of stones are used it is called 'pebble mosaics'.

²The act or process of decorating, adorning or embellishing.

³Generally, an object with 'rotational symmetry' also known as 'radial symmetry' is an object that looks the same after a certain amount of rotation.

⁴Reflection symmetry or bilateral symmetry is symmetry with respect to reflection. That is, a figure which does not change upon undergoing a reflection has reflection symmetry.

⁵Most Islamic Geometric Patterns (IGPs) are based on constructive polygons, such as the hexagon, octagon and star polygons, of which the latter is a fundamental element of IGPs that is created by connecting the vertices of constructive polygons. For instance, all patterns whose main elements are from a hexagon or a hexagram are classified as 6-pointgeometrical patterns; a star is called a 6-point star. Accordingly, patterns are labeled as 8, 10, 12...point geometrical patterns.

⁶Pashmina is the finest type of cashmere wool. The textiles made from it were first woven in Kashmir, India and mostly used as shawls.

⁷Kanikar Shawls from Kashmir are an ensemble of prestige for the state of Kashmir. Also known as Tilliwalla or Tilikar, these shawls are one of the two varieties produced in Kashmir. While loom woven garments are absolutely amazing, the kani loom fabrics are the pulse of the Kashmir fabric industry.

⁸Boteh is a Persian word meaning bush, shrub, a thicket (a small dense forest of small trees or bushes), bramble, herb. Some would even take it to mean a palm leaf, cluster of leaves (perhaps as a repeated pattern) and flower bud. In Azerbaijan and in Kashmir (in the north of the Indian sub-continent), the name used to describe the motif is buta.

⁹In philosophy of mind, dualism is the position that mental phenomena are, in some respects, non-physical, or that the mind and body are not identical.

¹⁰Rotational symmetry of order n or n-fold symmetry is a rotational symmetry in which an object is rotated by an angle 360/n and it keeps the object unchanged.

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The Korean Wave or 'Hallyu' in Manipur: A Close Reading of the Phenomenon via the Process of Introduction, Assimilation and Popularization vis-a-vis 'Cultural Proximity'

The term 'Korean Wave' or 'Hallyu' is defined as 'the rapid expansion of the Korean contemporary culture and cultural products throughout East Asia since the mid-1990s' (Suh et al. 2006). Thispaper will be focusing on this spread and influence of Korean popular culture in the northeastern states of India which are geographically, culturally, socially segregated from the rest of mainland India. It would be important to note that this Korean cultural invasion in the northeast was little known to the rest of India until a couple of years ago and most importantly, it happened before the Indian Government's initiative to propagate cultural, economic and political ties formally with South Korea.

The first part of the paper will discuss the general popularity of products of Korean popular culture. The Korean soap operas, movies, music videos (called K-Pop) are highly popular and the channels which broadcast these programmes are the most watched in Manipur. The channel which was largely responsible for introducing and popularizing the Korean cultural products is Arirang T.V, and KBS World followed suit. The second part of the paper would discuss the conditions under which 'Hallyu' phenomenon came about in Manipur. The introduction, popularization and assimilation of Korean culture via these television channels and the programmes they broadcast were not mere happenstance. There were many political, cultural and social reasons behind the occurrence and success of the phenomenon which resulted in such an extensive influence in Manipur. The third section of the paper will discuss the possible reasons and conditions which made the spread of Hallyu in Manipur possible, a small state which is located more than 2000 miles from Korea. This section demands theoretical importance and in-depth analysis of the two cultures, which have interacted or have been rather acted upon by the other at such a massive scale and has managed to sustain its popularity since the last decade. It will also be highlighted as to how the Manipuri society has assimilated the Korean influence in terms of the adaptation of music videos on the similar lines of K-Pop music videos. The Manipuri film industry also has been affected similarly because they try to cash in on the Korean look-alike factors of the actors and actresses and by dressing them up in clothes and accessories inspired and copied from Korean actors and actresses.

Conclusively, the cultural impact and its effect, with its pros and cons also need to be discussed. It also needs to be considered whether the impact is in fact a cultural invasion which will serve to alienate the Manipuri society from their cultural identity or it will work towards creating a new culture as the society is in a state of transition.

Hallyuin Manipur: Its Nascence and Beginning

In a BBC News series titled 'A Close-Up: A Little Corner of Korea in Manipur' documented on 17th October 2010, the reality of the situation in context of popularity of Korean culture in Manipur is shown. The short documentary captures the gist of the situation though not elaborately but it manages to validate the situation to anyone who has not been exposed to first hand encounter of the situation. In popularity ratings, Bollywood and Hollywood movies cannot come close to the Korean movies and T.V. Series. In an article in the DNA, Priya Sugathan (2011) says,

Talk about films in Manipur and you are most likely to hear them drop names like Lee Min Ho, Ha Ji Won, Jang Nara, Kwon Sang Woo and Song HaeKyo. For those in the dark, these are names of popular Korean Stars. The markets in Manipur are flooded by South Korean films and soap operas of these stars. And the youth think it cool to ape these stars' hairstyles, clothes or even pepper their language with Korean phrases.

The youth, mostly teenagers identify themselves more with the cultural products of Korea than those of Bollywood, India. This is a cultural shift which took its roots at the beginning of the millennium for which the banning of Hindi/Bollywood products served as the catalyst for this unprecedented change in the

contemporary Manipuri cultural landscape. The magnitude of this cultural impact can be observed as differing depending on the age group. For instance, people born after the 1990s who were closer to the age of 10 around the turn of the new millennium were most impacted while older generations the least affected.

Perhaps one of the most important reasons why Bollywood movies failed to make an impact in Manipur and are unable to compete against the onslaught of Korean wave despite the availability of access to Hindi cinemas through cheap, affordable DVDs may be due to the prolonged prohibition of the former, and thereby creating psychological and social detachment and alienation from Hindi movies. And all the more, those youngsters when they came of age, Hallyu had already laid its ground and bridged the gap.

In a popular Pan-Manipur website called *E-Pao*('news'), numerous discussions and debates take place about the Hallyu phenomenon in Manipur. In an article uploaded in *E-Pao*, which was originally written for and published in a Manipuri local daily newspaper, *Sangai* on June 2, 2008, Oliver Intoate Hmar writes about 'The Influence of Korean T.V Dramas'. Hmar gives a statistical popularity of the T.V Drama series by stating,

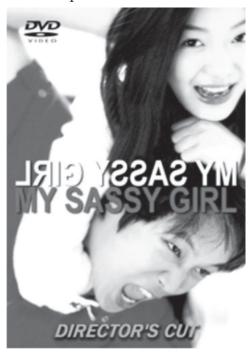
Of all the TV dramas produced by Korea film-makers every year, the top-ten rated shows constantly include seven or eight play sequences. In 2006 alone, over 100 play-series were produced representing one of the world most creative outputs of this kind. What must be the causes behind the immense popularity of TV dramas among Asian viewers?

An account is given by Sunita Akoijam in the magazine *The Caravan* about SamomTombi, a 37 years old Businesswoman from Imphal who is a big fan of Korean serials. She says, 'I (once) spent three days watching Korean serials non-stop and stopped only when I felt dizzy and got an acute headache.' Such an addiction to Korean serials and movies is quite commonplace. And when asked as to why such an appeal is carried by these Korean movies and soaps, SamomTombi referred to the 'plots and cleanliness – meaning they are family friendly.' It is also given that

she feels the storylines are very close to real life, as opposed to the exaggerated representations in Hindi serials. The characters seemed more real, their lives and the incidents are more or less the kind that can happen to us, too. It's almost like watching a glamourised presentation of our own lives with beautiful people doing what we do (Akoijam 2012).

This is just one of the many instances through which we can observe the impact of the wave amongst its varied audience.

Movies such as *The Classic* (2003), *A Moment to Remember* (2004), *My Sassy Girl* (2001) and *My Little Bride* (2004) are some of the earlier movies that have been the trendsetters, which helped Korean movies in gaining a strong foothold in Manipur. These movies are more or less all based on love issues amongst young couples and the dramas of life that followsubsequently. The general theme that is used in all these movies caters to the emotional state of the love-sick teenagers, who consume it happily and ask for more, thereby, sustaining the demand for these movies since the past decade.



This point is aided by the above-mentioned BBC News series where the journalist interviews a few teenagers regarding their love and fascination for Korean movies and T.V. series. One of them, a boy, not surprisingly dressed like one of the rappers in Korean music videos, replies, 'It is about love and all those things related to relationships. It is growing up fast; it is growing like fire in Manipur.' The lure of love and drama can also be

observed in some of the visual representations such as posters and advertisements of these movies:

The above movie *My Sassy Girl* and the one given below *The Classic* were some of the earlier movies that became big hits in Manipur.

Apart from the movies, the Korean drama serials are a big hit among the Manipuris. These dramas deal with stories of love, family and relationships, life—death which people find realistic and relatable. One of the most popular drama series as mentioned in the documentary by BBC is *Boys over Flowers* (2009), which has been adapted into Chinese, Japanese and Taiwanese series as part of Hallyu in these countries. Akoijam (2012) writes,

Boys over Flowers says a girl behind me...more voices join hers... I turn to see a teenage girl holding a DVD that has on the cover a pretty girl with a part scowling, part-scheming look on her face with four cute boys smiling in the background. Five more teenage girls, 12th standard students, are standing around the one with the DVD...the 17 year olds are flipping through the collection of pirated Korean DVDs at the Singjamei Supermarket in Imphal-films, dramas, serials and music albums.

Hallyu: Filling Up the Cultural Vacuum of Manipur

The Hallyu in Manipur was a result of certain situations and conditions, which were politically instigated, but promoting Hallyu was not an objective. This will be understood better as the paper proceeds. It has been mentioned in brief in the earlier part of the paper that the Korean wave in Manipur was not part of the Indian government's plan to formally foster cultural, economic and political ties. Otojit Kshetrimayum (2008) mentions that the Korean wave

reached the Indian shore very recently as compared to some of the other Asian countries. In May-June 2006, a Korean delegation visited India as a part of its efforts to spread the Korean wave in this country. For the very first time in India the Korean drama *Emperor of the Sea* was introduced by DD 1 on 23th July 2006. In another move to make Indian audiences

aware about the Korean cultural richness, the MBC hit drama *A Jewel in the Palace* began to be aired on DD 1 from 24th September 2006. So, the introduction of Korean dramas is part of growing interest of Indians in not only Korean economic miracle but also in the cultural traits of Korea exemplified in various T.V soap operas and music.

It was in the year 2000, the beginning of the new millennium that the separatist group of Manipur, the Revolutionary People's Front banned all Hindi satellite channels from being broadcast and Hindi movies being screened in theatres and cinema halls. CDs and DVDs were burned and theatre owners were banned from screening the same. These actions were taken up in a bid to save the 'Manipuri culture' from the cultural imperialism of Hindi movies. It is to be noted that the local Manipuri film industry was poorly developed at that time, even though more than a decade down the line it has improved. Apart from the few movies produced during a year's duration, the local film industry could not keep the theatres running and most of them were closed down. In such a scenario, the cable television network came with Arirang T.V, which later became the most powerful media channel to bring about the Korean wave in Manipur. Apart from the News and Sports channels, this was the only channel that provided some form of recreational entertainment. It was a rather spontaneous outcome that the cultural vacuum created by the banning of Hindi channels and cinema helped in fostering the Manipuri digital film industry by giving rise to new stars in the local arena. But the scale at which the Korean wave took came ousted the local film industry as well.

The easy availability and pocket-friendly price of the Korean movies, serials and music DVDsalso aided to the popularity. The economic factor is another important aspect to be discussed since it is directly related to its mass consumption. The dominance of *Arirang T.V*, led to what Akoijam (2009) termed as '*Arirang* Imperialism'. What started as a defense against the cultural imperialism of Hindi film industry lead to another kind of imperialism at the hands of the Korean wave and whether it had positive or negative implications comprise another topic of discussion.

Hence, the cable television network in such a situation played an important role in bringing about Hallyu in Manipur. In fact, *Arirang T.V.* can be said to be the harbinger of Korean wave in Manipur. Another Korean satellite channel, *KBS World* followed suit after the Korean wave gained momentum. The important point to be noted here is that the shift that took place when a cultural vacuum was created by the banning of Hindi channels and movies, which in itself was a politically and culturally motivated step on the part of the separatist group, RPF and the resulting assimilation and popularization of Korean cultural products such as movies, drama series, music videos via the Korean Satellite channels.

We now understand the nature of the wave, the extent of its spread and popularity as well as the circumstances, which resulted in favoring such cultural phenomenon to enter and thrive. The following part of this paper is most important as it deals with a theoretical understanding and analysis of the Korean wave and the possible reasons behind such its success and impact in a small state like Manipur, thousands of miles away from Korea.

A very important part of the Korean wave are the cultural products (movies, TV series, K-pop, fashion, food habits, language etc.) that are imported from the home country i.e. Korea, and assimilated in to the recipient nation or place, which in this case is Manipur.

Cultural values of the home country are embedded in cultural products. Therefore when cultural products are exported to another cultural region, the embedded culture is being accompanied. Then, the consumption of these products takes places after the socio-cultural filtering including conflicts and adjustments among the recipients with different cultural values.

This filtration process is known as cultural discount...therefore, the competitiveness of cultural products in a different cultural region is affected by the degree with which the values of the home country can be combined or harmonized with some adjustments to the cultural values of

the recipient's society...in analyzing the process of cultural products' assimilation in a local market, most frequently used concepts are 'cultural proximity' and 'degree of interaction' (Suh et al. 2006).

It has been observed that the popularity of Korean wave in context of the above statement regarding the 'filtering', 'harmonizing' and 'adjustments' that are required, can be accounted to Hallyu's peculiar ability to 'provide entertainment that is hip yet grounded in traditional values, which, it is been more than proven, suits Asian sentiments and values' (Suh et al. 2006; cf. Akoijam 2012). The present popularity shows that the acceptance has been made and the harmonizing step has been attained, which is why the conflicts that should have otherwise arose and disintegrated the cultural wave did not appear in any major way and the following 'assimilation' took place.

Cultural Proximity: A Theoretical Understanding of Hallyu in Manipur

The 'cultural proximity' analysis helps explain the process of assimilation of cultural products from the home country into the recipient society. J. D. Straubhhar (1991) explains that 'cultural proximity is a characteristic that is predominantly reflected in nationally or locally produced material that is closer to and more reinforcing of traditional identities based on regional, ethnic, dialect/language, religious and other elements.' One of the operational applications of this concept can be in terms of the success or acceptance of any cultural product that is disseminated through television or media from one cultural location to another. And if the two cultures that are in interaction lie close to each other, as mentioned above, in terms of traditional identities then the success and acceptance is more likely than otherwise. Also, television programmes that serve as the carrier of cultural products should be able to cater to the viewers' needs to identify and relate to their own sentiments. This is precisely mentioned by Chung-Sok Suh, Young-Dal Cho and Seung-Ho Kwon (2006):

High cultural proximity induces and encourages active flow of cultural products between countries (Hester 1973; Kim et al. 1996).

Therefore, the higher the cultural proximity or affinity is, the recipients of the cultural products show favourable response to foreign cultural products. As cultural clashes are minimal in this case, the entry into the local market is easier.

Also, another important aspect of cultural proximity is the shared 'cultural linguistic markets' or 'geocultural markets,' as said by Straubhhar which serve as the premise for cultural proximity. By 'cultural linguistic markets' it means that the two interacting spaces are

unified by language. However, they go beyond language to include history, religion, ethnicity and culture in several senses: shared identity, gestures and non-verbal communication; what is considered funny or serious or even sacred; clothing styles; living patterns; climate influences and other relationships with the environment. Geocultural markets are often centered to a geographic region..., but they have also been spread globally by colonization, slavery and migration (Straubhhar 1991).

This explanation provides a theoretical background for understanding the spread of the Korean wave in many countries of Asia and even in the case of Manipur. Thus, cultural proximity is one of the main reasons behind the Korean wave in Manipur and its subsequent popularity and acceptance, and its success, which over ruled the presence of Bollywood and Hollywood products in market in pirated forms. The cultural proximity between Korean and Manipuri societies can be mapped keeping in view the above given theoretical framework.

Manipuri history can be traced back to more than 2000 years. The Meiteis constitute the major ethnic group in this state and it is recorded by Sir Johnstone that 'Meiteis or Manipuris are a fine stalwart race descended from an Indo-Chinese stock, with some admixture of Aryan blood, derived from the successive wave of Aryan invaders that passed through the valley in pre-historic days' (Johnstone 1971). And the Koreans are said to be the 'descendents of the Mongol tribes that migrated onto the Korean peninsula from Central Asia.' The clear inference is that both belong to the Mongoloid group or race. This forms a strong link

ethnically. Another feature is the presence of clan system in both these societies. It is given in the Korean overseas information service, that 'clan communities that combined to form small townstates characterized ancient Korea. The town states gradually united into tribal leagues with complex political structures, which eventually grew into kingdoms.' Similarly, Manipuri society is also characterized by the presence of the clan system. The various proto Meitei tribes of Manipur valley were politically and socially integrated into a political and social entity by the powerful Ningthouja (Mangang) kingdom founded by Pakhangba (33-154 AD) in the first century AD. These are now the seven clans in Manipur.

Another similarity can be observed in the system of naming where the family name comes before the first name in both the Manipuri and Korean society. Like the Koreans the Manipuris too have the tradition of referring to elders and family members not by their names but by specific titles such as 'Eche' meaning elder sister in Manipuri and 'Eonmi' in Korean, among others. But one of the most important cultural proximity is seen in the traditional religion of the Manipuris called 'Sanamahism' which has a very close counterpart in Korea's 'Shamanism.' A detailed account of this is given in the article 'Shamanism and Sanamahi: A Factor for Close Bonding between the Meiteis and the Hanguk Saram (Korean People)' by Langlenthoibi Laishram (2008). It is given that Shamanism and Sanamahism are similar in their features and practices. The former is the unofficial religion of Korea just like the latter is for Manipur though works for their revival have been started in both places. In Shamanism, the figure 'mudang' is the priestess who performs the rituals necessary to appease the spirits and acts as the link between the living world and the other world. Similarly, in Sanamahism we have the ritual functionaries called 'maibi' who functions as the priestess. Otojit Kshetrimayum(2009) says in his article, 'The Maibi's role as a medium between the living and the spiritual world is perhaps the most remarkable, and the most original and authentic.' He further adds that both Sanamahism and Shamanism includes the 'worship of spirits that are believed to dwell in every object of

the natural world, including rocks, trees, mountains and streams as well as celestial bodies.' The similarities pervade in many other spheres of both these cultures such as the folk games like 'Mukna' (traditional form of wrestling) exists in Manipur and 'Ssireum' is the counterpart in Korea.

These are some of the cultural proximities shared between these two societies and it is evident enough that the traditional, cultural relationship is strong and closely connected. As mentioned by Otojit Kshetrimayum, 'The Hallyu spirit is the spirit of traditional culture...tradition is the strongest motivating power when creating a new culture.' And this cultural proximity between these two societies has facilitated the growth, acceptance and popularity of Korean wave in Manipur via the cable satellite channels, the programme broadcast in the, the movies, soap operas, music videos, and the subsequent assimilation of fashion sense, hairstyles, food habits and even language to a surprising extent.

Apart from the following of 'Korean' style and looks in clothing, style statements and hairstyle by the youngsters in their daily lives and even by music video artists, actors and actresses of Manipur, the general trend that is setting in is regarding the Korean language. These movies and drama series, songs and videos come with English subtitles makes it easier for them to learn and understand the Korean language. There is also a popular programme on Arirang T.V called 'Let's Speak Korean' which acts a tool of cultural dissemination and it is highly popular among the youngsters who are more than eager to absorb it. 'They have started using some common sentences used in the day-today life by the serial stars. For instance, annyeong-haseyo (hello), kamsahamnida (thank you) and sarang-haeyo (I love you)... before, hardly the youngsters knew about 'chopsticks', but now they have learnt to use it and some of them have food with it. Now, the traditional plate is being replaced by bowl...some of them sing some of their favourite Korean singer's songs (Kshetrimayum2009). The picture below from the Manipuri movie Loibatare Ta Raju (2011) show some of the Korean Fashionoriented influences in Manipur.



This above picture shows some of the popular Manipuri actresses with straightened and stylized hair and the costumes are designed taking after the Korean style as seen in the Korean movies, serials and music videos. The picture below shows the male actor and his clothing sense inspired and heavily influenced by the Korean teen pop stars as seen in their music videos. The general picturization and setting of the background, the props used all add up to show the K-Pop influence which is part of the Korean wave.





Conclusion

Conclusively, we need to see the effects of such a cultural impact of the Korean wave in such a small state of Manipur. The pros and cons may be viewed and weighed by different opinions. The important fact to be considered is that the Korean wave is accepted by the younger as well as the older generations of Manipur. It seems they 'share the same sentiments while Hallyu dramas and films; and also identify with its dance and music. The younger generation in particular seeks to learn more about the Korean culture, traditions, language and fashion. *Hallyu* can help develop broader cultural interchanges and co-operation' (Kshetrimayum 2009).

That is just one side of the analysis that can arise from the situation. The other side of the coin needs to be acknowledged as well. In a state such as Manipur which is still in a state of transition with ongoing political turmoil where the people are still in the process of finding their roots and cultural identity. The matter cannot just be brushed off as a cultural phenomenon without debating on its pros and cons. After all, it all began with the aim of preserving 'Manipuri culture' from the onslaught of other forms of cultural imperialism (as in this case, the Bollywood culture) and now what we have can also be seen as another

cultural invasion from a country 2000 miles away despite the fact that we share certain 'cultural proximity' between each other. What will happen next is all a matter of speculation in a place such as Manipur.

Notes

¹ The term Manipur here is used in a broad sense. However, in the scope of this paper it particular focuses on Meitei community.

² 'Facts about Korea'. Korean Overseas Information Service, 2003, pp. 13.

³ Ibid.

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