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**COUNTERVISUALITY AS DIRECTORIAL
APPROACH : A CASE STUDY OF PUNJAB'S
COUNTER-HISTORY IN *ANHE GHOREY DA
DAAN AND CHAUTHI KOOT***

Visuality, Nicholas Mirzoeff contends, is not entirely visual or the “totality of all visual images and devices (“The Right to Look” 474). It is instead “a regime of visualization” and “the means by which power claims authority” (Mirzoeff, “The Clash of Visualizations” 1192). Visuality, as a process, is also not “perceptual” and is “imaginary”, it functions in the mind, and is constructed from “information, images, and ideas” (“The Right to Look” 474). Visualisation refers to the construction of a complex, a new reality, through the stages of classification, segregation, and aestheticisation, and through them determines collective thinking and imagination.

Countervisuality is not merely oppositional to visuality. Opposition, as a classification, Mirzoeff reserves for Visuality 2, a categorisation he bases on Dipesh Chakrabarty’s History 1 and History 2. Countervisuality is a parallel visualisation which challenges Visuality’s authority, its “unreality” by imagining the other, its “alternative” visualization (“The Right to Look” 485).

Further, Mirzoeff asserts, countervisuality is not always mimetic.

such as an attack through fictional representations on film. But, the history of cinema evidences the role played by kino-eye or camera-seeing in mounting a parallel reality, shaking visuality's beclouding or concealment of lived reality. A case in point is Italian Neo-realist cinema which contested Mussolini's propagandist documentaries and a mainstream cinema of distraction through location shooting and attention to regional dialects as well as local problems. Similarly, French Nouvelle Vague challenged the limited reality promoted by the Fourth Republic of France through its subsidization of film production and in the process the creation of an ornate, expensive cinema of quality far removed from the people's reality. Although, grouped together as movements the Italian and French choices were constitutive of distinct directorial stances.

The paper's objective, therefore, is to highlight how directorial approach and stylistic devices when administered through the mechanism of independent film-making and the autonomy or choice intrinsically embedded in it can be conducive to the production of a cinematic counterpoint. The filmic countervisuality discussed here takes stock of independently-produced films about Punjab. The framework of the paper is three-fold. Firstly, it offers a brief summarization of visuality's visualization of Punjab through decades of film history, of Bombay and Punjab. The argument also traces the origin of some of the ubiquitous stereotypes to ethnographic history and socio-political agendas of nation-building. Secondly, it assesses Gurvinder Singh's, the director of the films under purview, directorial method. Especially how he presents a challenge to popular understanding of Punjab by defamiliarising the spectator through minimalistic, verisimilar representation, which is very unlike mainstream cinema's, is discussed. A full analysis of *Anhe Ghorey Da Daan* (2011) and *Chauthi Koot* (2015) follows. And lastly, in keeping with countervisuality's destabilising role, an attempt will be made to challenge Gurvinder Singh's

countervisuality from within.

In cinema, specifically Bombay's Bollywoodised representations, visuality couches Punjab in a narrative of economic prosperity, high agricultural yields, and psychological intrepidity as well as a general popular happiness. It is not a complete unreality, but a limited reality. This visuality, though perpetuated, and even stereotyped and exaggerated, by cinema is not entirely created by it. As Mirzoeff claims visuality is constructed from "information, images, and ideas", so Punjab has been ingrained in public imagination through a combination of all three.

The idea of Punjab as the land of plenty was appropriated by cinema, especially the regional Punjabi-language cinema in 1960s, because Nehru's nation-building project encouraged the insertion of images of progress. Punjabi films used establishing shots (specifically for openings of films) of "rural signifiers" such as fecund green fields, subsistence crops, and agricultural practices (images changing from Persian wheels to tube wells, and bullock carts to tractors with the passage of time) (Parmar 167). With the advent of Green Revolution and Punjab's linchpin role, this idea of the place (Punjab) was further solidified and the images eternalised. The crises of the decade of eighties scarred Punjab's public image, so Bombay cinema of the nineties sought to rehabilitate it. The earlier tropes and stereotypical establishing shots were reconstructed in *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (1995), and subsequently many of the commercially successful films from Bombay have been Punjabi in "theme" and "reconsiderations of the nature of Punjabiyat" (Dwyer, ch. 2).

From nation-building's object, Punjab has transformed into a mass-market commodity in the twenty-first century. The present sees a very different film industry in Bombay, influenced by globalisation, and the industrialisation and corporatisation of film, and is more appropriately a culture industry (Rajadhyaksha, "When was Bollywood?"). It is also a different filmic climate, with online

streaming platforms, multiplexes, DVDs, Blu-Ray, peer-to-peer downloading, Video-on-Demand, enabling Indian cinema to extend its viewership base and reach global markets. Owing to these developments Bombay cinema operated in the early years of twenty-first century through a rationale of reaching a maximum Indian population, even the Diaspora or especially the overseas markets, by providing a homogeneity which a Non-Resident Indian and to an extent a non-Indian could find attractive (an aesthetic identified as Bollywoodised film). The appropriation of Punjab, as the land of abundance and mirth-making, and its culture, music, dance, attire, and landscape, were a natural choice because Indian Diaspora in the UK, USA, Australia, Canada and New Zealand are significantly made up of Punjabis. Also, although based in Mumbai, Bombay cinema has always been dominated by North Indians and represented North India as an “imaginary homeland” (Dwyer, ch. 2). Then, Hindi films of the nineties and the early decades of twenty-first century consistently “inscribe Punjabi culture as the national public culture of India” (Dwyer and Patel 19). In the beginning, films about Punjab catered to Diaspora’s nostalgia for home (*Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*), but over the years this nostalgia has transformed into an artificially-induced “ersatz nostalgia” (as illustrated by *Singh is Bliing* (2015); Heritage resorts and restaurants in Punjab; the repeatedly employed Punjabi dance number) (Appadurai, ch. 4). The image Bombay has proliferated is of commercial expedience. The films of Yash and Aditya Chopra, Karan Johar, and Akshay Kumar (Punjabi migrants or second-generation Punjabis in Bombay), are a few illustrations of an aestheticised portrait of Punjab, which focus on the prosperous and empty Punjab of local colour (language, location, regional specificity) and socio-political realities of place (partition, aftermath of insurgency, failure of Green Revolution, farmer unrest and suicides, Dalits’ condition, female foeticide, drug abuse and trade) to render it instead in the image of All-India film as elaborated by Chidananda Dasgupta, or an aesthetic called Bollywood as “an order

of signifiers that seems to want to capture a mood or style, rather than designate a piece of reality" (Prasad "This thing called..."). From nation-building to cultural appropriation, Punjab traverses both time and distance.

The stereotype of the courageous Punjabi and a pervasive well-being developed because of Bombay's inherent character. Bombay cinema comes as close to a national cinema as is possible in a nation with multiple languages demarcating varied regions. It has followed a plan of stereotypical regional representation in order to avoid specificity and excessive local colour. Thus, ethnicities take on certain fixed characteristics and are repeatedly portrayed through the familiarity of this lens. As a result, Punjabis are always brave, the Gujaratis miserly, the Rajputs honourable, and the Bengalis effeminate and intellectual. These classifications have some basis in ethnographic history, especially in the case of the British's profiling of Punjabis (Jats) and Bengalis. However, the representation of Punjabis' unequivocal prosperity has been retained because misery, poverty, and conflict are not beautiful, and also fail to fit into Bollywood's aesthetic of abundance and splendour.

The twenty-first century also manifests a Jat-centric Punjabi cinema, dominated by their themes, stories, and images, and which carries forward their associations with rurality and martial race, which has been termed as the "rural imaginary" (Mooney, ch. 5). This, Nicola Mooney deduces, is the colonial ethnographic project that shaped the warrior and yeoman identity of Jat Sikhs, and is also responsible for their assumption of primordial origins ("The Yeoman Jats of Punjab" 282). A further consequence of British ethnography has been their identification of Punjab with Jat Sikhs, fostered by land grants as rewards for Jat allegiance to the colonial regime, also elevating their caste-status. Initially evident in history, the same has come to be visualised in cinema, as Jat Sikh or upper-caste narratives always take precedence, and Punjab's large Dalit population has mostly been obscured (Parmar 169). Much of

Punjabi Cinema in the first decade of twenty-first century, especially the films of Harbhajan Mann, addresses both regional and transnational issues faced by Jat Sikhs. And yet, they have also perpetuated a “nostalgia for the village”, the diasporic, global Punjabi’s yearning for a lost home, visualised in the arcadian village (Abbi 168). Film, thus, becomes an important link for the preservation of the Jats’ rural imaginary. The concomitant order of films, featuring Diljit Dosanjh, Gippy Grewal and Jimmy Shergill, have turned away from the vicissitudes of diasporic lifestyles and a longing for home, to pursue instead a substantially comedy cinema, and a valorisation of Jat caste, thereby constricting the scope of representation.

Altogether this, when combined with the ongoing cultural appropriation of Punjab in Bombay cinema, as nostalgia-ridden, sepia-toned, Bollywood cultural spectacles, affirms the region is undergoing a vigorous homogenising, mythologising process, where commoditisation is causing a wilful and visualised erasure of a shared past and the complexities of the contemporary. Patently, then, Bombay reifies the place and the populace, albeit in the most saturated hues, but Punjabi cinema also converges on a singular reality. The aesthetic propagated by the two is emphatically feel-good and consumerist. Mirzoeff calls this process classification, aestheticisation, and separation, whereby visuality’s reality becomes the norm, the normal, and the aesthetic, as it separates and excludes what it deems unaesthetic.

Gurvinder Singh’s *Anhe Ghorey Da Daan* opens with the shot of a wall being razed to the ground. It is followed by shots of lanes, walls, a courtyard, a man asleep, an electrical short circuit visible only through its reflection on the man’s face and its sound on the soundtrack. Many similar, lingering shots follow, of rooms, lanes, day-to-day domesticity, all conveying a sense of space, situating the spectator within the spatial and temporal dimension of the images unfolding in front. The film is replete with images and

sounds of Punjab, and long, sprawling shots and takes which last a few seconds, almost a minute, in a cinematic climate where optimum shot length is 3-4 seconds. The film surprises in countless ways, through its framing, its attention to detail, both visual and aural. Singh almost wishes his films could be the beginning of a Punjabi New Wave, a billowing, sweeping rage of a movement which envelops Punjab and Punjabi cinema in a new language, a revolutionary way of showing, and not telling, the story of the place. Of course, new wave takes after French New Wave, the evolutionist moment in French cinema, which challenged traditional filmmaking, conventional forms of narrative, to chart an ambitious path. Gurvinder Singh's films also present a counterpoint, and re-imagine Punjab, narrating its story principally through film form. *Anhe Ghorey Da Daan* (2011) and *Chauthi Koot* (2015) envisage a parallel Punjabi reality, a novel way of looking and seeing, through the parameters of Arthouse cinema and the technique of defamiliarisation. The mechanism of Indie cinema, as both aesthetic and institution, buttresses the emergence of this counter-reality.

As a visual aesthetic, David Bordwell has dealt with the subject of art cinema in some detail. He articulates realism, authorship and ambiguity as the pillars of the art film. As art cinema is envisioned against the presence of mainstream narrative cinema, realism is expressed in the use of real locations, the loosening of narrative ties or the absence of a goal, and the accent on character interiorisation. "Authorial expressivity" is the second factor around which art cinema is coded (Bordwell 651). The filmmaker as "the author becomes a formal component, the overriding intelligence organizing the film for our comprehension" (652). They become the talking point around who criticism, reviews, and style signatures are organized. Together, realism and authorial suggestiveness are incompatible, and the device of ambiguity is the solution art film has devised. This ambiguity is expressed through "open-ended" narratives and "episodic" plots, unifying "life's uncertainties".

“character subjectivity” with “author’s vision” in a halting, ruminating cinematic expression (654).

Independent cinema refers, according to *Critical Dictionary of Film and Television*, “to a cinematic practice that in some way stands as an alternative, or takes an oppositional stance, to a dominant, mainstream cinema” and “...extends beyond film production to include systems of distribution and exhibition.” Independent film also poses a predominant question: independent of what? John A. Lent’s classification is the most applicable here. Lent speaks of independence from governmental regulation or censorship, freedom from mainstream studios, and liberty to pursue individual styles of filmmaking against traditional methods. Gurvinder Singh’s films were financed by National Film Development Corporation (NFDC) and European production houses; hence, they can claim freedom from industrial finance and formulaic filmmaking. This leverage allowed him to pursue content reflective of his personal vision, without perturbation about popular appeal and revenue collection. But, the films were also positioned in the festival market and international acclaim smoothed their path for Indian release.

Singh’s films employ the characteristics of art film, principally a realist tone. He understands that Punjabi milieu is reflected, first and foremost, in the emphasis on language; consequently, he refuses to cast actors incapable of pronouncing the nuances of Punjabi dialects. Working with a mix of professional, non-professional, and non-actors, Singh places greater emphasis on the face and its rightness for the character than consumerist star quality. Financial autonomy from the studio system is instrumental in furthering these choices. Further, there is a certain disconnect, an emotional distance in his films which prevents the audience from being sucked into the dramatic vortex of storytelling. The viewer has to bring greater mental faculty to piece together the episodic, connected and unconnected narration. Since *Anhey Ghorey Da Daan* and *Chauthi Koot* are adaptations, the former from Gurdial Singh’s novel and

the latter connects two stories from Waryam Singh Sandhu's anthology, their cinematic treatment drops all aspects construed as propagandising or easily suspenseful (where the revelation of suspense is built as an end-goal), thus freeing them from a demanding identification or immersion. Both the films are shot in Punjab and detail issues and conflicts specific to the region. A thorough analysis in the following paragraphs will demonstrate how they conceive an alternative representation of Punjab.

Anhe Ghorey Da Daan (2011)

The film is about one day in the life of a Mazhabi Sikh family, a duration which retards action and the racy flow of narrative. It employs a combination of professional actors and non-actors, thereby shunning "personality-driven cinema" ("Chauthi Koot Director"). Further, it offers no context about caste distinctions and caste-related violence in Punjab. Nor is there a commentary on the complicated history of casteism, and the economic basis for discrimination against Dalits.

The plot revolves around a family, parents and their son and daughter, villagers living on borrowed land. Their other son, the eldest, Melu Singh, is a Rickshaw-puller in Bathinda, residing there with his wife and two sons. His move to the town followed tyrannous living and working conditions under Jat Sikhs. Melu's family in the village, however, is unaware of his hardships in the town. Auto-rickshaws have made making ends meet difficult. Melu, however, actively protests for a hike in rickshaw fares. The undeniable, sad truth remains he cannot find respite in either town or country. His family, apart from contending with the daily struggle of livelihood and sustenance, must also face opposition for their community from the powerful and affluent Jat Sikhs of the village. Another Mazhabi family, for instance, have their home demolished. The Mazhabi Sikh community shows solidarity, but is incapable of getting justice in the face of police brutality and opposition from politically dominant Jat Sikhs.

The film remains a rambling portrait of a family and a community and nothing much happens throughout. It finally ends when Melu's father starts for the town to see him, and he in turn arrives at the village. It must be noted that the film shows no violence, only suggestions of it, and although an injustice is clearly evident yet the dialogue and the manner of delivery and performance are muted. The sluggishly-paced film makes no attempt to hyperbolise a difficult reality. It attempts to penetratingly present the truth of Dalit lives by microscopically looking at it.

The film is divided into episodes in the absence of cause-effect logic of a unified plot. The first episode begins in the village where it is just another day for Melu's family. The routine of the day, showcased through close-up shots of drawing water, readying the chulha for tea, the flickering embers, and steaming tea in a battered steel dish (compare this with shining brass utensils on display in *Son of Sardar*, a 2012 Bollywood film), establishes the course of life in a poor Dalit household. The characters' clothes, their threadbare blankets, and a fog-speckled scenario, further add to the realism. In effect, the images are so trenchant for the viewer, that it is possible to feel, on a subconscious level, the bitterness of the cold day. These images also stand in opposition to Bollywood's Heritage Havelis, warm, sunny days, and rich food, in their depiction of Punjab. The film is also shot on location and utilises locational sounds.

An actor can profess or convey a feeling or emotion or something betwixt the two, with as simple a quality as a walk or a gesture of the hand or an expression of the face. The film relies on the faces of the characters to establish the space and socio-political reality in which it is set. The characters of father and daughter are essayed by real villagers who are non-actors. The father's face proclaims an authenticity, reflecting his misery in the lined contours and shrunken frame. Facial close-up is also effectively utilised. Paul Schrader writes, "There's a great deal of complexity in a close-up

of the human face. It sounds minor but it's a choice moment." ("Game Changers: The Close-Up"). There is a sequence where Melu's mother verbally inveighs about the injustice of her landlord employers. As she continues in a monologue, her family is observed listening, motionless, expressing their misery and sadness only through close-up. The close-ups act as emotional responses, although the characters are not seen overtly expressing anything, but the close focus on faces indicates, without words, an accumulated tiredness towards life in general.

Speaking of how the film presents a visual counterpoint, it is essential to explore how it distances and defamiliarises the spectator from mainstream and aesthetic Punjab. The term 'defamiliarisation' or rather *ostranenie* was first coined by Viktor Shklovsky in "On the Newest Russian Poetry". According to Shklovsky, "The technique of art is to make objects 'unfamiliar,' to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged" (qtd. in *The Princeton Encyclopedia*). Susan Sontag also discusses in her essay "Spiritual Style in the films of Robert Bresson", a "distance", a certain "disinterestedness", as characteristic of reflective art. She asserts that such art is not "frigid" but delays "emotional involvement."

Anhe Ghorey Da Daan estranges through its subject, treatment, direction, cinematography, and editing. That the film presents Mazhabi Sikhs and their angst-ridden existence defies the mainstream logic of high-caste Punjabis and their inordinately lavish lifestyles. It opens with a shot of a crane razing to ground a brick wall. The film shifts to Melu Singh's family without explanation. Eleven minutes into it the viewer is made cognizant of the demolition situation. As Melu's father starts for the aggrieved Dharma's half-flattened house, the camera shifts to the lanes outside. As the lens track the fog-enveloped lane an eerie music plays on the soundtrack. Melu's father moves into the shot and is filmed

from behind. As the camera closes in on his head the shot cuts to one of his face just as the camera starts moving back for a long shot of the character. The purpose of the shot, here, is essentially to break the illusion that the film despite its veridical depiction of home and hearth is not dramatic, psychological cinema. The strangeness of the shot, the languid movements of Melu's father draw attention to his shrivelled and sickly state, but also focus spectatorial attention on Dalits' physicality, their bodies. If contrasted with Jat Sikh characters, the police officer, the Sarpanch and his companions, their walk, their clothes, and overall bodily health affirm their situation in life.

In another scene, Melu's father visits the bus stop to see off his daughter-in-law, her brother, and his two grandchildren. It must be noted here that the relationship between various characters is never explained and only hinted at through dialogue later. The scene is framed in long shot. A bus moves right into the frame and the viewer's visual access to the characters is blocked, although their voices are now mingled with the sound of the running bus. A formal device like this is usually avoided in commercial cinema, because its chief design is to keep the spectators' attention riveted to the screen and drawing attention away from the characters achieves the opposite, allowing viewers time to think outside the frame.

As the characters board the bus we leave the village behind and move to the town of Bathinda. The characters alight from the bus and make their way home. They walk through the town and the camera tracks them or focuses on what they are observing, namely the rickshaw-pullers' strike. The sequence ends after their arrival home and the characters do not reappear as their arc ends abruptly. Such little exposition strikes a discordant note and requires the viewer to watch closely, to listen carefully. Enlarged attention to detail illumines the nuances of their speech, the smallness of their home, facilitating the conclusion about their stunted economic and educational growth. But, possibly this treatment of Gurdial Singh's

text suggests the filmmaker's reserve in dealing with a potentially volatile subject matter. The choice to weaken cause-effect links and slow down the passage of time creates the difficulty of latching onto, or identifying with the cinematic reality on account of a plot point.

A commercial film is cut to enhance the spectator's visual pleasure. The viewer sees all and if details are hidden it is only to delay pleasure by building anticipation and suspense. Editing has a broader purpose in art cinema. *Anhe Ghorey Da Daan* with its use of long takes, long shots, close-ups and limited shot/reverse shot works actively to destroy any semblance of visual gratification. Another noticeable estrangement technique used by the filmmaker pertains to the editing of dialogue. Whenever a character has to speak, the camera cuts to them and they speak a few seconds after being the focus of the lens. Similarly, once they have said their lines the camera stays with them a few seconds longer before cutting to a different shot. This is especially true of shot/reverse shot conversations and has an unnerving effect on the spectator. In comparison, mainstream cinema uses dialogue as a tool to keep the spectators immersed in the filmic world and also to move the action along. This delayed cutting serves another purpose, of asking the spectator to take a longer look, to apprehend more consciously, an exercise commercial cinema's optimal cutting discourages.

Very discernible is also Gurvinder Singh's creation of the milieu, the space of Punjab on film. This has been designed and achieved on audio-visual level. The outer space or boundary of the village is established by tracking the villagers' move to Dharma's house, incorporating within it the shots and sounds of objects and landscapes. In another sequence, the Dalits march to the Sarpanch's house. An overhead shot is engaged here. Passing through the inner lanes of the village their feet are visible, and if the camera tilts upwards it is to showcase their slightly blurred forms, on account of movement. The kernel of the sequence lies in capturing the real

faces and sounds of the village. The onlookers, standing at the doors of their homes, watching the men going past them, are real inhabitants of the village. The sounds take in the noise made by moving feet, tools being sharpened, grains being ground at a flour mill, and a man operating a sewing machine. The intrusion of technology and industrial revolution into the lives of the villagers is also highlighted through electricity, smoke from industrial chimneys, the presence of trains, buses, and other vehicles.

There are also long, sprawling shots of Bathinda from Melu's point of view, as he rides his rickshaw; a particular shot lasts as long as a minute. Another shot lasting 35 seconds pans across empty rickshaws, to suggest visually the break-up of the strike, in consequence reducing the requirement of scene-by-scene chronicling. The noise of traffic, of trains, and of people, is also accurately captured. Sound, therefore, is an important signifier of space in the film. Gilles Deleuze had theorised a new kind of image in the after-war cinema of Italy. Calling it the time-image, he described it as the primacy of "purely optical and sound situations" (229). Gurvinder Singh, on most occasions, slows the passage of time to give the spectator an opportunity to see and hear keenly, to find meaning in banality and routine, by incorporating images of everyday reality into the narrative.

***Chauthi Koot* (2015)**

A skilled filmmaker strives to work against convention, against type. Gurvinder Singh's *Chauthi Koot*, a film combining two shorts, "Hun Main Theek Thaak Haan" and "Chauthi Koot" from Waryam Singh Sandhu's anthology *Chauthi Koot*, is also produced against convention. Although, very few feature-length films deal with the events of 1984, Operation Bluestar, and the Sikh riots, *Amu* (2005) and *Punjab 1984* (2014) are the notable two. Both these films are narrative-driven, about characters who demand empathy on account of their life trajectories, their victimisation. *Chauthi Koot* works

against this convention. More importantly, though, it works against the conventions established by the Partition film (chiefly films which follow the formula or code of life before and after partition, of happy families/peaceful communities becoming victims of communal violence in Punjab (*Tamas* (1988), *Earth 1947* (1998), *Train to Pakistan* (1998), *Gadar - Ek Prem Katha* (2001), *Pinjar* (2003)). Singh's film eschews physical violence/horror to probe the possibilities of mental anguish and anxiety caused by constrictions placed on mobility within and without, on moving freely at home and outside. The film, therefore, detaches the viewer by winnowing out actual violence and rhetorical politics, and instead depicts the atmosphere of fear and nervousness amongst the inhabitants of Punjab during the dark days of the 1980s, therefore focusing on the hidden, symbolic, and systematic psychological oppression which lasts longer than the physical violence.

Admittedly, fear and suspense can be authoritative factors in the creation of mood and atmosphere in cinema. Explaining the difference between "suspense" and "surprise" in an interview with François Truffaut, Alfred Hitchcock values suspense highly (73). According to him, suspense lasts longer because a situation can be used to create anticipation for the events to follow. This anticipation can be created by investing the public in the fate of the characters, usually by informing them beforehand of what is about to transpire. *Chauthi Koot* is Hitchcockian with respect to this basic tenet about the durability of suspense and fear in holding the interest of the public, but its approach shuns sensation and quick action.

Employing two separate stories and joining them through the person of a character, the film explores anxiousness through suggestion, without the gratuitousness of violence. The two stories complement each other because the former reveals the uneasiness of citizens in public space and the latter their disquietude in private space. The film opens with a nameless male character travelling at night with a male companion during the troubling time following

the events of the Operation Bluestar. They miss their train to Amritsar and are stranded on a railway station at night. The fear and agitation aggravated by darkness make them forcibly board a train not meant for common wayfarers. On shifting to the railway compartment, the film cuts to close-ups of the various passengers, and conveys their nervousness through facial expression. The cabin is occupied by both Hindu and Sikh passengers and the recent additions evince their discomfiture, their overworking suspicions, only through body language. Here the film intercuts to the second story, as the cabin window, displaying the receding railway track, is superimposed with another dark night.

The unnamed character is revealed as travelling late at night, again, but this time with his family, a wife and child, in tow. Having lost their way to his wife's ancestral village they stop by strangers', who turn out to be acquaintances, place. The mood of Punjab at the moment is rebellious as a standoff between Sikh separatists and the state has created a tense atmosphere. Moving about at night is quite unsafe. The three take shelter at Joginder Singh's home and are later directed to their destination.

The second story continues with Joginder's family. The action is confined to the domestic space. Joginder is facing a predicament of his own. His family owns a dog, but Sikh separatists have decreed the extermination of dogs in the village. They take refuge with the villagers at night and the canines alert the police and armed forces of their presence. With a heavy heart Joginder endeavours twice to leave it away from home, but Tommy the dog always returns. Actual action shows the family is visited in the dark again, but not by familiar, friendly faces. The Separatists pay him a visit and press upon him the urgency of doing away with Tommy. This accent on the dispensability of animals during restless times references Emir Kusturica's *Underground* (1995). The cinema-goer, desensitised to human violence and carnage, what Mirzoeff calls the "banality of images", is hit hard by the oppositional shots of innocent, caged

animals and dead animals, at the start of World War II (*The Right to Look* xiv). "Hun Main Theek Thak Haan", the conjoining short, however, revolves in its entirety around how Joginder's family deals with the threats for Tommy's elimination and their own fear in the face of an overcast, gloomy Punjab.

Circling back to suspense in the film, and referring particularly to the concept of Arthouse Suspense, David Bordwell writes, it is "another terrain, usually thematic, in which we're invited to consider something more significant than learning the outcome of events" ("Arthouse suspense..."). Suspense in Arthouse cinema, Bordwell maintains, is a bait-and-switch technique, where the spectators are initially pulled in through it (suspense), but it is also "dissolved" after a certain point of time. Solving the mystery and exposition, therefore, are not regarded as ends in themselves. Abbas Kiarostami, a major influence on Singh, effectively used suspense to keep the audience captive. The opening of *The Taste of Cherry* (1997) gives the impression of a homosexual character driving around propositioning men, with the state of affairs continuing for the first thirty minutes to dissolve in a very existential dilemma, far-removed from the preliminary perception.

Chauthi Koor both delays and dispels suspense. The mid-1980s are a turbulent time in Punjab and this is conveyed through a subtitled explanation at the beginning. The film shows no scenes of actual conflict between the separatists and the armed forces. It builds tension, as a result, through citizens' furtive glances or visible discomfort. As an instance, the scene of anxious passengers in the train compartment when brusquely cut short conveys the impression of dispelled suspense. It is only when the film returns to the first story for a few minutes at the end the realization dawns that suspense was delayed to deny spectators to relish in it. Suspense also lends subtlety to the suggestion of violence. After the militants' visit, Joginder Singh is questioned and beaten by the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). This sequence of events is only made obvious

when Joginder's wife is shown applying a warm compress to his injured back. For the spectator, though, cutting to a thunderstorm dissolves the anticipation built up by CRPF's visit and its expected outcome. A sense of mystery, then, is only a device, a conduit to a larger end. The suspense never works as spectatorial delight, and instead urges the audience to grasp the gravity of the situation by posing for them questions about the fate of Joginder's family, their dog.

Even the editing ensures we are not submerged in the action. Accordingly, the continuity is not seamless, and is discontinued. As an illustration, Joginder's wife Beero notices the CRPF approaching her home and cautions the family. The shot cuts to Joginder whose reaction indicates he did not hear her and is seen reacting a few seconds into the shot. These delayed reactions and dialogue, then, are deliberate intrusions from the filmmaker to break the flow of the narrative.

The soundtrack also underpins the creation of filmic space. Locational sounds are picked up everywhere. As background score remains minimal, it becomes possible to even hear the dog pant. In another sequence, when Joginder is confronted by the militants at his home, the matriarch of the family can be heard talking on the soundtrack while her daughter-in-law is seen preparing tea outside, and as the latter closes the gap and moves towards the source of the sound, its volume increases, thus highlighting a veridical truth.

The film also defamiliarises as it metaphorises through landscape. The heaving green fields are scenic spaces in Bollywoodised films. Here the hue remains an accentuated green, but the fields are contaminated by the CRPF during their search for Sikh Separatists at Joginder's home. The open, wide space is already a cause for perturbation, as Joginder's mother reveals their fright to be living so far from their village Rampur (to earn a livelihood) during these vexing times. The sequence of the CRPF's

visit, their subsequent treatment of Joginder and his family is metaphorised visually as a sunny day gives way to thunderstorm. The conditions to capture a thunderstorm were created as the production team waited for the monsoon season to start filming, further underlining the realism of the film's mode of production. A later shot, revelatory of Joginder's injuries, establishes the meaning of the stormy weather. The text had included a long, expository account of the occurrence, but as already evidenced Singh has a tendency to subsume violent detail so it does not overpower the equilibrium of the work at large.

By way of a conclusion, it is necessary to throw into sharp relief the three counterintuitive arguments against Singh's representation of Punjab's parallel reality. Countervisuality, as we understand, is not solely an alternative to mainstream imagination. It is an inbred attitude which refuses to accept both visuality and countervisuality as ultimate truths.

The first of these arguments pertains to Singh's choice of the art film aesthetic for evidently political subjects. It is not possible to divorce politics from artistic representation, but art film is usually more covert about its persuasion, and also more personal. Art cinema is a highly contentious term, as theorised by David Bordwell and Steve Neale as a mode of narration and an institutional mode, respectively. Singh's films are being considered here from both points of view. His films employ Bordwell's rules of objective realism (real locations, sounds), subjective realism (loose cause-effect logic), and authorial expression (ambiguity). But, it is difficult to characterise the films as art cinema, because of their documentary realism and a solemn concern with political subject-matter. Singh's films share a lineage with Indian New Wave cinema which combined realist, experimental, and middle cinema, as counterpoint to Bombay's melodramatic, spectacular excess. However, Singh's cinema is neither completely realist/observational (contradicted by the presence of authorial expression) nor suggest the use of a

cinematic style symbolic of experimental cinema, a category into which Ira Bhaskar fits *Anhe Ghorey Da Daan* (31). Further, they also do not suggest a break from Bordwell's rules, as discussed by Thanouli, to exemplify exclusions. Obscuration of the author (Dogme and Iranian New Wave), antithesis to genre (Dogme), and unobtrusive observation (Iranian New Wave) are not qualities of Singh's cinema. Singh's mode of narration, however, conveys a deepening concern with the demands of the film festival circuit as addressed by David Andrews. Most of the A-list film festivals (Cannes, Venice, Toronto, Karlo Vary, Locarno) stress the aesthetic in their submission guidelines. *Anhe Ghorey Da Daan* premiered in the Orizzonti Section of the Venice Film Festival, which is reserved for films "that represent the latest aesthetic and expressive trends in international cinema", and *Chauthi Koot* premiered in the Un Certain Regard section of Cannes Film Festival, which is dedicated to "works that have an original aim and aesthetic." Thus, Singh conjoins Ritwik Ghatak's social reality and Mani Kaul's experimentation, with the rules of arthouse film, but his overt politics denies the logic of art film aesthetic and his detachment disputes their status as social reality. The films, finally, transmute into a cinema of opportunism, not monetary but a symbolic, cultural capital. The aesthetics become a means for the films to participate in the idea of art cinema as institution, and their subjects invite the diligence a filmmaker desires.

Secondly, the films primarily feature male perspectives. Women in *Anhe Ghorey Da Daan* are chiefly wives, mothers, and daughters. The episodic turn to Melu's wife reveals nothing about her, but only offers clues about Melu's mental state and his domestic condition. Melu's mother is reduced to a landless labourer. Eschewing the personal, her raving against upper-caste landlords becomes a representation of her caste's and class' discontent. Only Melu's sister is accorded more screen time, and also shot individually. Her mental state, thus, becomes more apparent, although even she is not accorded any significant dialogue.

Similarly, in *Chauthi Koot* the narrative is unified through two central characters, the unnamed man and Joginder. Since the first story deals with exterior space, men occupy the filmic frame here. But, the interior space of the second story also does not support female expression. As an aside, characterization in general, although Bressonian in nature (bleaching all hints of acting), also varies occasionally, when mostly minor characters' performance is reminiscent of theatrical style.

Finally, Singh may face charges of intellectualism, self-aware cinema, more stylistic and distanced, because of his outsider status (born and raised in Delhi). Also, the filmmaker addresses a niche, elite audience, well-versed in styles and trends of world cinema or festival cinema, perhaps having a participatory, contributory stake in fuelling discussion, and can propel his films to high acclaim.

To surmise, the truth cannot be denied that Gurvinder Singh imagines Punjab so distinguishably amidst a cinematic climate where it (Punjab) has declined into a mass-market commodity. The films also spotlight Punjab's hidden history by confronting the vacuous nature of the place's representation. But, it does well a researcher to play the sceptic.

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OBJECTIFICATION OF TRIBAL WOMAN IN SATYAJIT RAY'S *ARANYER DIN RATRI*

Objectification, more broadly, means treating a person as a commodity or a thing, without regard to his/her personality or dignity. Martha Nussbaum has given seven distinct ways by which a person is reduced to a thing. First is instrumentality, where a person is used as a tool for objectifier's purposes. Second is denial of autonomy, where the objectifier treats the person as if lacking in agency. Third is inertness, as if a person is without action. Fourth is fungibility, as if a person is interchangeable with other objects like money. Fifth is violability, as if a person is permissible to damage or destroy. Sixth is ownership, as if a person is owned by another and seventh is denial of subjectivity, as if there is no need for concern for a person's feelings and experiences (257). Keeping the above mentioned conceptual framework in mind, the premise of this paper is to read the patriarchal ideology embedded in a culture, that imposes and reinforces social meanings on women turning them into things or objects to be looked at, thereby disempowering them. Adding to it, the process of objectification is

read through the mechanisms of viewing the cinematic text of Satyajit Ray's *Aranyer Din Ratri* (*Days and Nights in the Forest*). The mechanism of viewing involves reading the gaze of characters within the film frames; the accomplice gaze of the spectator; and the camera eye. Hence, the narrative, style and other formal elements of the selected film will be focused on.

I will begin my argument with a brief discussion on the concept of the gaze (sometimes called 'the look'). The gaze is an act of seeing and being seen. John Berger asserts in *Ways of Seeing* that an active gaze is linked to the subject of the gaze and a passive gaze is, on the other hand, linked to the object of the gaze. Thereby, men act and women watch themselves being looked at. Berger further puts forth that the ideal spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of the women is designed to flatter him (47). Hence, the objectification of women is connected to the power of he who holds the gaze, a dynamic which will be explored in this paper.

Laura Mulvey, a film critic, also talks about the dominant male gaze in her seminal work "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema". Berger reads gaze in context of the European paintings, whereas Mulvey argues about the controlling male gaze in cinema. According to her, the male gaze invokes the sexual politics of the gaze: a way of looking that empowers men and objectifies women. She asserts that narrative films present men as active, monitoring subjects and treat women as submissive objects of desire (a sexual spectacle as on display) for men in the story as well as for the audience. Hence, in Mulvey's scheme, as stated above, woman is presented as an "image or spectacle" and man as a "bearer of the look" on the screen. This would disavow woman to be a desiring sexual subject in her own right, and is objectified and subjected to a "controlling and curious gaze" on the screen (11-12).

Drawing from Psychoanalysis, Mulvey's essay elucidates on

the concept of 'scopophilia' or 'pleasure in looking' in cinema. Mulvey puts forth that scopophilia arises from pleasure via another person being used as an object of sexual stimulation through sight (10). It involves mechanism of imaginary identification the spectator feels with the male protagonist (an ego ideal), as he controls the gaze and events on the screen. She further claims that this pleasure is voyeuristic as it depends on the object, who is unaware of the audience gaze and does not look back or reciprocate the gaze. Hence, the spectator is absorbed into a voyeuristic situation within the screen scene, leading the spectator to satisfaction and reinforcement of ego. In other words, the male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure, marking the women as erotic objects for the characters within the screen as well as for the spectator in the audience (11). Keeping above percepts in mind, the paper aims to look into how 'subject positions' are constituted through three distinct gazes, or "looks" in Satyajit Ray's *Aranyer Din Ratri*: (1) that of the character within the scene; (2) that of the camera, capturing the scene; (3) that of the viewer, observing the scene.

Satyajit Ray is a precursor of Indian Alternative Cinema. Alternative Cinema is a kind of cinema where filmmakers have consciously sidestepped the formulaic cinematic codes of the mainstream cinema, with respect to the film language and thematic exploration. By employing the new cinematic techniques (which include neo-realistic style, long shots, long takes, deep focus, and among others). Alternative Cinema articulates counter-theses and gives alternative paradigms. Laura Mulvey postulates that Alternative Cinema challenges patriarchal control over films (7). As a cultural text, Alternative Cinema is an effective medium to investigate cultural practices and ideologies: to reclaim ideas of power, nationhood, identity, oppression and so forth.

Aranyer Din Ratri is an alternative film in which Satyajit Ray combined neo-realist filmmaking techniques with an Indian narrative. The film is multilayered with rich subtext and meanings

embedded in it for rewarding viewership and analysis. Aesthetically, the film utilises various strategies of staging and framing components—on screen and off screen incidental sound, limited dialogues, long takes, on location shooting, natural lighting, editing which is functional rather than expressionistic. Thematically, it offers an alternative voice to dominant patriarchal ideology. In this film, Satyajit Ray has, in many ways, destabilised the male gaze and critiqued objectification of women. Nevertheless, it is pertinent to set forth an enquiry: Are Alternate Films free from male gaze, when the image of women is on the screen?

Aranyer Din Ratri is about a journey undertaken by four young *bhadralok* (gentlemen or *babus*) to the jungles of Santhal Pargana in the remote area of Bihar. *Bhadralok* refers to a social group that emerged in the late eighteenth century Bengal. J.H. Broomfield states that the Bengali *bhadralok* were the political and cultural elites, the vanguard of the Bengali Renaissance. Many of them were champions of social, religious and educational reforms and were also responsible for the spread of nationalist awareness (5-8). However, the film reveals the dilemma of Bengali middle-class youth, who grapple with the new value systems after independence. The restlessness among this new generation is demonstrated through irreverence towards society and its values. Of the four middle-class males, Ashim, the most affluent, slightly dominating and conceited is a successful executive; Sanjay is a high-ranking labor officer in a jute mill; Hari, the wildest and the most impulsive, is a famous cricket player; and Sekhar is the group's self-appointed clown and a gambler with no steady profession. The narrative develops through a series of encounters they have with people from different social and ethnic backgrounds, who constitute a microcosm of Indian society— Palamau's poor caste villagers, Bengali middle-class society and the tribal Santhals.

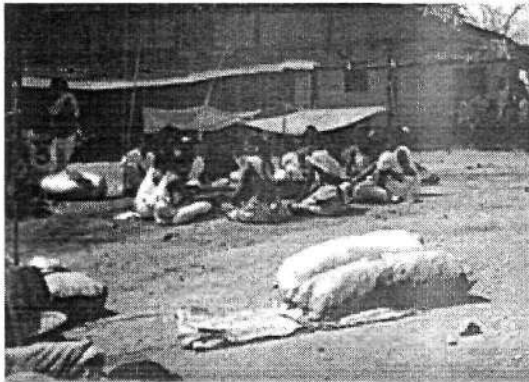
The decadence of the youth can be seen in the beginning of the film itself, as the four Bengali's hardly know India outside the

familiar city of Calcutta. They come to know about Palamau, a forest area in Bihar several hundred miles from Calcutta, through a travelogue titled *Palamau* written about a hundred years ago by Sanjib Chandra Chatterji. *Palamau* is based on the Sanjib Chandra Chatterji's experience gathered in the course of his travels in the interiors of the Santhal Pargana in the late nineteenth century. In the pre-credit sequence of scenes, Sanjay reads aloud from the travel book. The passages read out by Sanjay claim that Santhals have open society, where women drink with their men. The Santhal women are dark-skinned and all young. They are scantily dressed and are naked from the waist up. Thereby, the passages from *Palamau* construct the untamed wildness of the region for the urbanities. Hence, the urbanities enter the jungle of Santhal Pargana with the constructed myths of Santhals as wild, erotic and debased.

It is observed that the four urbanities come from rigid, introvert, caste-ridden, Calcutta-centred society. They hold an essentialist view of their culture. They judge the tribal and villagers outside their culture, applying a set of criteria alien to their social condition and their cultural context. The repressive nature of the urban *bhadralok* life is reflected in many ways in the film. For example, the urbanities associate the tribal women's bodies with the erotic and the erotic is associated with the forbidden within the *bhadralok* patriarchal framework. It is also observed that the four urbanities assimilated the model of British attitudes, values and thinking. Being product of a colonial consciousness, the urbanities choose English expression for things intrinsically Indian. On hearing about Santhals' open society, Sekhar exclaims, "Western society!" He even uses metaphor such as "eternal youth!" for Santhal women, although sarcastically. Sekhar's scornful and racist remarks about the Santhals have a resonance of colonial discourse. Sekhar's remarks need to be placed in the context that he refuses to judge tribal people who enjoy their sex and drink within the framework of their own culture. Sekhar does not accept the forest or the tribal for what

they are, rather attach a set of foreign signifiers and fantasize an erotic forest of libidinal play. Consequently, Sekhar's western analogy reduces the Santhals into debauched savages.

The elements of objectification of tribal women are also quite vivid in the following instances. The first time Sekhar actually meets a Santhal woman, he describes her to Hari as 'Miss India'. Sekhar's gaze turns the Santhal woman into a sex-and-glamour object, lacking in agency. The urbanities erotic ways of looking reduce the Santhal woman as an erotic object. She is not regarded as an end in herself, but treated as a mere instrument of male fantasy and male desire.



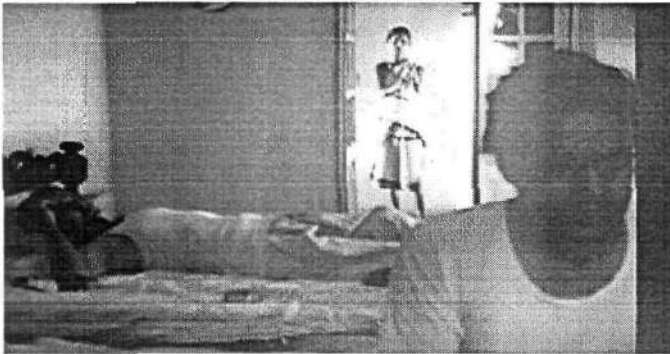
Frame1 & 2: Hari gazing at the Santhal girls sitting in the bazaar for work

In another scene at the 33rd minute of the film, Ray establishes his intent when he shows the urbanites watching the spectacle of Santhal girls. Hari, the wildest and the most impulsive, eyes the Santhal girls at the bazaar (Frame 1). The presence of tribal girls in the bazaar sitting among themselves in search of jobs (Frame 2), remind them (Hari and Sekhar) of women slaves waiting to be sold in ancient markets. Shekhar whispers into Hari's ears 'Want to buy slaves?' This question reduces the bodies of Santhal women as objects of historical continuity rather than as conflictual subjects, a possible site of contestation. Here, it is important to point out that the Santhal girls become object wherein both brute force and circulating money can imprison them.

Affected by tourism, Santhals are no better off, rather debased by money and drink. They are impoverished, trapped in place, or forced to move against their will and the worst affected is Santhal woman. In one of the sequences of shots at 27th minute and 30 seconds, the deteriorated state and commodification of the tribal can be seen, in which Duli begs for *adha pua* (half a pint) and tells the urbanities, in sheer innocence, that she danced at the police post for the whole night and *badhe babu* (the policeman) gave her five hundred rupees as *baksheesh*. This instance reveals how these women are interchangeable with money. Paying money for a woman may well be a feature of the woman's status as a commodity, but more generally, it suggests, here, that the woman is an object for pleasure.

At one point in the film, Sekhar hires 'Miss India' and two other tribal women to perform menial jobs for the men at the Forest Rest House where they are staying. One of the women fans the men with an old-fashioned rope-drawn fan (Frame 3), whereas the men reclining in their beds and talk in a mixture of Bengali and English, about transistors shaped like Vat 69 bottles and television sets in wrist watches. Satyajit Ray juxtaposes the conversation with shots of the three women at work, but he especially singles out the woman

with the fan, on the margins of the space occupied by the men, a symbol of the obedient servant-as-outsider (Frame 4). At the same time, Ray also establishes the political and cultural dimensions of the new capitalist-consumer power base, framing the uncomprehending victims of the new bourgeoisie as commodities. These urbanities are themselves colonised by the commodities that have entered life in general: into their leisure, free-time and vacation.



Frame 3& 4: Deep focus shot and contrast lighting focuses Santhal woman on the margin

The element of the objectification process continues yet in another scene, in which Duli is treated as an instrument of sexual pleasure. Here it is important to state that people of a given class have a set of acquired schemata, sensibilities and dispositions

(Bourdieu 15). In the film, Hari carries an awareness of an urban and class-oriented concept of sexuality. The view that a man can force a sexual relationship on a woman, who is inferior in status to himself, is part of the urban male-oriented sexual ethos. In this case, Duli is a tribal key to increase Hari's self-esteem. Duli is both tribal woman and has a low-class status, which makes her an ideal object of carnal lust. Hari treats Duli as an object of use and views her primarily as an object of male sexual desire, rather than as a whole person (Frame 5&6). He wants to guard the (corporeal) body of Duli. His sense of ownership of Duli's body can be seen when he does not like Sekhar paying the tribal women money for sweeping and swabbing the floors for them.



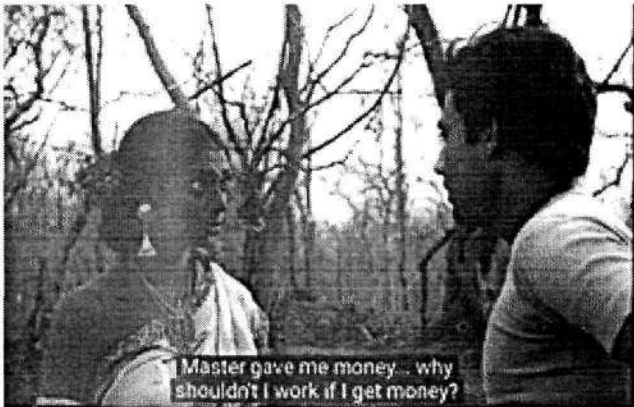
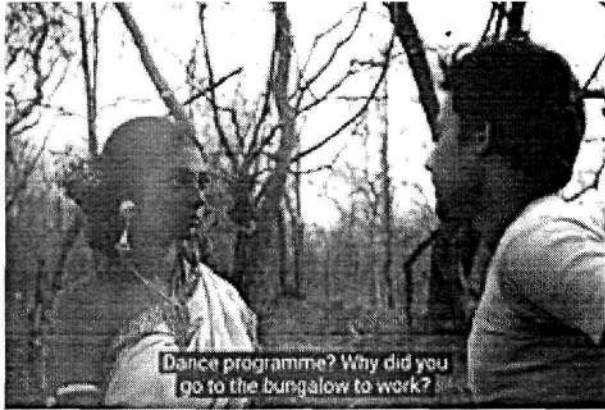
Frame 5 & 6: Hari's voyeuristic gaze to gain control over Duli

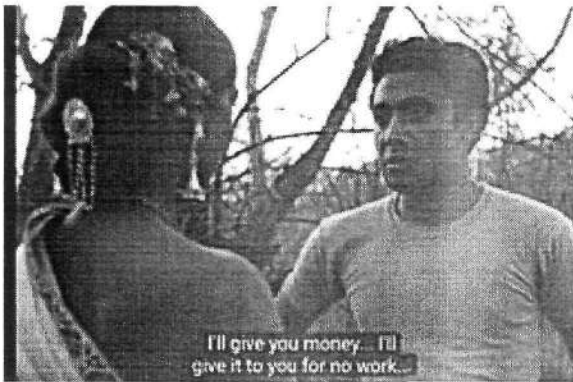


Frame 7 & 8 : Close-up shots establishing Hari's physical superiority on Duli

In one of the sequences of shots at 1 hour and 30 minutes, Hari forces his narcissism on Duli. He seeks gratification through his exaggerated vanity or egotistical admiration of his attributes i.e. his display of muscularity. The close-up shots of Hari establish his physical strength and thus power over Duli (Frame 7&8). It is observed that he is hurt at being jilted (slapped) by his beloved, Atashi. Still, he reconstructs Duli as Atashi, when he promises to bring her a switch of false hair from Calcutta. He forces her to conform in every detail to the actual physical appearance of his

fetish. He does not take Duli's perspective into account. After making love to her, Hari warns the girl to surely come and meet him the next day, otherwise he would give her a beating. He lures her with a promise of more money (Frame 9,10,11,12). Hence, violence and commerce come together as another language and style of control, regulation and discipline of the body/site. In this scene, even in the whole film, Hari is trying to objectify and control Duli, but she does not yield.





Frame 9, 10, 11&12: Hari's aggressive threats to discipline Duli into docility

Here, it is important to state that Satyajit Ray effectively critiques objectification of tribal woman, but at the same time, he is complacent within the structured location of urban middle-class ethos. Satyajit Ray gives a glamorised version to the Santhal woman, Duli (Frame 13 and 14). This interpretable looks sink with the conventions that look good on-screen. At no place in the film has any effort been made to stress on the metaphysics of the tribal rituals. Instead, the filmmaker projects the tribal woman as exotic and turns her into a museum piece. As Laura Mulvey puts, "in their traditional exhibitionist role, women are simultaneously looked at and

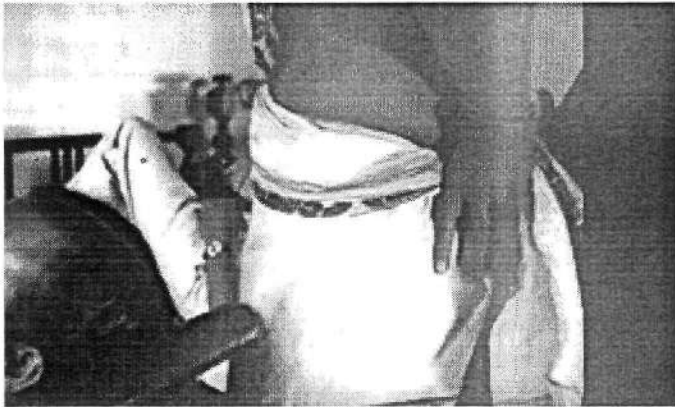
displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact, so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness”(52).



Frame 13 &14: Glamorised look of Duli

Consequently, Duli’s sexualised portrayal is for the pleasure of the heterosexual male viewers. She is represented as a fetishised image, an object of desire for men. Laura Mulvey used the theory of fetishism to explain the ways in which women are objectified. She claims that female figure is potentially troubling to male spectators “...always threatens to evoke the anxiety it originally

signified" (13). Mulvey contends that the male spectator is unconsciously reminded of the traumatic moment when he recognises the sexual difference. One way he can deal with this is by disavowing it through fetishism: by bringing forth the beauty of woman as an object. Mulvey further states that the substitution of a fragment of a woman's body may stand in for woman as the object of sexual desire. This substitution allows spectator to look at the woman (fetish object) pleurably without fear (13-14). Here, her objectification shows how voyeurism and this kind of fetishistic scopophilia can overlap.





Frame 15, 16 & 17: Camerawork that establishes Duli as an object of voyeurism and a controlling gaze.

One can argue that the tension in the shots of close-up of Duli's waist or a face integrated into narrative are examples of fetishistic scopophilia (Frame 15,16 &17). There are several close-up shots of Duli's face where lighting is used to enhance her beauty. Here Ray oscillates between fetishism of the close-up when he shoots the female face and body as objects of desire for the male gaze. Mulvey states that, when a woman's body or body parts are singled out and separated from her as a person, she is primarily viewed as a physical object of male sexual desire. Mulvey further argues that such compositions freeze the flow of narrative by turning the represented figure into a fetish (14).

Therefore, in Laura Mulvey's words, Duli's character is there to reassure the spectator of their hetero-masculinity. The audience is gazing at the tribal women with all the male characters. Mulvey calls the male actors as the "screen surrogates" of the male spectators (12). By means of identification with the male character, through participation in his power, the spectator can indirectly possess Duli too. In John Berger's words, it seems Duli is there to feed an appetite

of male sexual desire. She does not have desires of her own. Her worth is equated with her body's appearance and sexual functions. She exists to be looked at, posed in such a way that her body is displayed to the eye of the viewer, there only to be consumed. Hence, the camera eye (and, by extension, the spectator) reassures the sexualization of the female image in the film. It reassures men of their sexual power and at the same moment deny any sexuality to women other than the male construction. Thus, she is quintessentially watched by male watchers: the director (Satyajit Ray), his actors, and the presumed male audience.

Drawing in particular on Freud's theory of libido drives and Lacan's theory of the mirror stage, Mulvey sought to explain how cinema works at the level of the unconscious. Indeed she maintained that the processes of the cinema mimic the workings of the unconscious. The spectator sits in a darkened room, desiring to look at the screen and deriving visual pleasure from what she or he sees. Part of that pleasure is also derived from the narcissistic identification she or he feels with the person on screen. But there is more: the spectator also has the illusion of controlling that image (9).





Frame 18 & 19: point of view shots and reverse shot

Laura Mulvey affirms that spectators are encouraged to identify with the look of the male hero and make the heroine a passive object of erotic spectacle. In one of the scenes that takes place in the village fair (*ADR 1: 20: 20-30*), point-of-view shots affect the spectator-text relation whereby the spectator feels positioned alongside that character's subjectivity and so identifies with that character. This composition allows the camera eye to become the eyes of Hari (and, by extension, the spectator) looking at Santhal girls. The exchange of reverse shot (two times in a row), we see Santhal girls, from his point of view, walking in leisure and in a reverse shot camera looks into medium close-up shot of Hari. Hayward puts in that shot/reverse-angle shots represent series of shots that stitch the spectator into the narrative and also into character identification (375). In other words, the spectator derives pleasure gazing upon the female body through the gaze of the character. In the above mentioned scene, the camera persistently shows the spectators what Hari sees during his surveillance of tribal girls in the village fair. Moreover, the audience never sees what the tribal girls see as they see it; we are only given a good look when

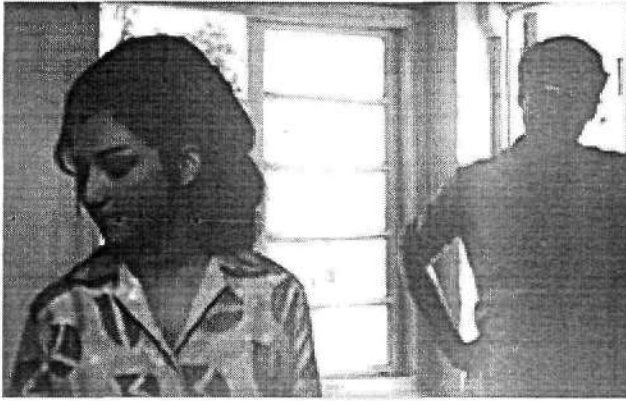
Hari goes to look at it too. This gaze fixes the women and in so doing fetishes them, makes them the objects not subjects of desire. Hence, the tribal woman becomes an object of the combined gaze of spectator and Hari, having no agency.

Nevertheless, the portrayal of the innocent but smouldering sensuality of the tribal women, at many times, challenges the ideas and touches certain raw chords of middle-class male sexual anxiety. The open sexuality of Santhal's contests the restraining constraints of the bourgeoisie i.e. the controlled and passive sexuality that is inscribed on the bodies of bhadrak. Duli provocatively encourages the voyeuristic gaze of these city men when she cleans the room (*ADR* 00:51:19-50). At the same time, the males are scared and befuddled, whereas the tribal girls are in full control.

Here, it is also pertinent to look at urban women in comparison to the Santhal women. It is noted that the urban women have internalised the male gaze to the extent that they constantly survey themselves to fit in the essentialized discourse. It is observed in the film that these women constantly meet places which act like mirrors reminding how they look or how they should look. Every glance is a judgment for them. Sometimes the glance they meet their own reflection back from the real men. Hence they become the surveyor instead of the surveyed. As can be seen in the case of Atashi, who has too much pride in her own appearance. She takes pleasure in seeing her own figure and appearance, as the male viewer did. Looking into the mirror, Atashi, dresses up in front of the dressing table (Frame 20), sees herself first and foremost as a sight which means a sight for men. She responds with a calculated charm when she knows Hari is looking at her (*ADR* 0:7:45-55). She surveys everything she is and everything she does as she appears to others. Particularly, here, how she appears to Hari is of crucial importance. So is the case with Aparna. her hair pulled back fashionably, she holds her sunglasses as she sits in the car, posing like a model (Frame 21&22). Many shots frame her in three quarters as she turns

her head to smile at the camera in classic postures of glamour photography. Her bodily gestures, postures and movements emphasises certain eroticism restrained by modesty (Frame 23). Here, one gets an understanding that urban women are taught that their bodies are always visible and available for judgement by an unknown male watcher. This surveillance is a reflection of sexist social power structures which aims to control and subordinate women.





Frame 20, 21, 22& 23: Screen shot

showcasing urban women's (Atashi and Aparna) attributes

Thus, the paper addresses many of the key themes relevant to the objectification of the woman and her body which is mediated through the ideological representation of the male gaze. In *Aranyer Din Ratri*, the male gaze objectifies and idealises women in essentialized discourses. However, the depiction of the women's subjective reaction to the circumstances of this male gaze is

provided alongside which proves valuable social critiques of the gendered constrictions placed upon the women's lives.

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CINEMATIC DELHI: A GLOBAL SCOPIC VIEW OF FAMILY, CLASS AND THE CENTRE

The ongoing fascination of Hindi cinema with Delhi and the recent shift of the focus to this multilingual, multicultural, burgeoning megalopolis have brought out newer spaces and stories in film making. The most significant reasons for the quasi-migration of Hindi cinema is the familial, historical, cultural and emotional connection of many film Directors, producers and screenwriters with the city. Historically, Delhi has always remained a site of politics and the centre of the nation, while Mumbai, since the inception of cinema, has had the privilege to host the attention of the media and the film community. The city of Bombay forged a strong post-independent identity, living and surviving on its own terms. Delhi, in contrast was turned into the administrative capital of India and its new role was to clear up the ruins of colonial legacy and forge a global identity of the nation.

Bombay cinema has undergone tremendous changes in the last decade and there have been hitherto development of newer spaces in films. These newer spaces have deconstructed the mythical imagination of Bombay and accommodated an alternative imagination that is marred by real events. These events are terrorism,

natural calamities and divisive internal politics. Delhi has seen an upward growth and the development of fashion, media, and advertising industries has turned over the archaic image of Delhi. Thus globalization, multiplex phenomenon and the changing trends in Bombay Cinema has marked a shift in the representation of cinematic Delhi. Delhi is one of the first four colonial cities besides Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and yet the city occupies a peculiar space in the nationalist imagination of India. Unlike the other metropolitan cities, Delhi does not have singular roots. It has hosted multiple rulers during various ages and at present Delhi is a microcosmic space for several intersecting cultures. The city, in contrast to the other metropolitan cities, cannot be understood in isolation. It is therefore necessary to understand the cinematic city of Delhi by juxtaposing with other cinematic cities of India to be able to minutely understand their culture, languages, landscapes and the notion of urbanity.

Delhi has gone through several incarnations throughout the ages and has survived and preserved its unique nature, character and ambience. The metropolitan city of Delhi has been an embodiment of wealth, profound culture and since ages has captured the imaginations of Kings, travelers, scholars and historians. Despite its beauty, richness and history, the city has also had an ambivalent relationship with Bombay and has always been lesser known for its existence as a cinematic city. Although, shooting and productions of films existed in Delhi, it lost the major share to Calcutta. However, Delhi's first contact with the film industry can be traced back to the silent film era: 1899-1930. The Imperial capital of Calcutta was transferred to Delhi and along with the capital a number of cinema houses mushroomed around the city, which mainly screened foreign films for the British citizens. Delhi became a leading distribution centre for the foreign films and it was in 1925 that the founder of Bombay Talkies, Himanshu Rai launched his first production *Light of Asia* (based on the life of Gautam

Buddha) for the international market in Delhi.

The metropolitan city of Delhi assumed a new role after the independence. There was an influx of Punjabi refugees, artists, writers, bureaucrats and budding politicians from all the parts of the country and abroad. This deterritorialization of humans changed the culture and landscape of Delhi and in this process of transformation, the city became emblematic of microcosmic India. The older culture of *tehzeeb* which marked the culture of Delhi and had lingered in collective memories of ancestors slowly vanished from Delhi. The majority of upper class Muslims left the city and in the new scenario there emerged a hybrid culture in the city. The first commercial film to focus on the complex metropolitan life of Delhi was Mohan Sehgal's *New Delhi* (1956). The film becomes a satire on the metropolitan life and the city is represented as an unpleasant space ruled by the hierarchical structures. The film also marked metropolis as being rife with prejudices and divisions of past, despite newness of habitus, space and industrialization. German sociologist Georg Simmel in his work, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903) views the complications of metropolitan life in similar context and states:

The deepest problems of modern life flow from the attempt of the individual to maintain the independence and individuality of his existence against the sovereign powers of society, against the weight of historical heritage and the external culture and technique of life. (Simmel 11)

Delhi, over the years, has received large attention from the Hindi film industry and has emerged as the largest market for the commercial Hindi cinema. It is not only the language of the new generation of the people living in the Delhi that speak a hybrid combination of Hindi, Panjabi with a sprinkling of English but also the themes that represent the diverse colors of the social milieu of Delhi. The dynamic culture of Delhi continues to evolve and re-

invents itself artificially and naturally to suit its composite culture. Recently, there is a resurgence of interest in the city and major films harp on the depiction of middle class metropolitan lifestyle of the capital. Delhi's recent rise as a new superpower of Hindi films can also be attributed to the disloyalty towards singular language, culture and identity. As a historical city of migrants, Delhi is apparently the newest, loudest and invariably a land of opportunities. Besides the humanscape and a booming IT hub, the discreet landscape of Delhi is still being explored within the urban films on the capital city. A single street manifests a hundred varied landscapes and this special characteristic is covered in films like *Vicky Donor* (2012), *Khosla Ka Ghosla* (2006), *Do Dune Chaar* (2011) and *Band Baaja Baraat* (2010). The *mise en scene* of these films is the streets and the entire narrative unfolds on the contrasting outer spaces of Delhi. The majority of films that are based on Delhi centre on the multicultural lifestyle of contemporary times, but it is difficult to negate the rich and glorious history of Delhi.

The regional, class based, professional, colony based and other identities within Delhi intersect, diverge and are often unpredictable. These multi-faceted lives of Delhi are yet to be explored and the trend of shifting towards north is only a recent phenomenon. The contemporary chronicles about the city seems to be just a ferocious outcry towards the change in the mentalscapes of script writers and the desire to explore the palpable capital city of India. The emerging cinematic city of Delhi is the forerunner and the new binary opposition towards the traditional cinematic city of Bombay. Similarly, the films selected to study capture the existing physical space of a city in such a manner that it closely represents the real and imagined city of Delhi in its truest form. These films portray the battle between nation-state, of deterritorialized communities and the progress of electronic media. The films explore the cinematicscapes of Delhi to understand the changing dimensions and equations with its traditional roots and the modern world.

The first film undertaken to study the cinematic city of Delhi is Mira Nair's *Monsoon Wedding*. The film deconstructs the myths of the Indian nation mired in some pre-modern space with ancient beliefs and customs. Mira Nair reveals a postmodern world in the capital which uses the latest technology such as mobile phones, internet. The wedding home is a microcosmic representation of tradition and modernity that coexists peacefully or with tensions within the society of Delhi. The film introduces the cinematic city of Delhi with the cinematographic technique of hand-held camera. In general hand-held camera technique is used for intimate filmmaking. This cinematographic technique suits the film because the film deals with the emotionscape of wedding and multiple private spaces of the individuals in the family. The tightly structured claustrophobic streets of Delhi are full of bicycle rickshaws, pushcarts, motorcars. The personalized space of golf course is beautifully landscaped and golf carts are impeccably driven through the golf course, while few women labourers carry sand in the baskets for the sand pits. In examining *Monsoon Wedding* one can clearly see these disjunctures between economy, culture and politics especially in relation of an individual to the city. Arjun Appadurai in his essay "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy" mentions that the global cultural economy is a complex, disjunctive order that cannot be understood in terms of the existing center-periphery structures. Rather he proposes that there are "certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics" (33) that have barely been explored and theorized. These five dimensions of the global cultural flows are termed as "a) ethnoscapas; b) mediascapas; c) technoscapas; d) finanscapas; and e) ideoscapas" (33). These five scapes can very well be applied to examine the film.

Mira Nair departs from the grand representation and uses cinema verite style for the presentation of wedding in Punjabi style. Cinema Verite, is a French film movement of the 1960s that showcased

everyday situation with authentic dialogue and action. At its simplest, cinema verite is defined as filming method employing hand held cameras and live, synchronous sound. Although *Monsoon Wedding* is indebted to the Hindi cinema for incorporating the song and dance sequence into the narrative, but the film departs from the popular genre films by incorporating Punjabi folk songs that are specially sung at Punjabi weddings. The film also departs from performative aesthetic, instead tries to enter into intimate lived spaces and experience by deviating away from the regular cinematographic technique of frontal imagery. Instead of just making a wedding picture album, Mira Nair wants to enter into wedding picture family. She explores the family, individual, private life, private emotions, implicit/explicit feelings, the spoken as well as silenced spaces that family members inhabit. This is the reason for shooting the film in cinema verite style.

Monsoon Wedding endorses the idea of traditional Indian values through staging an elaborate Punjabi wedding and by making the joint family as the locus of the film. The theme of joint family seems important at a juncture, when nuclear families are replacing the age old tradition of extended families, among the rising middle class of India. Mira Nair, critically analyses the tradition of joint family, as she presents a balanced view about the family dramas. She delves into the basic lifestyle of happy family reunion and fluidly moves towards the sexually intimate scenes. This is further intertwined with the theme of wedding and disturbingly controversial topic of sexual molestation. There are several layers in the film, besides the extensive preparation for the wedding of Aditi and Hemant. One sub-plot being of Rahul, a young man studying in Australia and falls for Aisha, one of the cousins in the vast Verma family. Their love story is an innocent one as compared to that of the clumsy wedding planner P.K Dubey, who falls in love with Alice, the maid of Verma family.

Besides the newly emerging love stories, Mira Nair also

celebrates the marital bond of the elderly couples. The bride's parents Lalit and Pimmi Verma has had an arranged marriage for twenty five years and they rely and love each other, while accepting and ignoring their flaws. Although Mira Nair investigates and instructs the audiences on the deep psychological matter, she never seems to neglect her approach towards the primary plot of Punjabi wedding. Ranjana Sengupta in her work *Delhi Metropolitan: The Making of an Unlikely City* (2007) critically views Punjabi culture as a vulgar display of status and wealth and mentions "The frequent assertion made to those who are mapping Delhi's recent past. The term Punjabi no longer refers to regional origins. It indicates a compendium of traits pertaining to behavior, lifestyle and aspirations." (187)

The glocal cinemascapes of the entire wedding home represents the diversity of Delhi at a very basic level. The colloquial language of local migrated workers in the wedding home is completely in contrast to the sophisticated, metaphorical conversation of the upper middle class family. Another feature that presents the transformed cinemascapes of Delhi is the smoking and drinking women in the film. Although a symbol of liberation and openness, but mostly this social habit seems to be borrowed from the west. The culture of drinking wine and smoking cigar belongs to the culture of west and post-globalization this social ritual has been inherited by the emerging upper class of India. The film concentrates on the minute changes in the social and cultural practices of the families. This altered practices in a larger context ushered a major transformation in the cinemascapes of Delhi and Mira Nair in *Monsoon Wedding* stresses on these remodeled contours of the city.

The cinematic city of Delhi provides newer landscapes, architecture and multiple localities that integrate well with the changing dynamics of filmmaking. Thus, the setting of *Monsoon Wedding* in Delhi itself gives a new dimension to family films. As

mentioned earlier, the film represents a very traditional Indian setting and the morality of the entire Verma family is not traditional. Aditi Verma, the bride, is not a receptacle of traditional Indian values. Rather, she is an upper middle class Delhi woman who reads *Cosmopolitan* magazine and is having an affair with a married man at her workplace. Mira Nair immediately establishes intimacy between the characters with an extreme close-up shot, over the shoulder of Vikram. Aditi self-consciously moves the face towards her lover and kisses him for the first time on screen. The sexual frankness of Aditi and her agonizing liaison with Vikram is the reason for the agreement to marry Hemant. She is tired of waiting for Vikram to divorce his wife. In this process, Aditi challenges the symbolic status of Indian womanhood by deconstructing the dominant notion of Indian woman as a metaphor of purity and chastity. This symbolic status has led to oppression and colonization by patriarchal nationalism.

Mira Nair in constructing the character of Aditi also moves away from the traditional popular representation of woman in films. Hindi cinema has perpetuated the idea of virtuous, dutiful, sexually pure woman. Aditi, in contrast rebels against the oppression through the exploration of her sexuality by reclaiming her body. The cultural politics of globalization brings out the notion that globalizing forces of media and migration have constituted an imagination. This imagination coherently enters the nationalist discourse and reterritorializes with the traditional nation state. This further delineates the former meaning of global-national and creates a situation of fluidity within the passing cultures. In this context Arjun Appadurai discusses films as vehicle of ideological bearing, where "micronarratives of film, television, music and other expressive forms, [which] allow modernity to be written more as vernacular globalization and less as a concession to large-scale national and international policies" (10). He further mentions that:

The diasporic public spheres that such encounters create are no longer small, marginal, or exceptional. They are part of the cultural dynamic of urban life in most countries and continents, in which migration and mass mediation co-constitute a new sense of the global as modern and the modern as global. (Appadurai 10)

The character of Aditi in the film largely represents the massive change in the culture of Delhi and this new hybridity of global culture is generally explained as a post-national phenomena. Although Aditi through her arranged marriage does not negate the traditionalism within her, but through her forward thinking builds a space for modernity in her actions. This transformation in a metropolitan personality is due to the consumption of hybrid cultures. This lure of hybridity is in itself a space of impurity. Thus, *Monsoon Wedding* celebrates the heteronormative sexual desire of the heroine and introduces this with melodramatic formula in order to explode.

The entire escapade from the claustrophobic family and public space reveals the liberation and freedom that Aditi desires. The sequence captures the duo travelling late night to an unknown space outside the hullabaloo of the city. The camera gazes into the passionate lovers lost into each other's arms. The close shot of Aditi reveals her enjoyment of losing her body and self with a married man. This unknown space is her escape from the authority and regular space of the family and social structures. The private space of the car becomes her home and her love towards Vikram at this hour is sacred. This excursion with Vikram turns out to be an escape from the major social authorities of the space. In this context Lefebvre argues that the social production of space is commanded by hegemonic class as a tool to reproduce its dominance. Thus, “(Social) space is a (social) product[...] the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action[...] in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power.” (Lefebvre 22)

Mira Nair constantly focuses on dual stories, in the larger as well as the secondary plots. The camera plunges into the chattering commotion of the family gathering, where the entire globe has converged into a single family home in New Delhi. At this family gathering everyone seems to speak at once and too loudly. At the background of this narrative, there is a scene of luxurious golf course, where businessmen discuss their shipments to first world countries and Lalit reveals his cash flow problem to his colleague. The world of women in saris and dress constitute another space as they walk through the riotous streets of Delhi to make purchases for the wedding. The film in multiple shots, strings the confidential lives of many characters. Lily's smoking and drinking, Aditi's sex life and Ria's molestation are few instances that Mira Nair concentrates in the film.

At the wedding house, just a few days before the marriage, the camera sweeps through the streets of Delhi and captures the minute details of city life. The small shops, bright lights, large statue of Shiva, defensive glares of people drenching in the monsoon. In totality, Mira Nair captures a distant celebration of life. Inside the confused wedding home, the camera pans on bewildered Lalit, wandering around the home amongst the sleeping relatives and children, watching them sleep. Lalit is emotionally troubled by the recent argument with his adolescent son Varun, who is struggling to find his own identity. Lalit's wife Pimmi is more intuitive than his spouse and plays the role of fulcrum between the father and son. Pimmi is patient and accepting with younger people and rather than yelling at children, she soothes and comforts them. Besides his own children, Lalit is also worried for his dead brother's daughters Ria who is unmarried and wants to pursue a career in writing. Inside the complex emotional universe, a third subplot is hatching in darkness as their third niece Ayesha is secretly flirting with Rahul, a distant relative who has come from Australia for the wedding.

Aditi's resistance towards the arranged marriage is through the language of her body. Aditi is struggling with her Indian identity and her role towards the family as daughter, wife and mother. Aditi's physical and mental journey is significant for her transition as the meeting makes her realize about the true personality of Vikram. Mira Nair throughout the film represents Aditi as an obedient, dutiful woman who steps outside the tradition to become empowered. Aditi's act of leaving him stranded with the police comes through reclaiming her body and sexuality. These are the traditional norms of governing Indian women's acceptance in the society. In the context of film, this marginal site of radicalness becomes a space of resistance and provides a counter-hegemonic discourse that is found in words and action of Aditi.

Aditi's resistance towards the dominant structures of society reveals the age-old battle between tradition and modernity. These structures still exist in the modern city of New Delhi and her domestic space (home) still upholds these principles. The question Aditi raises is not through her body or her clandestine affair with Vikram. The question Aditi raises is about different sets of rules upheld for men and women in the society. The Monsoon rain that provides relief to the thousands from the summer heat serves as a symbol for Aditi's liberation from the patriarchal structures. After the resistance, Aditi emerges to become an empowered individual and rather than going forward with the marriage, she decides to confess and receive forgiveness from Hemant.

The secondary love story that parallels to the major plot, but acquires much larger significance is the relationship of P.K Dubey and Alice. Both the characters have migrated from different parts of the country and although being the central characters of the film, they bring in the perspective of an outsider. P.K Dubey represents the majority of lower middle class of India that aspires to move above its designated status in the society and to participate in earning wealth that is being generated by the new policies of economic

liberalization. At large, the film also highlights the contrasting lifestyle of two different classes belonging to rural and urban area of India and directly alludes to the ever increasing gap between rich and poor residing under India's economic liberalization policy. The cinematicscapes of the film traces the idea of global India and the city of New Delhi along with the Punjabi community have rightly generated the ability to participate in the transnationalization of Indian culture. Under the rubrics of the expensive wedding, Mira Nair highlights the diminishing space of traditional values and the vanishing connection with the rural roots of the families.

Dibakar Banerjee's, *Khosla Ka Ghosla* carries the baton from *Monsoon Wedding* and shifts its focus from the upper class Delhi to the struggling middle class. Unlike, the former class, life of the middle class is that of saving, thinking and building. *Khosla Ka Ghosla*, encapsulates Delhi as a modern city post-globalization that has turned into a playfield of urban crisis and since then has caught in a vortex of infrastructural confusion. The city in the film now has a reconfigured ethnicity, a hybrid invasion of new culture of migrants from the adjoining states. The conglomeration of migrants has subverted the concept of the planned city by residing in the newly developing peripheries. The film documents an authentic glimpse into the lives of middle class Khosla family. The director specially concentrates on the well researched character of middle class man, Kamal Kishore Khosla who is a decent man with simple tastes. The film is a battle for space between the new corrupt elite and the hard working middle class man, trying to make a mark in the flashy world of the manipulating nouveau riche. In this context, David Harvey analyses space from the perspective of geographical space, time and money in the age of globalization. Delhi, post-globalization has turned into a commodity, where the property market capitalizes on the needs of the emerging middle class to maximize profits. David Harvey in *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1990) historically traces the reasons for the transformation of space

into a commodity in a capitalist economy. He mentions that town planning, division of labour, household and domestic layout, residential differentiation provide technical framework for capitalism to work on space. He believes in the compression of time and space through effective transformation and efficient circulation of goods in the market. Harvey further views that:

The incentive to create the world market, to reduce spatial barriers, and to annihilate space through time is omnipresent, as is the incentive to rationalize spatial organization into efficient configurations of production, circulation of networks, and consumption. (Harvey 232)

The cinematics of the film is based on the middle class aspirations of Kamal Kishore Khosla, who is on the verge of retirement. He has a lifelong dream to invest his savings in a dream house for his family in the spacious and posh South Delhi. The story further takes a turn when property mafia Kishan Khurana usurps the land that belongs to innocent Khosla family and shatters the dream of this ageing old man. Dibakar Banerjee through his characters presents a slice of everyday life and brings out a comic but powerful satire on the increasing land mafia scams in Delhi. Kamal Kishore Khosla and Kishan Khurana epitomize Delhi's contrary classes. The former has slogged out his entire life to earn respect and money and the latter is a person trying to earn gallons of money through any means. The characterization and nature of Kamal Kishore Khosla needs a special mention. He is a person who loses out his temper at home, but in the outside world, he is a powerless old man. There are certain incidents in the film when Kamal Kishore Khosla, acts crabby and is under lots of stress. This under the stress gesture of Mr. Khosla, is efficiently captured by the Director through simple clothes, his wayward looking hair, standing from both the sides of his head. At the heart of film, there also lies the clash of tradition and modernity within the family. This insecurity of losing control over the family and living in

isolation for the entire life makes Kamal Kishore Khosla invest his entire life earnings on a piece of land. He dreams of building a three storey house with a floor that belongs to every member of the family. This high insecurity and tension is the inception point of the film. He has nightmares about his death and feels betrayed by his family.

The cinematicscapes of Delhi completely differs from the city that earlier films in this paper focus upon. There are certain citadels and monuments captured in the film that makes a cinematic city alive on the celluloid. These monuments are emblematic of the city and are important from perspective of the history of a nation. The films on Delhi repeatedly capture historical icons such India gate, Parliament house, Qutub Minar, Red Fort, to justify the existence of a true cinematicscapes within the cinematic city. In contrast, the cinematicscapes of *Khosla Ka Ghosla* represents a middle class that has forgotten its national struggle. This middle class is unaware about the history, and is constantly working hard to improve its life style. To capture the ordinary everyday life of the city, Dibakar Banerjee uses bottom to top camera angle to capture the essential shots within the film. In a larger perspective, this camera angle is deliberately used to provide subaltern point of view to capture the city on the celluloid. The city captured in the film is a city of common man who is reeling under the stress of everyday life and is lost within the whirlpool of this powerful political centre of Delhi.

The sole purpose of Kamal Kishore Khosla of building a dream home starts with the first step of purchasing a land from a local land property dealer Vijender. Earlier, during the morning walk discourse along with Mr. Sawhaney, the Director reveals that Mr. Khosla is planning to purchase a plot in the south Delhi. Southern Delhi epitomises the lives of city's rich, who organize astonishing parties, have large car collections in their fantastic estates. Unlike any other metropolitan city, south of Delhi offers the urban elite

with pastoral tranquility and these metropolitan set of people seize swathes of land to build their farm houses. The catastrophe that followed India's partition brought immense pressure on the northern part of Delhi. The city turned into an infrastructural maze surrounded by apartments, private corporations and fences. The current landscape of Mr. Khosla's residence seems to belong to the old Delhi as the colony consists of small working class homes, compact community park, tight roads and haphazard parking. In this enigmatic condition, a middle class person's dream of following the isolationist ethos of the elite class seems justified. Kamal Kishore Khosla, purchases a piece of land in south of Delhi. This plot is far away from the glittering archipelago of restaurants, cafes, bars and lies in the peaceful countryside.

At another level, Kamal Kishore Khosla represents the rising middle class of India at a microcosmic level. This new middle class is distinctive from the older, their practices are centered around specific characteristics such as consumption, style and social distinction. *The significant change in the lifestyle of the middle class post-globalization; significantly changed the socio-economic structures of Indian nation.* The decision of Mr. Khosla, to migrate from the claustrophobic lower middle class colony, to elite suburban area is associated with the changing public social identity of rising middle class. This changing taste, at a deeper level also restructures the identity, lifestyle and shapes the social space. The reorganization of this social space can be analyzed in terms of economic policies of liberalization that further led to the restructuring of urban space. In contrast to the modern urban metropolitan cities of the West, metropolitan cities in India have not followed the strict class segregation spatial pattern. The distinction in Indian metropolitan cities has always been disrupted by the presence of street entrepreneurs, pavement dwellers, washer men, and tailors, to provide services to their middle and upper class residents.

Amidst the chaos within the fragmenting Khosla family, Kamal

Kishore Khosla realizes that the dream home is in danger of being usurped. During the *Bhumi poojan* ceremony, the family realizes that the plot has been encroached upon by the corrupt and powerful Kishan Khurana, who heads the usurping nexus mafia of Khurana Properties. The earlier property dealer Mr. Vijender, arranges their meeting with Mr. Khurana and from this juncture the narrative captures the irony, humour and unadulterated propulsion of every character in the film. The fore grounded theme of real estate takes a back seat and the Director ventures into Khosla family's journey, from loss to redemption. The reason for usurping is clearly stated by the property dealer. A journey from the north to south Delhi, clearly demarcates the differences between the two cinematic spaces. Northern Delhi is clearly overpopulated and the southern part is still developing. The social life of South Delhi is peaceful and composed; to the crowded and vibrant culture of the northern city. This difference in attitude can also be seen in the nature and lifestyle of characters Kishan Khurana and Kamal Kishore Khosla.

Dibakar Banerjee introduces the sequence with Bunty and Mr. Khosla travelling in a posh colony where everything is planned and beautiful. On this marked difference in the lifestyle of the elite upper class and the middle class, Bunty remarks that "everything looks the same over here." The modern architectural structures of Delhi emulate the pattern of similarity and style in spatial terms as well as design. The royal architecture of Delhi during the colonial rule exclusively focused and represented the social stratification of the society in terms of hierarchy and status. The Viceroy house, today popularly known as the Rashtrapati Bhavan was situated at the centre of the city and the distance from this center defined the position and status of an individual during the colonial period. The address of the plot "Sector 30, Plot no.32, New Sapna Vihar" is constantly reiterated in the film. This plot is not just a piece of land but at large is symbolic of the social status of an individual. The plot not only reflects the growing economic power of the ever

increasing middle class, rather it also alludes to the increasing industrial and IT presence at the areas adjoining south Delhi. Saskia Sassen in *The Global City* (1991) calls these projects of urban spatial restructuring in metropolitan cities as “strategic geography of globalization that is partly embedded national territories, i.e. global cities and Silicon valleys” (96). The encroachment of a land is a serious issue in Delhi and this widespread problem would break the homes of many middle class families. Struggling to keep his family from breaking up, the land turns into an integral entity that binds the Khosla family together. But after the encroachment, the land slowly loses its material and superficial value. From this juncture the film takes a turn and the entire Khosla family answers the usurper by broking a fake deal through the visa agent Asif Iqbal, once an accomplice of Kishen Khurana, provides a logical solution to the ailing family. At this stage, the patriarch, Kamal Kishore Khosla seeks help from, police, lawyers, local leaders and self help groups.

In the process, Dibakar Banerjee is unable to restrain himself from making an often repeated social commentary on the impotency of the legal and non-performing administrative structures functioning within the country. These legal administrative structures have also become a part of the unlawful practices and are jointly running the system with the felonious individuals of the society. Kamal Kishore Khosla appears to be vulnerable man standing alone in front of the mighty, powerful and influential institutions. Corruption has been a strong characteristic of the city of Delhi. The revoked theme of corruption in the film is juxtaposed with Delhi's glorious past, its vivid romantic history, the courtly intrigues, the fall of empires and the romantic decay of civilizations.

The transition of film from the familiar duping plot to the revenge of Khosla family on Khurana seems more like a fable. The Director subtly portrays the essence of Delhi's complicated colors and lends credibility to the fabricated events at the climax of the film. Dibakar

Banerjee's cinematics of Delhi is a social commentary on the middle class family of this largely unloved city. The unceasing influx of migrants has unleashed the city into a concrete jungle. The new urban architecture and opulence, proliferates the modern middle class lives of families like Khosla's. *Khosla ka Ghosla* also manages to highlight the different universes that co-exist with each other. The film largely negates the categories of good-bad humans, moral-amoral deeds. The film rather concentrates on the theme of the survival of the fittest and adequately justifies the role played by individuals to survive in this unforgiving city.

The two films undertaken in this paper focused on the cinematics of Delhi from the perspective of family, home, class, and humanitarian values. The spaces in transition in these films present the age old belief of "unity in diversity". The diversity in characters represents the multicultural lifestyle of Delhi and the cinematics of the film efficiently upholds the characters belonging to various states, class, religion and even nationality. Although these youngsters study in the University of Delhi, the influx of people from bordering states of Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh is the root cause of Delhi's changing demography and cosmopolitanism. Family for these migrants are the people around which they are dealing or surrounded. Similarly for the youngsters their family is their friendship and the city of Delhi for them is a space of enjoyment, night parties and popular western fashion. The institution of family in *Monsoon Wedding* is presented from the perspective of Delhi based upper class Punjabi family with global connections. Their home is built in a posh suburban area of Delhi and the cinematics of the film represents the home as spacious enough to hold a wedding within its premises. Their interiors are decorated with latest colours, couches, furniture and designer lamps and paintings and lamps hanging on the walls and ceiling. The conversation of these family members is glocal (Hindi, English, Punjabi) and they have a taste of craving for foreign

things. The family members have independent space and their isolation and lack of communication have led them to cultivate their individual spaces. This space finally culminates into fissures, liaisons and lack of mutual understanding within the family members. The closest they interact with the congested and emerging city of Delhi is through their event manager PK Dubey. Another important space of Delhi is the working place and the film presents young women embracing private sector job for a simple reason of security and growth. The film also vividly describes the lives of poor migrant living in Delhi and through the character of Alice the filmmaker also concentrates on the underclass of Delhi. These deterritorialized individuals generally serve the privileged families for meager salary and their vision of life in Delhi is completely different from the nouveau riche class.

Unlike the earlier film, *Khosla Ka Ghosla* represents contrasting cinematicscapes of Delhi. The film has a closely built family structure and their individual spaces merge with the collective space of other family members. The emerging middle class has a patriarchal mind set and the women of the house are relegated to the boundaries of the home. In the earlier films, the family members work for exposure or leisure, here working, saving and dreaming of better lifestyle is the sole purpose of life. Therefore, the family members within the film work in private or public sector and for this transition they are even willing to move abroad. The cinematicscapes of the film also highlights the bonhomie with the neighbors of the colony. Their colonies are constructed across the streets and in antithesis to the individual space of upper class they share public parks, transport and community services. Although the films concentrate on the hustle, bustle and clamor of contemporary Delhi, the people of the city have lost the touch with the history of India's glorious past. The historical sites and the crumbling structures of Delhi have given way to the congested lanes and hordes of immigrants settling illegally within these structures.

The closest these films come to highlight the remains of the past is through the transformed lingua franca and this advanced miscegenation of English, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu is well represented through the diverse cinematicsapes of the film.

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LOCATION/DISLOCATION: HUMAN AND ANIMAL DISPLACEMENTS IN AMITAV GHOSH'S *THE HUNGRY TIDE*

People have always moved across places to locate new patches of food and fodder or to escape socio-political threats and natural hazards. Spatial mobility in search of a better and safer life has provided impetus for the human species to proliferate over the length and breadth of the planet. However, the last century has witnessed unprecedented dislocations of people as a result of massive socio-political and economic upheavals like two World Wars, Great Depression, national and sub-national conflicts, ethnic cleansing, decolonization and nation-formations, industrialization, urbanization and developmental projects. Globalization, as it is driven by free trade, advanced modes of travel and enhanced flows of capital and technology, has facilitated voluntary movement of people the world over. But at the same time, the penetration of distant forces, ideologies and systems into the local leads to the estrangement of people from their own places. It has also caused massive forced displacements. According to a UNHCR report, almost 60 million people were forcibly displaced at the end of the year 2014 which is highest since the aftermath of World War II (*Global Trends*). Recently, anthropogenic environmental change has also become a potential factor of displacement as droughts,

floods and other natural calamities propelled by climatic deviations add millions to the multitude of displaced people across the world (UNHCR).

Amitav Ghosh's novel *The Hungry Tide* (2004) can be a useful text to engage with the contemporary phenomenon of displacement. Displacement and dislocations are prominent themes in almost all of Ghosh's novels. For instance, his novel *The Shadow Lines* forms a response to the sense of dislocation and cultural uprootedness caused by the events related to the partition of the country and its aftermath in the context of Bengal. *The Glass Palace* explores the contexts and concerns related to various diasporic people in Burma and other South-East Asian countries including Indian indentured labor in the plantations of Malaya in the backdrop of other historical occurrences such as the dislodging of the King of Burma by the British and his and his family's consequent exile in India, colonialism and second World War. Ghosh retains the theme of displacement in *The Hungry Tide* too though in a different way. This novel deals with various displacements which take place in the archipelago *Sundarbans* in the wake of different realities unfolding in the region due to various developmental policies and anthropogenic climate change.

'Place' and the novel

Displacement in its basic sense is associated with loss of place or severance of one's ties with 'place'. 'Place' thus forms a significant part of any ideation on displacement. Place is a common-sensical term often used interchangeably with other geographical terms like area and region. The seemingly unambiguous term however is elusive and not easy to define. The human geographers such as Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan propose a striking reconsideration of the commonplace conception of place under the influence of the phenomenological forays of Martin Heidegger. The underlying proposition of Martin Heidegger's conceptualization

of 'dwelling' is that place is the locale of 'truth of being'; it lends authenticity to one's being. The human geographers perceive place as an existential phenomenon and not mere a geographical unit. According to Relph, "Places are fusions of human and natural order and are the significant centers of our immediate experiences of the world" (141). In his book *Space and Place*, Yi-Fu Tuan emphasizes the experiential or lived aspect of place as its main constitutive element. Philosopher Edward Casey argues that place is the immediate ambiance of lived body and its history, including the whole sedimented history of cultural and social influences and personal interests that compose my life history" (683-684). Place is thus not only a physical entity but also a cultural marker and plays an inevitable role in how one perceives one's identity. David Harvey refers to place as "the locus of collective memory" (1996, 304). It is the basic factor which endows a person a sense of home, belongingness and identity.

Since, a novel is an, arguably, place-oriented literary genre as every action in a novel takes place at a particular place and time, it can offer significant insights into people's relation with place as well as the fallouts the loss of place. Moreover, being a cultural geographer, Amitav Ghosh's conception of place in his novels is unique. Different places in his novels, be it the Glass Palace of the King of Burma in Mandalay, or a family house in Dhaka, or a room in the house or a floor in the room, basement in a multi-story building, a city or a road in the city, river or small fishing boat on its surface, island or seabed, timber-yard or tea-plantation, etc. hold on to a distinctiveness of their own and remain etched in the reader's memory. Place in his novels not only functions as a locus of action but also carries larger thematic significations. *The Hungry Tide* is a novel in which the author is arguably at his best in the conception of place. The novelistic place in this novel owes a good deal of its material to the author's own fieldwork in the *Sundarbans* and his extensive research on the area.

The Sundarbans

Sundarbans, as the novel points out, is “an immense archipelago of islands ... stretching for almost three hundred kilometres, from the Hooghly river in West Bengal to the shores of the Meghna in Bangladesh” (Ghosh, *The Hungry* 6). Interposed between the sea and the plains of Bengal, this geographical stretch measuring around 40,000 sq. kms. comprises water, forested islands, inhabited cultivated islands and some parts of the mainland (Jalais 2). The region is among the largest active delta region in the world with a very thick shield of ecologically highly significant mangrove forests. Owing to peculiar estuarine features, the region provides diverse habitats for several hundreds of aquatic, terrestrial and amphibian species, including various endangered species such as estuarine crocodile, Bengali tiger, otters, Gangetic dolphins, Olive Ridley turtle, water monitors, cheetals, and wild boars. That apart, the delta region on the Indian side alone sustains a massive human population of around 4.5 million (Jalais 2-6).

The crucial biodiversity and ecosystem of the *Sundarbans* has come under stern pressure in the present due to climate change and other human induced reasons. Reduced fresh water inflow into the delta because of various constructions on the upstream Ganges (for e.g. Farraka Barrage) and increased tidal flow caused partly by natural subsidence and partly by sea-level increase is drastically altering the morphology (such as level of salinity, etc.) which in turn harming the rich biodiversity in this stretch. According to a 2007 report by UNESCO, the sea level rise and other interconnected factors could lead to the destruction of 75 percent of the *Sundarbans* mangroves by the end of 21st century. The sea is steadily eating into the *Sundarbans*.

The major thematic thrust in the novel is drawn from the circumstances prevailing in the ecologically vulnerable geography of the *Sundarbans* delta in the Indian state of West Bengal. The

novel follows the precarious existence of the human as well as the non-human inhabitants of the delta who exist under the threats posed by the vagaries of weather and the deteriorating ecological ambience of the region. While focusing on the particular situation of *Sundarbans*, the novel offers significant insights into the dynamics of location and dislocation under the pressure of contemporary environmental exigencies and various socio-political factors and power equations. The particular situation of *Sundarbans* becomes an important synecdochic reference to engage with the global phenomenon of displacement.

Location/dislocation

Location and dislocation of various kind form a central motif in *The Hungry Tide*. As the novel opens, Kanai Dutt, who is from Calcutta by birth but currently settled in Delhi, starts his journey from a local railway station in Calcutta towards *Sundarbans* to visit his aunt Nilima who lives on one of the islands, named Lusibari, in the *Sundarbans*. During the journey, his way crosses with Piyali Roy, a cetologist of Bengali descent from America, who is also visiting *Sundarbans* regarding her research on the rare Irrawaddy dolphins in the region. Kanai's perception of *Sundarbans* is mediated by his sense of superiority and a metropolitan nonchalance towards the place. For a forward-looking person like him, Lusibari and *Sundarbans* are "part of the past" (Ghosh, *The Hungry* 196). Piyali's sensitivity on the other hand is affected by her closeness to the first-world conservationist ethics which sometimes makes it difficult for her to understand the complexities of the place. In the novel, the perspectives of both these characters stand in constant tension with each other and with what local inhabitants think of their place. The latter perspective is represented largely in the character of the local fisherman, Fokir, who becomes the local guide of Piyali during her research in the region.

Nilima and her husband Nirmal are another pair of dislocated

people in the novel who are now relocated in one of the islands the *Sundarbans*. They migrated from Calcutta to Lusibari "in search of a safe haven" away from the humbugs of the city soon after their marriage in 1949. In Lusibari, the couple begins anew as Nilima starts working for the widows of the area and forms a trust named the Badabon Development Trust, and Nirmal immerses himself in his new job as a school teacher. In a short while, both the husband and wife make Lusibari their new home and get involved into the life of tide country, the latter through the activities of the trust and the former through romantic attachment to the past and present of the place itself.

As the life stories of these characters crisscross in the novel, the narrative reveals a search or longing for home among these people in the face of continuous dislocations. This is more evident in case of the local, mostly impoverished, inhabitants of the *Sundarbans* whose story appears to be the most important aspect in the novel. Displacement and dislocation of various kind persists in the life of these people even though they show remarkable resilience to carve a niche in the place. Their struggle for a permanent *Heimat* is constantly thwarted by the situation of homelessness caused by the challenges posed by geographical and ecological exigencies on the one hand and socio-political interventions of various kinds on the other. The novel brings home the point that the displacements produced in the process are linked to the various kinds of social marginalization and political exclusion of the people.

The human population of the *Sundarbans* is largely constituted of the disadvantaged sections of society belonging to various ethnic and religious groups which came to *Sundarbans* at different points of time in the past. The first modern human settlements in the region, as the novel refers, start in the nineteenth century when the government of British India brought in chunks of landless laborers and Adivasis to reclaim the marshy land for agriculture purposes. In the early twentieth century, a Scottish industrialist Sir Daniel

Hamilton brought ten thousand acres of the tide country, just “mud and mangrove” (Ghosh, *TheHungry* 51), from the British government to build his co-operative utopia “where no one would exploit anyone and people would live together without petty social distinctions and differences” (Ghosh, *TheHungry* 53). He invited people from anywhere who were willing to work. Thousands of landless people from various places responded Sir Daniel’s call and came to the tide country. His experiment was certainly successful at that time, and was appreciated by likes of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore (Ghosh, *TheHungry* 52). Thereafter, groups of landless and homeless people continued to come to the *Sundarbans* to settle down on its various islands. Most of these people were forced to flee from their erstwhile homelands due to violence or extortion at the time of 1947 and after and during the Bangladesh’s war of Independence.

For many of these people, the marshy islands of the *Sundarbans* provided a realizable hope to own a piece a land of their own. This led them to clear parts of the forest against all odds like scarce basic amenities, the threat of tigers, crocodiles and floods. But the human inhabitation in the area initially came like an antithesis to the geographical reality of the *Sundarbans*. Eventually, the synthesis ensued in the way the people devised over the years ways and means to survive and thrive in the tide country which included an extensive ethos pertaining to the place spanning from learning the methods of making an embankment to fostering certain local stories and legends specific to the tide country. However, such synthesis has never been complete or final for these people because of “the terrain’s hostility to their presence, of its cunning and resourcefulness, of its determination to destroy or expel them” (Ghosh, *The Hungry* 8). It was a place where “every year dozens of people perish in the embrace of ...[the] dense foliage, killed by tigers, snakes and crocodiles” (Ghosh, *TheHungry* 8). As sandwiched between the mainland and the sea, the region constantly

faces the vagaries of the weather and tidal fluctuations. Any stability or permanence in such a situation seem naturally undermined.

The human-nature conflict makes one strand of the narrative, the other harks back to the political entanglements between the state and the people in which displacement is politically imposed or socially created within specific socio-political and historical contexts in the *Sundarbans*. During the colonial period, the *Sundarbans* were the "kingdom" of the Imperial Forest Department and it was "more dangerous" than any other threat for the people who entered the forest without its permission (Ghosh, *The Hungry* 51). In fact, the customary rights of the local people over forest use were gradually done away with through various legal provisions to pave way for the colonial government to exclusively utilize the Indian forests for revenue generation and recreational purposes. Things did not change much for the forest dwelling people in the post-colonial period too. Instead of recognizing the rights of local people and the tribals over the forest land, the Indian government nationalized most of the forest areas after independence using the colonial legislations. In most of the cases, the impoverished forest dwellers remained not only disenfranchised of their forest rights but also rendered as encroachers on their ancestral lands. It took as many as 59 years after Independence for the Government of India to pass a legislation, Forest Rights Act, 2006, which at least recognizes to an extent the rights of forest-dwelling communities over the forest. However, the colonial practice of a coercive Forest Department continues to exert its ominous impact on the people living in and around the forest till today.

In the post-colonial period especially 1970s, the logic behind government's control over the forests has shifted towards conservation and preservation of the forest cover and endangered species of wildlife. Accordingly, the Government of India has promulgated laws such as the Wildlife Protection Act, 1972 and

Conservation Act 1980 bringing several forest areas under the category of Protected Areas (PAs) where tribal people's access to the forest is completely restricted. While the value of protection of dwindling wildlife and biodiversity is unquestionable, the problem of conservation program in India has been its colonial top-down approach of forest management with least co-operation and participation of the local people. In fact, the growing number of protected areas under exclusionary conservation practices has led to massive displacements of the human population across the world. Charles Geisler (2003) calls this population "conservation refugees" and while Albert (1994) refers to conservation-induced-displacement "ecological expropriation".

In this context, the novel enunciates various socio-political and historical connections of displacement of the disadvantaged people of the *Sundarbans* who have been affected at various levels by the conservation regime in India. Fokir feels out of place. The people are stapled as poachers and encroachers in their own land and harassed by the forest officials in the most brutal manner even for fishing. In one such instance in the novel, the forest guard hired by Piya chases Fokir when he spots the latter fishing near the demarcated area. The lapse on the part of Fokir seems to awaken in the forest guard a sense of power which not only allowed the guard to chase Fokir but also open fire at him if he did not stop— "The rifle was at his shoulders now, upraised and he was evidently threatening to open fire" (Ghosh *The Hungry* 45). The 'guardian' of the forest is unable to recognize the right of Fokir over the waters. He can only follow the conservation laws in a brazen manner without any ethical intent. Fokir exists for him only as a 'poacher', the word he repeatedly utters to define Fokir, or Fokir.

Fokir's mother, Kusum recounts her plight in front of Nirmal which he recorded in his diary—

...the worst part was not the hunger or the thirst. It was to sit here,

helpless, and listen to the policemen making their announcements, hearing them say that our lives, our existence, were worth less than dirt or dust. 'This island has to be saved for its trees, it has to be saved for its animals, it is a part of a reserve forest, it belongs to a project to save tigers, which is paid for by people from all around the world (Ghosh *The Hungry*261).

What she is referring here is the turn of events in the *Sundarbans* after a high-profile tiger-conservation program called Project Tiger was launched in 1973. The area of *Sundarbans* came within the domain of this project and hence to be 'protected' at all costs as a natural habitat of the endangered species of the Bengali Tiger. Since Project Tiger was part of an international matrix of conservation politics, the regulations were imposed ruthlessly by the government disregarding the rights of the local people. In government's view, the international image of the tiger held more significance than the poor inhabitants who are rendered as "disposable" tiger food. In another context, Nilima underlines the same fact while pointing out the government's arrangement for the tiger— "Just imagine that... [t]hey were providing water for tigers! In a place where nobody thinks twice about human beings going thirsty!" (Ghosh *The Hungry*241). Kusum's emotional outbursts evoke a counter-ethics to the ethics of conservation—

Who are these people ... who love animals so much that they are willing to kill us for them? ... Where do they live, these people? Do they have children, do they have mothers, fathers? As I thought of these things, it seemed to me that this whole world had become a place of animals, and our fault, our crime, was that we were just human beings, trying to live as human beings always have, from the water and the soil. No one could think this a crime unless they have forgotten that this is how humans have always lived — by fishing, by clearing land and by planting the soil (Ghosh *The Hungry*262).

In the ensuing confrontation with the government, Kusum gets killed along with several hundred others in one of the most brutal incidents of forcible displacement on one of the islands of the *Sundarbans* called Morichjhanpi.

The novel articulates the fault lines in the contemporary conservation ideology which denies the right to forest (and hence livelihood) to the indigenous population for conservation purposes. The dominant conservation ideology across the world subscribe to a cultural notion of pure/pristine wilderness instead of any objectively documented scientific basis. Such an idea of wilderness embodies a dualism in which human is entirely outside the natural (Cronon 1995). In case of *Sundarbans*, the ethnographer Annu Jalais observes that “throughout the recent history of *Sundarbans*, the very presence of people in the region has been seen as a hindrance to its development as a ‘natural’ haven for wildlife” (9). This perception of nature/wilderness runs counter to the actual reality of Indian forests which are home to nearly 250 million people who live in and around the forests (Khare). At one point in the novel, Kanai remembers what Nirmal said to him once— “It’s only in films you know, that jungles are empty of people. Here there are places that are as crowded as any Kolkata bazaar. And on some of the rivers you’ll find more boats than there are trucks on the Grant Trunk Road” (Ghosh *The Hungry* 262).

Animal Displacement

Forcible displacement is often contingent upon political powerlessness and social-economic marginalization. The impoverished people of the *Sundarbans* constitute one such group in the novel. Another group consists various animals which appear in the novel. Though pitted against each other, the deprived people of the *Sundarbans* and the animals form a group of the disadvantaged in the novel. Always subjected to human speciesism, animals are denied a proper place of their own in the human scheme

of things. This has contributed to the presentsituation whenbiodiversity is critically under threat causing what scientists call the sixth mass extinction on the Earth.

The animals in the *Sundarbans* are not only displaced but also disappearing due to reduced flow of fresh water and other climatic factors. Nirmal remarks— “The birds were vanishing, the fish were dwindling and from day to day the land was being reclaimed by the sea.” Even the tiger which the state is claiming to protect is fighting its last desperate battle before extinction since its habitat has drastically shrunk all over the world. Moreover, the whole energy of the modernist conservation program is directed towards saving a few species by confining them into certain protected spaces and similarly maintaining a few places of ‘pure nature/wilderness’. What nature is left outside this limited space is at human disposal for exploitation. William Cronon warns against such environmentalism— “we mistakeourselves when we suppose that wilderness can be the solution to ourculture’s problematic relationships with the nonhuman world, for wildernessis itself no small part of the problem”. Such environmentalism tends to be determined more by cultural constructions and other biases than any real understanding of the worth of biodiversity and natural resources. For instance, it was the global image of the tiger rather than its ecological value that made the Indian government desperate in the 1970s for saving these wild cats. Such privileging of a single species leaves preservation of other species in want of attention and funds. In an aptly titled chapter “Casualties” in the novel, an Irrawaddy dolphin calf, one of the most endangered species in the world is killed probably bysome “official boat used by uniformed personnel — maybe from the coast guard or the police oreven the Forest Department” (Ghosh *The Hungry* 346).

Ghosh has conceived a significant role for the Irrawaddy dolphin in *The Hungry Tide* along with tiger. Unlike tiger which is a dreaded animal for the humans in the novel, Irrawaddy dolphins exert a

positive impact on them. Piya is attached to this species since the earlier days of her research and comes to *Sundarbans* for research on this species. Towards the end of the novel, Piya remarks— “for me, home is where the Orcaella [Irrawaddy dolphin] are” (Ghosh *The Hungry* 400). For Fokir and his mother Kusum these animals are the ‘messengers of the Bonbibi’. To Nirmal, the gaze of the dolphins reminds of the gaze of his favorite poet Rainer Maria Rilke—

Then there came a moment when one of them broke the surface with its head and looked right at me. Now I saw why Kusum found it so easy to believe that these animals were something other than what they were. For where she had seen a sign of Bon Bibi, I saw instead the gaze of the Poet. It was as if he were saying to me:

some mute animal

raising its calm eyes and seeing through us,

and through us. This is destiny... (Ghosh *The Hungry* 235)

By especially focusing on an endangered species other than tiger, the novel subverts the idea and image of a cosmopolitan tiger which, as Annu Jalais points out, has discursively replaced the actual tiger in the mainstream environmental discourse. It also invites our attention towards the displacement of the concerns of other species in similar discourses.

Conclusion

The compelling narrative of the novel invites rethinking of the prevalent conservation practices and asks for a more sympathetic attitude towards the dislocated people and animals. The novel also seems to indicate a larger ongoing derangement caused by the way the humans as a species have chosen to live off their lives. Global warming caused by human-induced climate change is a potential threat to the *Sundarbans*. Nirmal anticipates the future of the tide country –

A storm will come, the waters will rise and the *bañdh* will succumb, in part or in whole. It is only a matter of time. ... Look at the *bañdh*. See how frail it is, how fragile. Look at the waters that flow past it and how limitless they are, how patient, how quietly they bide their time. Just to look at it is to know why the waters must prevail, later if not sooner. ...untold multitudes of crabs are burrowing into our *bañdh*. Now ask yourself: how long can this frail fence last against these monstrous appetites—the crabs and the tides, the winds and storms? (Ghosh *The Hungry*205-06)

In fact, a “miniscule change in the level of the sea would be enough” (Ghosh *The Hungry*215) for the destruction of coastal places like Sundarbans. Sundarbans serves as a powerful metaphor which enables the author to yoke together the interplay of various ecological and human-induced factors which not only create various forms of displacements in the present but also contribute towards making the future of places like Sundarbans extremely precarious. The theme of dislocation in the novel thus is not limited to particular instances of displacement at the local level but also indicate its rhizomatic connection with the global.

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**GHALIB'S AMBIVALENCE AND THE OPENING VERSES
OF THE *DIVAN***

Ghalib was a difficult poet and still is. Yet he survives these 200 years and remains a doyen of the Urdu poetry. The complexity in his poetry is marked by verbal images, economy of diction and subtle tonal variations that defy reduction to any single meaning.

Most of the people like to read Ghalib through his life story and letters to see some correspondence between the two. Sohrab Modi's 1954 film and Gulzar's 1988 TV serial, both entitled *Mirza Ghalib* are the prime examples of this. Commentaries on his ghazals by critics like Ralph Russel and Pavan Kumar Verma also take the same route. But richness of poetry cannot entirely rely on the life events of its producer. If that was the case, the popularity of Ghalib's poetry should have faded by now as the memory of his life and times has become significantly dim. Ghalib had the wonderful knack of transcending the personal and turning it into an enchanting picture of a human condition.

It has been suggested that Ghalib wrote the following couplet after he came away from the residence of the British Lieutenant Governor when he went there as an applicant for a teaching position

in Persian in the newly established Delhi College. Being a nobleman, he expected to be received like one, but when the Sahib did not do so, he returned without the interview.

Bandagi mein bhi woh azaad-o-khudbin hain ke ham

Ulte phir aayen dar-e-kaaba agar vaana hua

(Even when we are in prayer or in service, we have the freedom and self-respect to return, if the door of the Kaaba is not opened for us).

We can see how an ordinary situation is translated into a multi-dimensional verse; is it a stanza about his personal insult or the arrogance of the new rulers or is it a defense of human dignity or a critique of the blind religious faith?

Traditional readers tend to see Sufism in his poetry, which, of course, is the staple of all love poetry in Urdu. As a matter of routine, therefore all couplets on love will have double meanings; of earthly and divine love. But Ghalib is a master of wordplay, pun and ambivalence. Nothing matches with the multiple possibilities of meaning that he invested in that famous couplet from the ghazal *yeh na thi hamari kismet*.

Use kaun dekh sakta ke yagana hai woh yakta

Jo duyee ki boo bhi hoti to kahin dochar hota.

It is impossible to translate it, as there is such a wonderful play on numbers. The beloved is unique, one and the only, who can see her (as she may be eternally in veil?). If she had any hint of duality or of a duplicate, then there was some possibility of getting familiar (do char) with her. This image of a beloved fits perfectly well with that of God. But the interrogative in the syntax in the form of *kaun* and *ke* makes both the attributes doubtful. At the same time, the witty helplessness in having a face to face denies indirectly even her or His existence. Is it an expression of Sufi faith in God or a

mockery of it? We will never know.

Textual challenges such as these make Ghalib a darling of the academic community. They choose to focus on the structural aspects of his verses without caring much about the biographical details.

It is difficult to tell what makes a poem a poem or what exactly are its core features? But, broadly speaking, we can distinguish it from everyday language by its gestural and symbolic qualities, besides many others (Wainwright). Poetry presents images, anecdotes and verbal strings that are highly evocative and compel you to see beyond the obvious. The text refuses to situate itself to any particular time or space and gallops with the physical and emotional displacement of its readers. The poetic language is therefore essentially ambiguous and offers a mixed delicacy of imaginative insight and vicarious pleasure. A genuine poem as T.S. Eliot says, 'communicates before it is understood'. It is so true in the case of Ghalib as many of his readers, we know, love his poems without fully grasping their import or beauty. A good poem brings up feelings of empathy and presents its author as a kindred soul who can speak the unspeakable for his readers, no matter what age or period they belong to. A thinker, a humanist, a rhetorician in a poet can touch those inner chords and ring an intimate symphony for them.

Take, for example, this Ghalib couplet which offers a familiar image of tyranny. The metaphorical and abstract leanings of the imagemake it vague and offer ample opportunities for multiple meanings.

Hui jinse twakko khastgi ki dad paane ki

Wo humse bhi zyada khasta-e-teg-e sitam nikle

(Someone whom I expected for help, when wounded, turned out to be a bigger victim of the sword of tyranny than I was)

Who is this 'someone'? Is it a single person addressed in plural

honorific or is it a group of people? Does it refer to a friend or beloved or a divine power or a political authority? Traditional commentators believe it be either a beloved, who is herself/ himself badly love-stricken or the mighty heavens whose high hand can leave us all in great misery. Political readers, however, find in here an indirect reference to the powerless position in which the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar and other provincial Nawabs were, in the face of dominance that the British rule had assumed. They were themselves worse off than Ghalib who was desperately seeking at that time to have his pension restored.

The beauty of this verse lies in the construction of an image that lends itself to so many possibilities. The absence of specific references to pronouns (a common practice in poetry, Urdu in particular) adds delight to this reading enterprise. Ghalib's *Divan* is full of myriad such images and vague references. Even in his lighter verses, he does not spare his readers the adventure of speculation and 'meaning creation'.

Main unhen chhedun aur kuchh na kahen

Chal nikalte gar mai piye hote

Mark the tone in the verse. Is the first line a question or an exclamation? Most importantly, who is teasing whom and who would have walked away? And who should have been drunk? The speaker or the other person? The meanings would multiply as the speaker and listener became different people. Most of the readers would like to place this image in the context of lovers having a playful banter. But can we also see that this scene agrees much better with the proverbial act of argument between a drinker and a sermonizer priest, who, it is believed, also occasionally likes to steal a drink or two. With Ghalib having ready wit and scant respect for orthodoxy, it is quite a likelihood.

But nothing exhibits this masterly skill of producing multi-layered verses better than the first ghazal of his *Divan*. I will like to

devote rest of discussion to the study of this poem, which besides its high meaning potential makes a unique choice for opening the *Divan*. The first stanza is a sheer delight in interpretive venture.

Naqsh faryadi hai kiski shokhi-e-tehrir ka

Kaghzi hai perahan har paiker-e-tasvir ka

Serious readers of Ghalib must have come across several commentaries on this verse ranging from calling it completely meaningless to absolutely marvellous. The passage is supposed to have an indirect allusion to an old Persian legend in which it was customary for public to wear a garment of paper when going to the king for making a complaint or an appeal.

Readers largely use this Persian custom and find meanings that reflect on the themes such as insubstantiality of human existence (*Kaghzi hai perahan*), mischievousness of God (*shokhi-e-tehrir*), suffering and speechlessness of ordinary mortals (*faryadi*) etc. Other scholars have questioned the rhetoric and diction of the couplet; one Shadan has even gone to the extent of rewriting the couplet in three different ways. (Francis Pritchett's *A Desertful of Roses*, available online). Now, knowing Ghalib, as most of his admirers do, it would be too facile to take his reference to the complainants' plea literally. The force of his metaphors has to be understood in the context of other contingent circumstances, most eminently, of course, that this verse forms the leading couplet of a ghazal that inaugurates his *Divan*.

Though, we know that it is not usual for a ghazal to have couplets that announce the unity of its meaning, yet one can find many ghazals in Ghalib which do so patently (Ralph Russel, p.287). This opening ghazal, according to me, is a poem of such an exceptional quality. It is an eloquent description of the nature of poetry, its creative process, its intensity, and its compulsions, written in the style of an age-old tradition of invocation. Since Ghalib is not much of a godly man, there is no need, therefore, to expect verses in

praise of the Almighty. Instead he chooses to meditate on the art of poetry, and by extension on art in general. Read in this light, the opening verse will seem more like a paean on the essential nature of poetry and subsequent verses as referring to the agony of solitary writing, the urge to verbalise deep emotions, the elusive nature of poetic meaning, and the liberating effect of poetic intensity. Speaking from this perspective, I find the poem exhibiting a wholesome unity of thought.

The first couplet in that context explains the business domain of a poet. It means that like supplicants in the Persian story each object of the world seems to have a garment of paper and waiting for someone to make an imprint of an eloquent writing on them (which only a great artist of words can provide both in the literal sense of a flamboyant style of scripting and in the poetic form of embellished writing). In fact, words are begging for this kind of writing as each object of the world is an embodiment of a picture. What Ghalib purports to suggest is that every aspect of life, not love only, is the subject of poetic muse and deserves to be treated with same artistic flamboyance. We can see a similar sentiment expressed in another couplet.

Ba qadr-e-shauq nahi zarf-e-tangna-e-ghazal

Kuchh aur chahiye wus'at mere bayan ke liye

As ghazal has been largely used for lover's passion, its domain seems limited to an intense poet like Ghalib. He would like to expand its reach by including all aspects of life that are as picturesque as the beauty of the beloved.

The other meanings that can be adduced from the couplet may have the following line of argument.

If we take the interrogative in the first line as a rhetorical figure meaning 'none', then it would mean that words or descriptions do not ask anyone to write them in a flamboyant or artistic style (with

the hope that they become permanent), because all descriptions or external manifestations of objects are transitory in nature (*kaghzi* a metaphor for being transient).

A slight variation on the above theme can be understood in the form of a paradox which Ghalib was very fond of creating in his couplets. The images are seeking someone to turn them in an eloquent writing or description so that they become permanent or stable. But look at the paradox, the objects of description are themselves all but ephemeral in nature.

If the couplet must be understood with reference to God (as no invocation would be complete without Him), then Ghalib in his rebellious style can be seen here to refer to God as the author of a mischievous script which has been written on the paper-like garment of every object and the words of ordinary mortals (like a poet) are crying to read that mysterious writing of God.

Or, referring to the theme of suffering, one can read that each image or word is a complaint against the eloquent writing of someone (referring to God who is mischievous and mysterious), because each object of the world is wearing a garment of paper on which complaints about injustice are written

One can go on and on and see several layers of meaning in a verse like this. The beauty of this verse lies not in having one great meaning but in its poetic composition, where words having close affinities like *naqsh*, *tehreeer*, *kaghzi*, *tasveer* have been woven in a simple string, belying the complexity of thoughts and relationships that lie behind them.

Coming back to the interpretation of this ghazal as a preface or invocation to the poetic muse, let us read the next couplet

Kaave kaave sakhtjani hai tanhai na puchh

Subah karna sham ka laana hai ju-e-sheer ka

One cannot miss the intertextual reference to the story of Shirin

and Farhad here. Farhad was an architect, a mason, who had dug up a canal to bring the stream of milk for Shirin. But later in a love contest with Khusro he was asked the impossible task of carving a staircase out of a massive mountain. Ghalib seems to equate the task of poetic composition to the solitary act of cutting a shape in a rock. The task is both hard and private in nature. We have been told that Ghalib used to compose his verses in the tranquility of the night and would remember them by tying knots to a sash. In the morning he would recall the verses by untying the knots one by one (Pavan K. Verma, p.137). That is how his dark and lonely night would bring in a bright white morning more like the stream of sweet milk that Farhad brings for Shirin.

The metaphor of digging a rock for poetic creation can also be found in another couplet.

*sukhan kya keh nahi sakte ke joya hon Jawahar ke
jigar kya ham nahi rakhte ke khoden ja ke ma'dan ko*

Why would we go for quarrying jewels in a mine, when we have jigar (liver) which we can dig for poetry. The word 'khoden' is doing a double service here, both for drilling a mine and ripping a jigar. Mining can give you expensive gems, but what comes in the form of poetry from the bleeding liver is simply priceless. For Ghalib poetry comes from highly charged and intense emotions that can hurt your heart and bleed your liver.

*Likhta hun asad sozish-e-dil se sukhan-e-garam
Ta rakh na sake koi mere haraf par angusht*

(I write from an inflamed heart poetry that is sizzling, so that no one can put a finger on its words)

The next verse in the ghazal does make a direct reference to these ardent emotions and passions.

*Jazba-e-beikhtiar-e-shauk dekha chahiye
Seena-e-shamsheer se bahar hai dam shamsheer ka*

An earnest emotion that turns into a fierce and uncontrollable passion has to be seen or given an outlet - probably in the form of a poem. Remember Wordsworth, "poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings". The strong emotions within the heart have little value, it is only when they are articulated that they demonstrate their true worth - just like a sword, that shows its power and sharpness when it is taken out of the sheath. Ghalib has very carefully chosen the word 'seena' which for a human being refers to chest that encases their heart and for a sword refers to its outer casing called scabbard. As a poet, he considers that the intense nature of an emotion is not as important a basis of poetry as its accurate composition and articulation.

Again, this is not the only place where Ghalib expresses this idea. Its resonance can also be heard in another couplet.

Seene ka daag hai wo nala ke lab tak na gaya

Khak ka rizk he wo katra jo darya na hua

The cries that do not reach the lips leave a scar on your chest, just like a drop (of tear) that only leaves a mark on dirt if it does not turn into a river. The suffering or agony that does not find a voice is as useless as the drop of tear that does not expand into a flowing river. The verse clearly highlights the need for verbalization. Keeping emotions unexpressed or suppressed is a waste of suffering. Not only this, he would like to have it expanded into an expression of suffering that shows larger human concern like a drop representing and encompassing the flow of a river. Isn't that exactly the business of a poet?

Extending his meditation on the art of poetry, the next couplet seems to deal both with the process of composition and reception. It is probably borne out of the kind of opinion his contemporaries had about his writing. They considered his poetry vague, incoherent and obscure. Ghalib was aware of it, in fact learnt it through many embarrassing incidents. One of these was so blatant and direct in

the face that he had to bear it in silence. Hali, his biographer, tells that once Maulavi Abdul Qadir, on the spot, spun this couplet and asked Ghalib to explain the meanings as it was included in his *Divan*.

pahle to roghan-e-gul bhains ke ande se nikal

fir dava jitni hai kul bhains ke ande se nikal

(First get the essence of rose out of a buffalo's egg and then all of the medicine that it contains)

Obviously, it was a joke and a cruel one at that. But Ghalib, we know, did not deter; he was so supremely confident of his compositions that he had the audacity to write this

Ganzina-e-maani ka tilism usko samjhiye

Jo lafz ke Ghalib mere ashaar main aave.

(see the magic and the treasury of meanings a word acquires when it becomes a part of my verses.)

Read in this light, the next couplet seems to present Ghalib reveling in his detractor's criticism, at the same time make a general statement about the nature of poetic utterances.

Aaghi dam-e-shunidan jis qadar chahe bichhaye

Muddaa anqa hai apne alam-e-taqreer ka

No matter how consciousness spreads its web of listening, it cannot catch the intent of my (our) speech, much like the mythic bird *anqa*. In Persian mythology *anqa* is understood as a divine bird that can die and re-emerge from its ashes. It is there, at the same time not there – an elusive, *unspotable* bird. Like it, meanings are indeterminate and shall always remain out of reach. Ghalib here either seems to anticipate the postmodern uncertainty about the signification of linguistic signs or directly challenge his critics that they cannot entirely catch his theme or meanings. In either

case, he is not far from the true nature of language communication or poetry. Language is a limited tool to represent the complexity and depth of human emotions or intent. And poetry with its cryptic and indirect representation will surely be more so.

Ghalib returns to the issue of poetic incomprehensibility several times in his *Divan*.

Ya rab, woh na samjhe hain na samjhen ge meri baat

De aur dil un ko jo na de mujh ko zuban aur

(oh god, they didn't and wouldn't understand my utterances; it is better you give them another heart, if you can't give me another tongue.)

The last couplet of this ghazal has the same structural ambiguity as the first.

Bas ke hun Ghalib asiri mein bhi aatish-zer-pa

Mu-e-aatish deeda hai halqa meri zanjeer ka

Bas ke can mean 'although' as well as 'to such an extent'. 'asiri' can be defined in terms of captivity or bondage of beauty, love, passion, loyalty, material life, political subservience or religious strictness. 'deeda' can be an eye, or the roundness of an eye, or anything the eye sees or is worth seeing. 'halqa' can be a single ring in the chains or anything that is light in weight. When put together in various forms of permutations, the images created can have meanings alarmingly different from each other. If we choose to have the meaning 'to such an extent', then we can talk about the image of a restless man, his suffering and burnt hair that resemble the links of his fetters. But if we take the meaning 'although' then a positive image of a defiant man emerges which, to me, is more akin to Ghalib's poetic persona. The fire under my feet has burned my chains and each ring of the fetters is as light and curled up as a burnt hair. I will skip the other details of this delightful ambiguity

and concentrate on the meanings that explain his poetic preferences.

There are a number of verses in the Divan where Ghalib speaks of *zulf* resulting in *qaid*. It is a common literary trope and a metaphor for the arresting nature of beauty in general.

Wo halqa – e-zulf kamin me hai aye khuda

Rakh leejo mere dawa-e-warastgi ki sharm

(oh god, the strands of her curls are lying in ambush, save me from the ignominy of losing my claim to freedom)

The condition of arrest basically takes away your freedom and movement; but Ghalib here says that although I am in a state of arrest, yet there is fire under my feet, which means that my captivity has not entirely taken away my agility. Obviously, it cannot be physical agility as he is poetically in chains; it may be an agility of his mind or eye, which at that moment can see or imagine every loop of his chain as the curls of his beloved's hair (a hair when heated shrivels up in the form of a curl and looks like the ring of a chain). In terms of poetic creativity, Ghalib seems to insist on the irresistibility of poetic imagination. Any kind of arrest, 'life imprisonment or material suffering' can hardly curb the flights of poetic thought. On the contrary we can also say that poetic energy can make us forget our chains and give us a sense of liberation and excitement. We know very well the case of many writers and poets whose physical imprisonment could not block their creative urge. Faiz is one of the most prominent examples in recent times.

By interpreting this ghazal as a tribute to the poetic muse, I mean neither that it has to be necessarily read like that nor that other interpretations are any the less important. It only goes to show that Ghalib's poetry opens up myriad possibilities for the readers to interpret them in different ways. There are several instances in Ghalib's poetry where we can see how cleverly and consciously he employs to advantage his verbal flexibility and poetic tricks in giving

a theme a linguistic ambivalence. This is not the place to go into a discussion of the structural features of his poetry, but certainly an occasion to reiterate that our perennial interest in this poet is largely due to the challenges that his poetry throws at us. The greatness of a poet, to me, is directly proportional to the duration he can engage readers to his poetry. If a poem tempts its readers for a repeat reading, in Ghalib's case a repeat recitation and a repeat listening (how many singers have sung him, we have lost count), then surely, he is never going to fade out of the public memory. The enigma of his verbal spectacles is both fascinating and absorbing as it pleases our ears as much as it delights the depths of our heart.

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**SOLITARY CELL: PRISON AND GENDER
POLITICS IN ANJUM ZAMARUD HABIB'S
PRISONER NO 100 AND MAHASWETA DEVI'S
*MOTHER OF 1084***

Whenever a woman has tried to break free of the shackles of subservience to attain her identity and space, she is invariably trapped within the patriarchal stranglehold that is hegemonic, hypocritical and dominant. Historically, patriarchy has denied woman any space outside its sanctioned diktats and has sought to curb her voice and act that has tended to threaten the status quo. Within the patriarchal scheme of things female agential autonomy amounts to potentially subversive 'voice' that may destabilize the conventional gendered equations and entrenched power structures. She is not supposed to act or react but to submit to her pre-given 'femininity'. She is to live her patriarchy-endowed-image strictly within the limits of gendered spaces and schemes – a vicious straightjacket of conventions, conformities and constrictions. If she dares to step outside these gendered-spatial limits or outside of her gendering, she forfeits the patronage that patriarchy bestows on her being and becoming. She, in her transgressions, turns into a

discursive/representational rupture in need of patriarchal correction and re-inscription. Her re-gendering is affected through the mediations and masquerades of patriarchal power that straddles and circumscribes gendered institutions and practices. These institutions and practices work and are reinforced through gender biased stereotypes and wisdom of great philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle. If Plato saw women as weaker, Aristotle considered women inferior and described them as “deformed males.” In his *Politics* he says, “[A]s regards the sexes, the male is by nature superior and the female inferior, the male ruler and the female subject”(qtd. in Smith 467). Such power mediations restrict woman’s space and agency to actively participate and prove her in fields that require decision making, authority and leadership. Though the trends are changing and woman is asserting her rights amidst all odds, yet she remains underrepresented /misrepresented even within those spaces which are apparently revolutionary and democratic.

Anjum Zamarud Habib in her prison diary -cum- novel entitled *Prisoner No. 100* and Mahasweta Devi in her novel – *Mother of 1084* enter the interstices of bureaucratic and spatial ghettos called prisons to describe and deconstruct the perspectives and practices of power that the state and revolutionary spaces bring to bear on its female prisoners and participants. However, before embarking on the close readings of the texts, it would be pertinent to etch their thematic-narrative contours so as to ground this debate within its generative narrative context.

*Mother of 1084*¹ by Mahasweta Devi is primarily a story of Sujata Chatterjee, a grieving mother, who is trying to find her bearing in the aftermath of her son’s brutal custodial death. Caught at the cross section of Naxalism, state’s counter oppressive offensive, the urban middle class family’s indifference and her own illness and ignorance, she tries to make sense of the violence that now surrounds her and had once encircled the lives of Brati, her

son and his comrades-in-revolution. The story of *Mother of 1084*, also adapted into a movie, comes out as a horrifying yet poignant tale where various shades of violence – epistemic, ideological, systemic and cultural – are interlocked in a fatal combat and play out their potency/impotency within the spatial interstices of the so called developed or progressive society. The narrative of *Mother of 1084* contains certain well crafted moments and movements to highlight their political and gendered bearing on female protagonists/characters, especially Sujata (Brati's mother), Nandita (Brati's accomplice and love interest), and Somu's (Brati's comrade) mother and sister. The all pervasive violence finds its dehumanizing potentials not only in the prison or police station, but virtually turns every space these women inhabit into solitary cells.

Originally written as a diary, Anjum Zamarud Habib's *Prisoner No 100* is a hard hitting dossier of ideological, institutional and gendered violence. It incisively critiques the suppressive state policies and allied political practices of the patriarchal mindset. It showcases the destiny of a woman activist cruelly trapped within and at the mercy of patriarchal megalomania. It is a horrid tale of how vested interests use, misuse and abuse the institutions of the state at the expense of a woman. Anjum Habib was a witness to a vicious cycle and shades of betrayal, connivances and collusions within which she found herself entrapped as a victim-sufferer. It documents the shock and bewilderment of arrest and her subsequent separation from the outside world, coupled with a deep sense of hurt, anguish and betrayal at being abandoned by her own people. This autobiographical take, thus, provides a firsthand peep into the politics of violence and how it connives against a woman to push her into a solitary cell.

Though the two works in focus emerge from two different ideological contexts, yet in their engagement with the reality of gendered-violence, they echo each other. In both the narratives, the social and the political exist in an uneasy relationship with the

female, especially when confronted by the actuality of the female agency and intervention in the public sphere and its power politics. In Mahasweta Devi's *Mother of 1084*, the family is clearly at unease with Sujata's intrusion into the manly-spaces and the state is ill at ease with Nandini's proactive involvement in the Naxal cause. In her *Prisoner No. 100*, Habib also makes it amply clear that Kashmiri society, caught as it is in the cusp of tradition and change, finds it hard to accept the active political participation of women in the public sphere even now. A female activist is still at best a utilitarian cog, a gendered utility and not an equal partner in decision making and leadership of the state or amongst insurgent groups. Even within critical situations – armed conflicts and insurgency – they are utilized for gender-stereotypical roles. Habib's own tale is a representative example of such gendered hierarchy. She was one of the founding members of Hurriyat Conference. She was the chairperson of Muslim Khwateen Markaz, the women's wing of the Conference and had connections with well known Hurriyat leaders. In 2003 she was arrested in Delhi and convicted under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA). Habib in her prison diary repeatedly reiterates this fact. She clearly remembers her refusing to sign the *Wakalatnama* – power of attorney – that Rita Manchanda and Tapan Bose had brought in the hope that APHC (All Parties Hurriyat Conference) would arrange a lawyer for her. This reiteration is, however, tinged with a sense of hurt. When she got arrested, none of these leaders gave her any importance, nor assisted her. While Hurriyat succeeded in getting some of their/her male co-associates released, she was ignored; her name was not included in the list of names of Kashmiri prisoners submitted by the APHC to the Government of India with a recommendation for their release. Habib rationalizes this step-daughterly treatment thus:

I personally believe that perhaps they did not wish to encourage woman's leadership role or maybe they simply lacked the basic courtesy to enquire after me or look into whether or not I needed

legal assistance. Could it be just a coincidence that they made every possible effort to get our male colleague released but left me to rot in jail? (172)

Though she tries to come to term with her sense of bafflement in fatalistic idiom, yet she is poignantly aware of the irony that underlines her situation. The awareness that this convergence of the fatal and the ironic accrues to her, makes her question the very rationality of such activism she found herself embroiled in. It puts in sharp relief the betrayal she was subjected to by her leadership and also imbues her experiences with a rare confessional poignancy. This is apparent from the following episode that she shares with her readers. When her family members had gone to meet the then chairperson of Hurriyat Conference, her mother was told that “Zamarud is a very brave woman. She will endure the hardship and it will not take more than five years.” Habib could very presciently see through the game that the movement had already played and her destiny within it. She says that “a game” of her entry to the jail was already fixed for five years (173). In the name of endurance, considered to be the core quality of a woman’s being and becoming, Habib was apparently being used and misused. The events consequent upon her capture and imprisonment make explicit her pawn like destiny; how she was used and then dispensed off by the inter-patriarchal power equations that existed between the state and the movement. Being the other sex, she was merely used as a politically expedient shield. While her face was used as a sympathy inducing mask for the masses, her dispensability is used as a convenient ploy to ward off any direct challenge that the state might offer to the movement’s masculine core.

Habib’s tale in *Prisoner No. 100* thus foregrounds how certain political movements sacrifice at their altar their woman activists for their own survival. She is ejected out of the collectivity configured around sub-national aspirations and is left to fend for on her own. And Mahasweta Devi, in her *Mother of 1084* through

Nandini's story, provides us with another facet of the gender violence in almost similar circumstances. It is not the movement *per se*, as was the case with Habib, but its fringe black sheep that betrays the cause and Nandini & others with it. However, Nandini soon overcomes the shock of this dastardly betrayal to stand by her ideological cause and with her imprisoned/encountered comrades. And it is at this juncture that she is exposed to the violent might of the state. However, instead of feeling alone and helpless like Habib, Nandini faces her trial with a sense of ideological commitment and mutual solidarity. However, both the writers through their narratives hint at the existence of close parallels in the ways the state, through its repressive institutional mechanisms, adopts to tackle its recalcitrant females as a law and order problem. Mahasweta Devi however, casts her narrative net wider to explore this aspect of gender-violence dialectics. In her narrative, the idea of solitary spaces acquires a connotative resonance to include all those spaces – public or private – where woman's life enters a gendered *cul de sac* and she is forced to live systemic violence through her body and being.

The Chatterjee household, in its scandalous insensitivity, emotional callousness and middle class opportunism, becomes a symbolic extension of the solitary cell for Sujata Chatterjee. She is alone amidst all her family members. Driven solely by its self-perpetuating materialism, the family simply erases/pushes under the carpet the memory and the materiality of its youngest member, Brati. Sujata alone bears the guilt of this familial betrayal, and as a consequence, she also becomes the bearer of its attendant violence: "Dibyanath had not allowed Sujata to take his car [to the police station]. Anybody could identify the car" (7). The way Dibyanath and Jyoti, Sujata's husband and elder son respectively, behave soon after the message about Brati's death received telephonically, is reminiscent of a panoptical head dismissing an inconsequential intruder/guilty person. The following dialogue from the play

evidently shows this:

SUJATA. (uncomprehending, in a panic). What will you hush up?
What are you talking about?

DIBYANATH. Jyoti, there is no time to waste. (Exit.)

SUJATA. Jyoti! (Jyoti busy in dialing a number. He does not reply)
Jyoti! (Reproving). Jyoti! What's Happened? (Devi [the
Play]4-5)

Mr Chatterjee's concern was not to rush to Kantapur to see his dead son but more important to him than this was how to keep the news of his son's encounter away from his known people: "The first thing that strikes him is that it would be unwise to keep the car waiting before Kantapur?" (29) Alienated within the family, Sujata strives to seek larger connections outside it to ultimately forge cathartic bonds of pain and trauma that lead her to rebellious self-and-social realizations.

The situation is very palpable for its surcharge of gendered-violence. Here Dibyanath and Jyoti fail to comprehend the state of a mother. Dibyanath, the patriarch fails to understand Sujata's motherly instincts and conscience. The context and tenor of the family's behaviour reduces Sujata into a dispensable commodity. However, as the progression of the action shows, when Sujata, overriding all pretensions/anxieties of social respectability, goes to the police mortuary, she not only transgresses the law of the threshold but also enters another violent solitary cell. She is once again face to face with a soul shearing violence:

SUJATA. Can't I take him home?

O.C. No.

SUJATA. No?

O.C. No. You won't get the body.

SUJATA. I won't get it?

O.C. No. You won't get the body. (Devi [the Play] 7)

Sujata, however, is more of an accidental victim of institutionalized gender violence. Nandini, in contrast, is one who, like Habib in *Prisoner No. 100*, is proactively sought by the state as a double marker of deviancy: "A long sojourn in the solitary cell gave one's mind a probing sharpness. Like the knife of the surgeon in the morgue" (83). Being both a female and an insurgent she is doubly marked by the state and hence a fit case/pretext for state's violent onslaught. As her interrogation in the solitary confine shows, she/her body is turned both into the object of desire and the subject of control at personal and political levels simultaneously. The psychosomatic abuses she is subjected to by the investigating officer in the cell are not only aimed at breaking her physically and emotionally, but are also aimed at containing her being and becoming within patriarchal normativity: "You don't understand. You love too intensely . . . and then the prison, the interrogation, the lamp burning your eyes – they try to break you – then you find yourself" (85).

Nandini is sought to be turned into an example, for if one woman is physically controlled, others get controlled by the fear of bodily assault/defilement/punishment. As a result woman's mobility is limited and her choices circumscribed. Susan Brownmiller in *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* finds this resulting not only in personal and bodily loss of freedom but impacting materially on women's lives thus "disempowering them as economic and socially productive beings" (qtd. in Baruah 55).

Nandini undergoes extreme physical torture. She becomes blind because she is forced to look at the bright bulb: "My optical nerves were damaged from the exposure to glare of the lamp for forty-eight, seventy-two hours at a stretch. My right eye is totally blind"(87). Needles are immersed into her nails. "The person in

charge sat in the dark. From time to time, the interrogator. . . clamp the burning cigarette to the skin of the face naked under the thousand-watt lamp. Cigarette burns caused only 'surface cutaneous injury'. Only the skin gets charred" (73). She bears all this physical torture still the spirit of fighting for the cause never dies in her.

It is not the physical torture as such but the psychological trauma that leaves an everlasting scar on a woman's psyche. She more often than not bears the brunt of psychological burden more intensely than her male counterpart given the patriarchal biases inherent in political praxis of the day. In the *Mother of 1084* this psychological trauma for Nandini is more brutal than the physical torture she is subjected to in police custody. Her mind grows hypersensitive. The long lonely spell of desolateness in the solitary cell of the prison makes her oversensitive. In a conversation with Sujata, she states: "the burn on the skin healed soon. But in the young heart within, every single burn ached forever. Then back to the solitary cell. Alone with oneself" (73). Even for Sujata, her loss and alienation acquire a constant presence in her life. She does not possibly sleep well because of psychological and emotional trauma she has suffered since that midnight call when she was given the shattering news of her son lying dead as a mere numeral in the police morgue. This 'wake up call' though traumatic ultimately becomes a trigger of awakening and self discovery.

In *Prisoner No 100*, Anjum Zamarud Habib too expresses her trauma through her letters she would write to various authorities. In one of the letters to National Human Rights Commission, Faridkot House Copernicus Marg, she writes:

I Anjum Zamarud Habib am in Tihar Central Jail No.6 under POTA from Feb.14-2003. From day one I have been harassed mentally and torched by some inmates, backed by some jail staff members.

Though I have been booked under POTA, I am not a terrorist but I am constantly being harassed by being called a Kashmiri terrorist, which really hurts. I have tried a lot for the last four years to adjust and avoid any kind of confrontation but in vain.

For the last three years one head Matron Nirmala has made my life hell. She is constantly demanding money which I cannot afford. She is also using some convicts to harass me. . . . They are very arrogant and “dada” type ladies. They have been provoking some inmates to tease and harass me.

Last week I went to the langer for cold water (for the first time a water cooler had been placed in jail). They did not allow me to have water from that cooler. Raj Rani/Inderjeet shouted at me and used filthy language and said, “this water is not for Kashmiri terrorists” and when I reported this to the staff member of the langer H.M Nirmala she also screamed at me and said that if I took water from the same cooler it would harm her religion- “mera dharma brasht ho jayega”

Whenever I come out of my cell these people make rude remarks and pass comments H.M Nirmala stops other inmates from talking to me. They want me to be confined to my cell.

I am in deep depression as they are always ready to have a fight and beat me. I do not know what to do. I feel all alone being the only Kashmiri woman in this jail. I feel insecure and there is a threat to my life. (222-23)

In another letter to her Advocate V.K Ohri, Habib writes: “I know you will succeed in your endeavour to get me from this hell (Inshaallah). However the conditions of my life, the stagnation in everything, and the traumas I have to live through are very hard. I am eager to end this torture as soon as possible, which you can do” (224).

Besides her letters, this sense of trauma suffuses almost every experience of hers Habib undergoes during her imprisonment and that she manages to narrate in her book. She says, "I had never imagined that there would be such a depressing moment in my life, moment when our thoughts too could be controlled. I thought, one can apply an ointment on physical wounds but mental scars are too deep to heal even after one is released from the prison"(109).

Both Mahasweta Devi and Anjum Zamarud Habib seem to suggest that across historical annals, particularly during the armed conflicts and political insurgency, a woman is always an easy target of patriarchy. She is used as an important weapon in crisis. She has always been a favourite target intentionally and easy target unintentionally. Across horror – of wars, communal tensions, ideological confrontations, terrorism and militancy – a woman is made to bear the burden of patriarchal honour and hence wrath as *zar*, *zoru* and *zameen*, i.e., an expandable entity who can be simultaneously exploited as wealth, woman and land. She may be exploited bodily, mentally, ideologically or culturally as an available site. Charlotte Lindsey in her study *Women Facing Wars* talks about woman's exploitation, namely sexual violence thus:

Sexual violence has been used against women or members of their families as a form of torture, to injure, to extract information, to degrade and intimidate, and as punishment for actual or alleged actions. It has also been used as a means of 'ethnically cleansing' an area, of spreading fear and compelling people to leave an area, and through widespread and systematic rape and forced impregnation aimed at destroying the identity. (126)

Woman has been made a soft and easy via media to inflict injury on the enemy or to retrieve one's sense of honour. Anjum Zamrud Habib and Nandini are both caught in this masculine tug of war; both are used as props to prop up one's stance and also as sites by the enemies to physically and metaphorically encroach upon their

antagonist spaces. While the state traps Habib to lay snare on the militants, her own political brothers abandon her to snuff off the possible trial of their capture. Habib almost hints at this double bind visiting her body when while reporting her court trials she says that the judge had cut her lawyer short when he tried to defend her, "it is not from jail but from Srinagar that these letters come stating that she should not be released" (73). She feels hurt and wounded, wondering who these people were, who wanted to continue to see her behind the bars. She questions herself "who would benefit from my remaining confined in jail"(73).

Ironically, Habib is also used by the patriarchal dispensation merely as 'facilitator of combat.' Her utility is limited to her being a courier for arms and as an informer; she is given a secondary though conventional task of providing the militants with shelter and food. At most, she because of her womanly vulnerability acts as a shield enabling militants evade capture during military crackdowns. Her willingness seems to be a deliberate attempt and underlying strategy to confront and oppose violence and thereby redefine her independent identity. In *Prisoner No 100*, Habib also includes the letter that she wrote to the then Prime Minister of India on "Participation of women in Kashmir talks," to underline the role of women for Kashmiri cause. This is what she has to say in the regard:

[I]n the last three years of judicial custody I have remained always connected to the Kashmir cause for which I have been truly involved at a personal level. I as a woman plead for the voices of women and participation of women in equal and fair measure. I am individually committed to the cause of upliftment of Kashmiri women. (225- 26)

Thus Habib comes out both as an activist and its victim, and a manipulated and at time autonomous combination of the two through time. As Sahba Husain, the translator of the present work

by Habib observes that the IB (Intelligence Bureau) and the Special Cell of Delhi Police claimed that Anjum Zamrud Habib was a 'courier' thus deliberately fudging her identity and transcribing her activism into terrorism. At the time of her arrest, she was found with a cash of rupees 3 lakhs or so that she was said to have received from the deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan for Hurriyat (separatists) in Jammu and Kashmir. It was also claimed that her diary contained names and the contact details of some militant organizations, which led to her arrest and appearance in the trial court. Sahba Husain continues: "after her own arrest and conviction, much of the electronic and print media portrayed Anjum as a dangerous Kashmiri woman terrorist (aatankwadi) and a traitor (deshdrohi) to the country" (ix).

The same patriarchal ambivalence and hypocrisy envelop Sujata in the *Mother of 1084*. On one occasion, Dibyanath accuses her of misleading their son into a rebel: "Misguided . . . Bad company. Bad friends" (123) and depriving a father of his son: "Mother's child! It's you who taught him to be my enemy" (15). At another she is even denied her legitimate right to know about what has happened to her son. At other occasions her motherly feelings are scorned by both the male and female members of her family. She is charged of sowing the seeds of revolution in Brati, thereby accused of being the facilitator of the combat indirectly. In order to retain his status as 'bhadralok', its typical middle class smugness, Dibyanath dumps the responsibility of Brati. For every failing of Brati, he holds Sujata responsible. This blame shifting is a reflection of patriarchal failure to acknowledge its hypocrisies.

Anjum Habib and Mahasweta Devi are conspicuous by their engagement with the violent nuance of the engendering contexts of their works. They, through their biographical and literary expositions, seem to posit that woman's participation in various protests like participation of Kashmiri women in ongoing combat in the valley or the participation of Naxalite women in eastern region

of the country is a direct result of disenchantment with the state government policies. For many women, it was an empowering moment where women took to streets and voiced their opinions. If Kashmir's protest movements provided a platform for political activism to Anjum Zamrud Habib in the capacity of a chairperson of Hurriyat supported Muslim Khawateen Markaz, it also became motivational for an association called for strengthening of Kashmiri women. Later it was affiliated to All Parties Hurriyat Conference as its social and human rights wing. And Nandini found an activist-ideological space in Naxal movement. While Habib was arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) in 2003, Nandini was pushed into the solitary cell on account of her fearless activities and participation in the Maoist insurgency movement. Both Habib and Nandini however converted their captivity – despite its horrendous impacts – into opportunity to redeem their lost identities and respect.

Both Anjum Habib and Mahasweta Devi thus use their women-centric prison narratives – one biographical and the other ideological – as platforms to analyze the terrifying conditions of the prison systems especially from the vantage point of gender inequality. These spaces in both the narratives come out as spaces of unequal power relationship and as oppressive machines of gender exploitation, appropriation and subversion. However, within Habib's imaginative critical foray, the prison as space of oppression gets transformed into a space of empowering resistance through a series of well orchestrated moves – initially in the form of a resisting voice at the death of Zohra when she records her statement with five other women that “Zohra had died due to the brutal beating she had received from a policewoman and then to medical negligence”(46), and then in the form of recording her experiences of incarceration in the form of a diary. Habib perceives and lives the space of prison through her body and writes her experiences in order to survive and transcend the negative experience: “It is

difficult to maintain one's mental equilibrium in such an atmosphere, the outside world or even its memory recedes and blurs inside the jail where one's life shrinks into its narrow, dark confines" (20). She envisions this space in terms of hell: "The present hell" is constituted by Interrogation Centre Special Cell, Tihar jail, the wards, the barracks, her cell, the medical investigative room, court room, Patiala House lock up, langar, Chakkar, prison van. These locations of confinement, though concrete realities in themselves, nevertheless, become metaphors of dehumanization and female suppression, virtual and real hells on earth:

I was the only Kashmiri woman in jail 6, in fact in the entire jail. I was in an alien city, amongst alien people, in a large and terrifying space. I was the only woman in all of Hindustan, a Kashmiri woman arrested under POTA. . . . women in the jail were not only against me and hostile to me but also maintained a tight vigil over me, always looking for an excuse to harass me. (14)

Sujata realizes how her training to be eternally dutiful was "her solitary cell." She had sentenced herself to imprisonment. . . . But now it feels as if everything, everything has been such a waste." (103-104) *Mother of 1084* is also the narrative of healing. Sujata, transcends her agony through meetings with Nandini, sharing her son's secrets with her and thereby relieving herself of irreparable pain of her son's revolutionary death. The dilapidated house of Somu too becomes a place where Sujata finds some solace: "It was a ramshackle house, with moss on the roof, cracked walls patched up with cardboard. Still, this was the only place where Sujata found some peace for herself. She felt as if she had come home" (35). Her memory becomes a topophilia². Sujata finds solace in knowing her son post his death from various other people, be it Nandini or Somu's mother:

² Bachelard in *The Poetics of Space* explains topophilia as a term which seeks to determine the human value of the sorts of space that may be grasped, that may be defended against adverse forces, the space we love, the eulogized space.

Brati used to come here often?

Very often. He used to come, and ask for water, for tea, and what a sweet way he had him.

Brati used to come here. He had tea here, he chatted, he spent so much of his time here.

Sujata looked at Somu's mother, their room, the picture on the wall torn from a calendar, the cup with its handle broken, with new eyes. (37-38)

It is primarily as a mother that Sujata gets fully involved in her re-search and re-connect with her son and his world. This search helps her understand and appreciate Brati's ideological location and commitment and his moral justification for the same. In identifying with her son thus she is also able to empathize with the moral grounds for her son's revolt long after he is dead. The bits and pieces of this awareness and transformation in Sujata are provided by both Somu's mother and Nandini. They, especially Nandini become the vicarious links to her dead son. Both of them relive and reconstruct for Sujata aspects of Brati's life, emotional and ideological, that she had been innocently unaware of. Her interaction with two women becomes for Sujata an empathetic initiation into the ideological convictions of her son and his comrades and their egalitarian concerns for the economically underprivileged. This process of simultaneous de-learning and re-learning, distancing and connecting leaves Sujata dazed initially. However, it is the very same process which eventually enables her to recognize her ignorance and cowardice and makes her take a stand against middle class indifference and hypocrisy. This process also makes her fully cognizant of the violent underbelly of domestic and public space. She tells Nandini: "I wouldn't know, Nandini. I've just begun to realize how little I knew Brati. I didn't know then" (80). Sujata also admits how she never tried to know him either. Sujata's discoveries thus not only enable her to renegotiate

her chaotic and fragmented life, but also help her to sublimate her personal loss and sense of guilt. As a result, she sheds off her passivity and meekness and gets transformed into an aware and assertive woman. She in her ever-widening awareness, becomes poignantly aware of the spirals of suffering and guilt that had underlain her existence and had also surrounded her socially. Her ever-evolving journey, from a mere non entity to an autonomous entity comes to the fore, especially just before Tuli's engagement party in the evening where she speaks cuttingly for the first time to Dibyanath when he questions her coming late: "If . . . you . . . don't leave . . . this room . . . at once, I'll . . . leave . . . this house . . . and never come back again" (94).

The three women in *Mother of 1084* do not chart similar trajectories. They get salvation differently: Sujata through the discovery of real life that her son lived by frequently paying visits to Somu's house; Somu's mother through the narration of incidents of her own son and Brati to Sujata by mourning their death loudly unlike Sujata; and Nandini by coming out of the physical and psychological violence and through her continued resolve to fight for the cause against all odds, never letting her spirit die. Anjum Zamrud Habib achieves her balance and sense of identity and re-articulation through her autobiographical forays in her lived pain which helps her exorcise the experiential trauma of that unwanted hellish space and through a subtle recourse to gender politics that such writings as *Prisoner No 100* make available for her.

To sum up, *Mother of 1084* and *Prisoner No. 100* emerge from their generative contexts to critique the patriarchal seams of violence. While the former had its genesis in the request of the youth to the author to put their cases sympathetically across the public consciousness; the latter is the result of an effort to make sense of one's pain through writing. While the former is the product and consequence of an ideology that has risen in a reaction to state economic policies and its counter by the patriarchal state through

an apparently immoral counter offensive; the latter is a product and consequence of sub-national aspirations, its inherent violence – statist or terrorist. In both the cases, it is a woman on whose body this mutual offensive is played out. Both unfold as saptio-temporal narratives – dramatic and autobiographical – that take their respective readers within the solitary correction spaces where the state pushes its recalcitrant female subjects to discipline them. And as is evident from the foregoing discussion, this custodial spaces or prisons are equally violent and demeaning spaces. However, it is through their passage through these enclosures that its victims reach the limit of endurance before realizing their potentials. Both the texts ultimately depict the way women are confined to the solitary cells by the state/patriarchy to avenge itself and its attendant honour.

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FROM PLATE TO PAGE: FOOD DISCOURSES IN PRINT MEDIA

Print media is traditionally understood as two-dimensional media, ink/paint and a writing surface, and the most notable journalistic example of print media has been the newspapers. Print media discourse is the language and meaning which is produced for mass public consumption. It is a public discourse and the language mirrors the one used by the people who produce and consume this media. Since newspapers are meant for mass consumption, they can be understood as representing all the prevalent discourses of social life from politics to lifestyle. Owing to its seeming omnipresence and ease of access, print media discourse is an important and popular object of inquiry in the social sciences and humanities. Therefore, an enquiry into the language used by newspapers, its linguistic analysis, a contextualization of its production (professional policies and institutional restraints), is necessary and ideologically meaningful as the worldviews and representations circulated by newspapers end up being legitimized, naturalized and normalised.

The rising interest of the orthorexic society in all matters related to food is reflected in the growing levels of media attention that they have received. This paper investigates the different discourses related to food that are prevalent in newspapers in the current times. A content and discourse analysis helped to discover various themes

under which the media coverage of food falls under, enabling an understanding of the public opinion around food and how it might be informed and shaped by print media. It is simplistic and reductionist to draw direct conclusions and inferences from the mass media representations of food and public interpretation and perception of the same. Nevertheless, analysing mass media reporting does provide us with ways to understand how language and meanings are utilized in attempts to influence others and consequently shape food production-consumption networks.

The concept of framing as a general strategy to analyse news reports was first used by Ervin Goffman in the essay *Frame Analysis* in 1974. According to Goffman, an individual makes sense of the outside world through different frameworks, which help in situating experiences in wider contexts and interpret information. He defined a frame as “schema of interpretation” which allows people to identify and classify an infinite number of phenomena within limits (21). Communicative texts, such as news messages are constructed from a certain viewpoint, which supplies an interpretative framework for the receivers of those messages. Therefore, framing involves selection of particular aspects of *something* to be highlighted, defining a problem and its causes in a certain way and suggesting suitable solutions and actions (Entman52). Since some aspects are left out at the expense of others, while framing, therefore it is necessary to pay attention to what is described and what is left out. But this does not mean that frames lie solely with the creator/sender of the message. Frames are located in the creator/sender, audience/receiver, the text (news message) and culture within which the texts circulate. Thus, along with the frame building process news media undergoes, receivers decode the information provided based on their own frameworks and socio-cultural environment. As media has a considerable capacity to create and alter frameworks of interpretation and thereby has the capacity to mediate in creation of shared social discourse, journalistic frames are important part

of our symbolic universe and let us “meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese 11). These frames are a reflection of and a contribution to discourses, which extend beyond the text. John Law has discussed how these discourses create networks by helping participants understand social relationships, and how they link words and symbols with power and knowledge, as Michel Foucault has analysed.

Methodology and Frameworks

A sample size was evolved for the study, which involved an analysis of reporting on food and its related keyword in The Times of India (TOI) newspaper (Chandigarh edition) for a three-month period, from November 1, 2018 to January 31, 2019. The chosen keywords were **food, cooking, eating, chef, health and taste**. The search results included articles in which *any* of these keywords appeared. A preliminary sifting through the articles made it necessary to *exclude* certain words from the results, to avoid irrelevant articles from showing up in the results- which used the keywords in other ways than intended for this study (for example, items stating that ‘the fiscal health of the country is improving’ etc.). The excluded words were - fiscal, dying, death, minister, pet, sample, testing, department. The items which carried any of these were removed from the search results. The newspaper Times of India was chosen as it was the most read English daily (13,047,000 readers) according to the Indian Readership Survey 2017, conducted by Readership Studies Council of India (RSCI) and Media Research Users Council (MRUC).

Using the above criterion for searching articles, a total of 1018 articles showed up in digital searches. The researcher screened these articles manually to ensure that they matched the intended criteria of the research. Out of these articles, a total of 153 articles were chosen for detailed study. These articles were downloaded from

the web and saved offline. A digital database was created wherein the title, by line, date and number of column space of every article has been recorded. An analysis of these articles was undertaken on the lines of van Dijk's research on discourse analysis in news. Van Dijk has stressed the importance of analysing both the descriptive (what is conveyed) and interpretive (how it is conveyed) aspects of media texts. Therefore, attention has been paid to stylistic and rhetorical choices in language which might influence the reader/receiver in a particular way and the contexts in which particular discourses exist and are understood. It may be kept in mind that the articles were scrutinized only for their content and not for the authenticity of the information presented, as this is not the concern of the present study. A part visualization of the database is presented for illustration and reference, at the end of the paper. Articles have been numbered and referenced therein.

An initial content analysis served the function of sorting out brief articles, calendar-type news items, promotional pieces and question-answer format regular columns from the extended, substantive articles. Further analysis of the articles involved close reading and coding them according to emerging themes.

The economist Herbert Simon was one of the first to articulate the concept of *attention economics*. In *Designing Organizations for an Information-Rich World*, he stated that in a world which is inundated with information, a shortage of the attention, the obvious recipient of information, has been created. This theory is used as one of the fundamental frameworks for this paper, to make sense of the behavioural mechanisms which come to play in contemporary environments which are characterized by a copious amount of information. In his essay 'Altruism and Economics', Simon elucidates how human beings learn from the experiences of those who surround them rather than their own experiences; how the advice circulated by social influences is deemed better than the

information which can be gathered individually and how, consequentially, people exhibit docility. The concept of 'docility' is explained by him as "the tendency to depend on suggestions, recommendations, persuasion, and information obtained through social channels as a major basis of choice" (Simon 156). This is all the more accurate in today's world where the limited attention, when met with such profusion of information from all directions, leads to an obvious intensification of this docility. Therefore, only a small chosen amount of information is absorbed whereas the rest of it is disregarded- people are involved with the information and make decisions by engaging with it, but they do so with a finite amount of information and in a limited way. One curious by-product of this is that the more access to information about food and nutrition there is, the less sure people are about how to deal with it. Also, this engagement with information does not definitely mean that it is always a meaningful exercise.

Feel Free to Eat?

In his seminal essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" Louis Althusser proposed the concept of interpellation, a process whereby individuals identify themselves as subjects through ideology. Individuals are 'hailed' into particular subject positions by ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) and by acknowledging that they are being addressed, individuals recognize their subjecthood. Interpellation is sometimes apparent in media, especially advertisements, which address individuals at a personal level and attempt to prompt them into particular types of behaviour.

Terry Eagleton in "Literary Theory: An Introduction" described how society acts as a subject which addresses individuals personally rather than being an impersonal structure. The personal address does not just end there; Eagleton goes on to say that the individual is recognized, told that he is valued and this is the act that makes the individual 'a free, autonomous subject' (172). Therefore,

interpellation not only makes individuals, subjects of broader societal networks, but simultaneously makes them feel special.

Some of the article headlines directly 'hail' the readers and try to induce them into particular actions. Given below are examples of this:

"Hey man, get rid of that body fat" (#131)

"Are you your happy weight?" (#147)

"Have you tried the fusion flavours of desi mithais?" (#142)

"It is to you I speak." (#131)

The reader realizes that this direct address is made to him/her and feels obliged to pay attention to its content and even do what he/she is being 'personally' advised to do/try. Apart from the direct hailing of individuals, the language used in the articles is one of direct intervention. It is assumed that the audience needs help and advice when it comes to feeding themselves and their families and media is trying to help them navigate the apparent complexities of the world of eating and health. The growing supply of food media, in this case the large number of articles dealing with food and nourishment, reflects that the above-mentioned help and advice is perhaps needed. But it is important to notice that it is only what is 'reflected'. It is common knowledge by now that in modern economics supply does not always have a simple proportionate relationship with demand; often enough the demand is created. Therefore, such food media, based on the assumption that people need help, can be understood as 'explicit social intervention' (Rousseau xxii).

"Parents should talk with their child's paediatrician about maintaining healthy weight and healthier choices with their child." (#114)

"WATCH WHAT THEY EAT" (#92)

“Don’t let your kid binge on fast food every day, even if he throws a tantrum.” (#92)

“But force-feeding kids in the morning is simply wrong.” (#25)

“Hence each of us must invest in building good gut health, so that it reflects on our immunity as well.” (#25)

The above cited examples show the kind of guidance that is given. The advice given in these lines is not subtle. The emphasized words show that stern language is used. The first four examples are in the context of children’s health. Whereas the first one uses suggestive language (“*parents should...*”), the following ones are more like dictates, with the use of words like ‘watch’, ‘don’t’, ‘must’ etc. Use of words such as ‘wrong’ implies that parents are either mistaken about what is good for their children’s health or do not care enough and therefore need an external source to inform them about the apparent right-wrong approach to feeding their own children. These examples show the intervening of media in our everyday lives, especially when it comes to food and nourishment. Food Print Media is a part of the larger media that works to intervene in the life of modern consumers- by telling them how and where they are wrong/misinformed/ignorant and by trying to fill up that created gap by doling out more and more information.

Anxious and Scared in the Risk Society?

Such a model of explicit social intervention could only have worked in Beck’s risk society. Ulrich Beck in his book *Risk Society* talked about the constant state of anxiety and concern that people feel in context of threats to human health. Beck argues that rather than living in an ‘industrial society’, people inhabit what he called a ‘risk society’ as they live with much heightened awareness of threats and hazards, commonly called ‘risks’. According to him, in

risk society the harmful downsides of modernisation are constantly confronted and challenged.

Anthony Giddens, too, has written about the uncertainties with which people approach life in contemporary societies. He claims that the greater knowledge which is a result of modernity, in turn, leads to greater uncertainty and consequently people try to look for alternative expertise and knowledge claims.

Beck and Giddens, both, agree that these risks of late modern life are closely related with accountability and responsibility. The prevalence of risk discourses is an essential feature of a self-reflecting society. In case of food consumption, risk society is faced with numerous threats and hazards which are regarded as the outcome of mass production and processing of food. Therefore, contemporary anxieties about food are associated with side-effects of the industrial model of food production. Media plays an important link when it comes to the public risk discourse formation and circulation. One quintessential example is the drastic drop in beef consumption in Britain, the ban on British beef in world markets after the widespread attention paid to the 'mad cow disease' in news media. (Marris and Langford 39).

Such a conception of risk, an external threat posed by others to self, is one perspective. Another way is when risk discourses (for example public health and medical discourses) link the danger to health with personal responsibility of individuals and the latter are urged to strive to find relevant information to take care of their health and avoid the risks. Usually emphasis is placed more on change in individual behaviour than on the food production system or organizations involved when it comes to responding to food risks. People, in these cases, respond to anxieties by changing what, from where, how and how much to eat. In most cases, the information regarding how to bring these changes is being constantly provided by the media, which has to be manoeuvred by individuals.

Media, traditional and new, are important actors in the production and dissemination of discourses around food risks and health and frequently feature related advice. Such kind of advice is directed towards a supposedly rational and responsible individual who is expected to navigate through the advice and choose the right option-product, service or behaviour (Bunton et al). According to Nicolosi, the society where people are highly concerned but increasingly feel confused and anxious about their food/health choices, the excessive expert advice and the coming together of socio-cultural discourses and pinning it on individual responsibility is what he called the orthorexic society.

Given below are some examples of the kind of language which fuels the anxiety of the audience. All of the below are either the headlines, the subheads or the standfirsts of the articles. Therefore, the highlighted words (emphasis mine) are readily available to even those who may choose not to read the entire articles:

*“Growing concern over **toxicity** is giving a push to healthy cookware that is changing the way we cook.”(#96)*

*“STOI looks at the various **chemicals on our plate** and ways to tackle them.”(#121)*

*“Why some foods are best had solo and certain food pairings prove to be **toxic**”(#120)*

*“**Beware of chemicals** in your toothpaste”(#13)*

“Additives used in processed foods may up risk of anxiety disorders.”(#14)

“Warnings about high-salt diet may've been wrong”(#74)

*“Antimicrobial Resistance (AMR) has been identified as one of the ten **threats** to global health in 2019 by World Health Organization (WHO).” (#6)*

Apart from this, there are several instances where contrasting information is presented. Either the current information provided is in disparity with an assumed prior knowledge of the readers or the same article announces a contradictory view of the topic in hand. In both the cases, the readers are bound to be left unsure about what and how to believe and trust. Given below are some examples of such information:

“One reason to stop them is that there’s a risk of emphasising salt avoidance at the expense of other- potentially more useful- diet measures, when we really don’t know what’s best.”(#74)

“Pesticide residue on fruits and vegetables, if consumed over a long period, may cause allergies, stomach trouble, leukaemia and other types of cancer, besides damage to the liver and kidneys. But don’t panic. Fruits and vegetables do not contain the amount of pesticide needed to cause such severe toxicity”.
(#121)

“Even though copper has been the talk of the town, Khosla says that it’s reactive to acids and salts.”(#96)

The first instance is from an article (#74) that reported on the uncertainty of low-salt diets and its claimed benefits. The article cites scientific studies to support its arguments and yet the highlighted part emphasises that there is perhaps no way to know what is actually good for health, therefore leaving the reader more uncertain. The second example is from an article (#121) which aims to give suggestions about the ways to address the common problem of food adulteration. The quote in this example directly goes to prove the kind of ambiguities that are found in the information in media. On one hand, readers are warned about the dangerous side-effects of consuming pesticide-treated-fruits and vegetables whereas on the other hand, they are told that the levels

of adulteration are not high enough to cause ‘severe toxicity’, an ambiguous phrase which lets one wonder whether to feel relaxed about the apparently safe amount of pesticides or worry about the relativity of the word severe. The last example is from an article (#96) that discusses the trend of healthy cookware which has been growing due to ‘rising concern over daily toxicity’ (#96). The article outlines the dangers of every commonly used material of cooking utensils. Such articles, along with providing suggestions also enumerate the possible associated risks with each suggestion—thereby creating contradicting information pools.

Many prevalent discourses in media articles rely on the tropes of easiness and convenience as approaches towards health, including weight-loss. The latter is marketed as a life goal that can be achieved without much effort or hard work. Such articles are premised on the assumption that individuals otherwise do not have enough time or enough will-power and strength and thereby require constant counselling. This assumption itself lies in contradiction with the orthorexic society, where people are increasingly spending their time and energy to issues related to food and health. In the following examples, the trope of easiness is stressed:

“Handy shortcuts to cut sugar post festive season” (#138)

“Here are my seven shortcuts for shedding holiday weight.”
(#8)

The second example is from an article which is entitled “*Jaldi Seven*” (#8), translated as ‘quick seven ways’ (to get rid of the holiday weight). In such articles, health comes across as an easy job, something that does not require much thought and attention.

In contrast to this, here is another example:

“When it comes to fine-tuning your body’s infection-fighting functions, quick hacks aren’t really the best approach.”
(#150)

In this article, the easiness trope is reversed. Here, immune system and consequently, health is not something that can be quickly fixed and it suggests long-term changes. This is at variance with the articles written along the line of easiness and can send forth divergent views on achieving better health.

The presentation of contradictory information, together with the use of risk related vocabulary aids in adding to the anxieties of the modern consumers and goes into the making of Beck's risk society. The circulation of such discourses through print media makes it an important player in the dynamics of food anxieties, scares and risks.

Science and the Expert to the Rescue?

On the surface level, the abundance of food and health related issues in print media can be taken as an index of the help that is needed by people. Yet, as discussed previously, this is what is 'reflected' and secondly in late modernity, there can be no simple relationships between supply-demand and representation-perception-reality. Individuals living in the orthorexic society are facing increased distances between sites of production and consumption of food as well as amplified discourses of health and eating. Therefore, they end up spending more and more of "their time in search of dietetic perfection, organizing, researching and selecting food" (Nicolosi 39). As individuals have to navigate the paradoxes created by widespread, yet inconsistent information, they tend to look towards sites of authority and expertise. Such sites are both created and shifted by media. In the present case study as well, the rise of the figure of the expert can be discerned. Going back to Simon's theory of docility, the kind of insecurity generated questions the idea of authority—who/what to listen to and trust. With an intention to create 'trustworthy' sites of authority, some articles used the paradigm of science as a fail-safe method to support the claims and be read and understood as, obviously, trustworthy. Several articles refer to the results of various scientific studies and

try to pin their results into monolithic truths, often highlighting them in catchy headlines, leaving out other potentially important information required to make an informed choice, either completely or to those parts of the articles which may not be read by all. Frequent recourse to science and its studies shows that the discourses created and supported by science are presumably believed and followed more by people. But many of the articles under assessment did not mention the details of the study—where and by whom it was conducted, it’s funding and publishing. In the absence of proper and wholesome context, it becomes difficult to make a fully informed decision and, in some cases, can be misleading as well. Given below are some example of where and how the media enlists support from the scientific paradigm:

“There Is No Data That Shows Sodium Restriction Reduces Mortality or Cardiac Disease”(#74)

“Meals at restaurants have more calories than fast-food meals, new study finds” (#72)

“Studies show that kombucha helps prevent the growth of cancerous cells due to its high concentration of polyphenols and antioxidants.” (#18)

“There is no compelling evidence to indicate important health benefits of artificial sweeteners, and potential harms cannot be ruled out, according to a review of over 50 studies published in ‘The BMJ’.” (#36)

“Inculcating severe food restrictions can lead to binge-eating disorder and obesity, a new studyhas found.” (#66)

“Five science-backed ways to boost your immune system” (#150)

Working within the framework of science, such articles are

creating sites of authority. Along with that, the figure of the expert can be seen to be on the rise too. During the period chosen for research, TOI carried a weekly section 'Ask the Expert' where readers' questions were answered by the 'expert'. Some of the questions answered in these sections could be generic ones, created by the newspaper team, in absence of any real queries pouring in from the readers. Notwithstanding that, the kind of questions that are covered give us an idea of what people either seek to know or what is speculated by the media industry regarding what people want to know or what the media industry wants to draw attention to by raising particular questions and answering them with 'expertise'. Some of the questions are obvious ones- regarding weight loss/gain advice, regarding specific foods, for which one can safely assume that better solutions can be found with someone more experienced than us. Given below are two examples of questions asked in this section:

"What should I do to make my child drink milk, and make up for the calcium requirement?" (#85)

"My son, 11, is not gaining weight, what can I include in his diet?" (#98)

In such queries, it is a concerned parent who is seeking advice regarding feeding the child- knowledge that is traditionally believed to be inherently present in parents, especially the mother. To seek expert advice on these matters means that one has given up on instinctual feelings and trusting that better knowledge might be gathered from external factors. There are two other health related sections- "*eat or delete*", by another consulting nutritionist and clinical dietician and "*fighting fit*", by a holistic lifestyle coach. This too attests to the rising trend of the expert figure and apparent dependence of the modern consumers on them. Given below is another example from an article (#99), about healthy 'munching' options during the winter season:

“When I asked my mom this question, she responded with an answer which hit the nail right on its head. Trust your instinct, she said.” (#99)

“Nutritionist Rujuta Diwekar, in her new book Notes for Healthy Kids, says that parents should follow grandma’s advice rather than Google’s when it comes to feeding kids.” (#15)

Counter to all the expertise being doled out in the media, these particular examples illustrate about consumer being able to rely on instinctual feelings when it comes to feeding oneself and one’s children. What is ironical is that the same article dishes out list of foods that can be eaten and suggests options to crave hunger in winters. Here we have an ‘expert’, who, while suggesting various ‘do-es’ and ‘don’t-s’, asks the audience to follow their gut feelings when it comes to eating. The invoking of mother figure and her valuable advice is in stark contrast with the advice which is doled out by professional experts. At best, this can be considered as another instance of contrasting information being disseminated which can be a cause of even more confused anxieties for the reader/consumer.

When it comes to the health sector, doctors are more or less considered as sites of authority and expertise. Since traditionally doctors work within the paradigm of science, their guidance apparently meets both the conditions—it must be scientifically proven and as it comes from an expert figure, to make it trustworthy. *“City’s medical frat validates going back to the basics to prevent diseases” (#10)*

“At risk of stomach cancer if you stand and eat: PGI doc” (#10)

The first example illustrates that even when one has to trust one’s instincts, in this case, simply ‘going back to basics’, requires the belief is validated by doctors themselves. The Post Graduate

Institute of Medical Education and Research (PGI), Chandigarh is one of the top-rated medical facilities in the country and highly respected in the city, which makes quoting its doctors in the local section of the newspaper not only a safe but a responsible option as well, on the part of the media. Article #10 states:

"...the allopathic community maybe divided over this in particular on ground of "insufficient research to prove this as a conclusive fact"." (#10)

In *The Consequences of Modernity*, Giddens discusses how in the risk society uncertainties are also common among experts themselves. Mass media carries such uncertainties to the public, which further complexifies the task of making informed choices about food and health. Many times, people tend to prefer trusted and familiar sources, like friends and family, over assertions made by experts, scientists or government officials, who are understood as having vested interests when it comes to communicating information about risks (Marris and Langford 38). Therefore, even when people do indulge in expert advice, it is one of the factors, while their lived experiences, own perceptions and belief systems are others. People have been shown to mention the need to 'trust their own bodies' when it comes to dealing with contradictory expert advice (Lupton and Chapman 490). Despite all this, discourses prevalent in print media are important indicators of how media intervention has become normalized, even in our private sphere.

Findings

The focus is to consider the articles and their contents from a cultural perspective and analyse them as elements which construct and also reflect discourses of the society. Attention was paid to the language, tone and overall styling of the articles (including any accompanying visuals) and they were classified according to the kind of discourses they helped in creating and perpetuating. The articles which were overtly promotional, and calendar events were

not classified in any of the categories. The promotional articles have been included in the overall data as these were usually conspicuously placed- with bold headlines and zoomed-in pictures of food. The calendar events are a measure of the kind of food festivals that occurred in the tricity area. The inclusion of both these categories help gain a relatively better understanding of what all is covered by print media when it comes to food and eating. There are twenty-five and three articles consecutively in both these categories. Subtracting them from the total number, the core classifiable data consisted of one hundred and twenty-six articles. Eventually, five broad categories were identified under which these articles could be classified; the tropes of health; of body image/ beauty ideal; gastronomy (including food writings); planet/ environment and news items (see fig. 1). The pie chart below shows the distribution of the four tropes, the ones contributing to the discourse formation (the last category being informative news reportage are not essentially instrumental in discourse formation). Subtracting the number of articles belonging to the news item category (thirty-six), the following distribution is calculated out of a total of eighty-nine articles (see fig. 2).

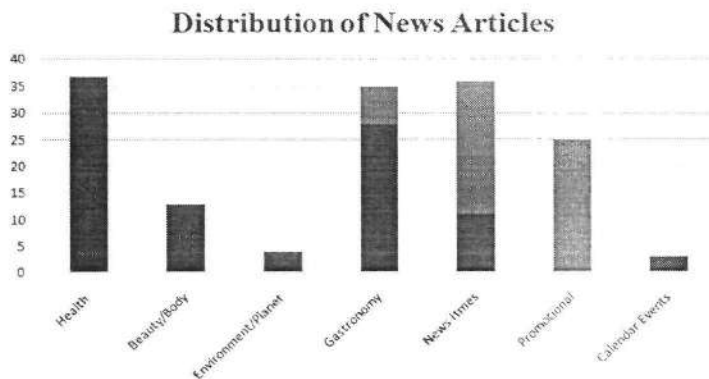


Fig. 1. A breakdown of all the articles.

Distribution of the four Tropes

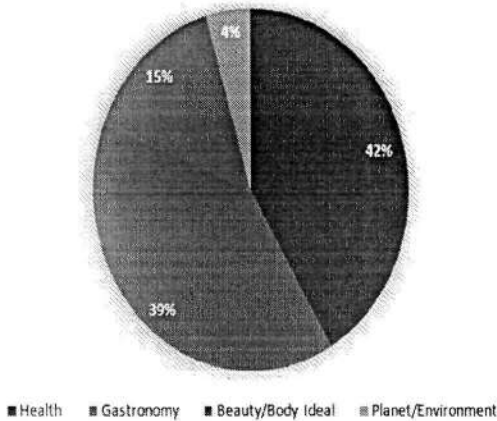


Fig. 2. Percentage wise division of the eighty-nine discourse forming articles.

Health

Out of the total of one hundred and twenty-six articles, thirty-seven articles fell under the trope of health, which makes it the largest category with thirty percent of the total number of articles. Therefore, most of the discourses that are present in print media are related with the issue of human health. Health news has proven to be very popular and the third most covered topic in the evening news (Ashoorkhani et al. 1). Media can also be used as a means of promoting policy making which is evidence informed and as a bridge between the prevailing 'know-do' gap by disseminating research results to both the public and the policy makers (Lavis et al. 622).

A detailed discourse analysis of the set of thirty-seven articles was done. They can be understood within two broad categories- (i) which convey the results of undertaken studies to the mass public and, (ii) which are centred on improving the personal well-being and overall health of the individuals. The first category has a total

of seven articles and they are basically reporting results of various studies undertaken. Out of these, two (#14, #36) mention the journals where the concerned paper was published, two (#72, #146) mention the university in which the concerned study was conducted and the remaining three (#31, #66, #74) do not mention any journal or university.

The second category can be understood within the broader framework of neoliberalism, which is fundamentally characterized by the belief of individualism. Therefore, it lays emphasis on one's actions, especially when it comes to health, through surveillance and regulation of the self. Robert Crawford has been one of the leading scholars who explains the role of neoliberal governments in promoting the concept of individuals taking responsibility for their health and also putting the blame on them when they need help on account of health issues. Such a discourse has been defined as 'the preoccupation with personal health as a primary- often *the* primary- focus for the definition and achievement of well-being; a goal which is to be attained primarily through the modification of lifestyles' (368). This argument has been further supported by the work of Herzlich and Pierret. They elucidate how "today the 'right to health' implies that every individual must be made responsible for his or her health and must learn to adopt rational behaviour in dealing with the pathogenic effects of modern life" (231). This common neoliberal rhetoric of personal responsibility and self-reliance is what can be found in these articles and the whole discourse of health being a personal rather than a public issue is therefore seen reflected in media as well.

Headlines of a bunch of articles are direct references to how one needs to be responsible for one's health and therefore media is supporting and helping one achieve that:

"Upgrade Your Health: Try these small but smart tweaks for starters" (#12)

“Gift Yourself Gut Health” (#18)

“New Year resolutions to improve your health” (#34)

These headlines emphasize the importance laid on the neoliberal project of individuals governing the self. Media plays an integral role to interpellate the subjects into this discourse by constantly reminding them of its importance and ways to do so. In addition, to empower the individuals to be able to do so, media also provides them with expertise, as discussed earlier. The rise of the figure of the expert, then, can also be understood as a consequence of the neoliberal society. These expert figures are more often than not, private professionals, whose work does not intersect with that of the state or even local governments. Out of the entire data, only in one instance the expert figure is that of doctors who are working in a government hospital and can therefore be considered, to some extent, as voices of the state (#10). The following examples demonstrate the instances where these expert voices urge the readers to make changes in their own lifestyle so as to achieve better health:

“Solet’s arm ourselves with the right kind of seasonal, nutritious food that will help us combat the cold while keeping us warm and cosy.” (#99)

“What do you do? Of course, the answer is to try and eat healthy through the slew of socialising. I can help you with a few tactics on how to manage the pressure of social eating when face with it” (#110)

Here, the figure of the expert either speaks to the reader by making herself a part of the system and using ‘us’ when it comes to fighting diseases (#99) or she speaks to the readers from her own standpoint and gives ‘expert’ advice to people about doing their bit to keep their health parameters under control (#110).

Keeping in sync with the neoliberal model, it has been

highlighted how present lifestyles are to be blamed for most of the health problems of contemporary times:

“With our modern lifestyles, compromised guts and nutritional deficiencies, one can see the onset of back issues even in children, teens and young adults.” (#111)

“Another common feature of modern youth lifestyle is too much of screen time...Screen time also affects child’s sleep, another risk factor for obesity.” (#114)

In #111, even nutritional deficiencies are not in any way linked with the larger food production and consumption systems. In #114, blame is placed on modern lifestyles and in spite of recounting detrimental effects of junk food on children’s health, the article only holds the parents responsible for children eating junk food and does not criticize the easy availability of such food. Out of all the articles, there was just one (an interview with a nutritionist) that mentioned the role of governments in context of contemporary foodscapes and held public health policies responsible for the problem of obesity in the country:

“Rising obesity in India is not as much a parenting or personal failure as it is a policy failure. Unplanned cities with no room to walk, poor public transport, worsening air quality, farming subsidies to non-native species like palm plantations and weak public health policies are to be blamed.” (#15)

Media, including print, plays a crucial part in determining public policies by ways of influencing various stages of the process of policy making (Baum and Potter 42). The Kingdon model observes that mass media is a site where different interest groups can identify problems, recommend solutions and exert some pressure on governments to respond, by foregrounding some issues more than others. Additionally, through media, policies can be evaluated and policymakers can be held liable. Therefore, print media can perform

its part, by highlighting major issues in context of foodscapes, and bring out some positive effects at the level of governance.

Beauty/Body Ideal

Most people living in urban areas come across some type of mass media on a daily basis. Through representation, media ends up conveying messages about body shapes and beauty ideals. The past two decades have seen plenty of empirical research—both correlational and experimental studies—regarding the impact of such exposure to idealized bodies, as represented in media, on the way people perceive and assess their own bodies. Lisa Groesz et al. conducted a meta-analysis, where they analysed twenty-five studies, conducted over a span of fifteen years (1983-1998) and concluded that after viewing thin media images, body image of women was significantly more negative as opposed to when confronted with control images or average and/or plus-sized images and this effect was moderate. Another meta-analysis by Shelley Grabe et al. involved ninety studies and inferred that media exposure is linked with reduced body satisfaction in women and this effect is moderate in size too. Although most of the research is conducted with female participants, but some research has been conducted with male participants as well. Anna Blond's meta-analytic review of fifteen studies concerning with ideal body image of men also concluded that exposure to idealized male bodies lead men to feel more dissatisfaction with their own bodies, although here the effect size was small. Therefore, we can say that the link between media exposure to idealized body ideals and dissatisfaction with one's body is true for both the genders, albeit the effect in women is slightly higher than in men.

In this section, such news articles are being scrutinized which were found to be informing and reflecting about what ought to be considered beautiful and attractive, in terms of ideal body weight and shape and beautiful skin, hair etc. The perception of such beauty and body ideals can affect behaviour of a person and even well-

being. In many cases, it can lead to a number of negative outcomes like self-objectification, extreme dieting, body surveillance, eating disorders etc. Therefore, it is important to analyse such representations in media. A total of thirteen articles have been categorized under this trope. It is worth mentioning that a key part of visual representations of idealized body are advertisements. Considering that the present study did not include any advertorial material, the amount of newspaper articles that fall under this category is considerable. Out of these, six items were of the “ask the expert” section. Out of these, two (#39 and #85) dealt with maintaining beautiful skin and the other four (#60, #112, #132, #148) with the maintenance of an ideal body weight and/or shape.

For the rest of the seven items, six of them were accompanied by pictures. Even though the present study does not deal with the issue of gender, still it is worth mentioning that four of the five items, which discussed the issue of weight were gender neutral, that is, there is no mention of whether a male or a female audience is being addressed. Yet all four carried pictures of a woman—one where a woman is using the treadmill in a gym (#8), other where a smiling woman, in an apparently workout attire, is shown carrying a weighing scale in her hands (#147) and one item carries a graphic representation of a pair of female feet on a weighing scale (#145). It shows that even if overtly the news articles are not addressing one particular section of the society, when it comes to the issue of a set body weight, the overall impression of the particular item is that it speaks essentially to the women audience. The fifth item in the set was one which is directly addressed to men:

“Hey man, get rid of that belly fat” (#131)

Article #131 was published on November 18 and carried a marker of international men’s day falling on November 19. It can, thereby, be explained as a special article commemorating the day, unlike those addressed to women which do not seem to require any special reason or occasion. Even the one which talks about ‘counting

calories' (#145) during the festive season of Diwali, where it could be safely assumed that, both, men and women stand an equal chance of indulging themselves in sweets and therefore gaining weight, has a graphic representation of a pair of feet on a weighing scale, which unmistakably belong to a woman (see fig. 3). Another noteworthy detail in it is that it is accompanied by a graphic representation of a 'before and after' shot of a male human body, instead of a photograph of an actual male with and without belly fat (see fig. 4). All the pictures regarding the female body are real life photographs but, in this case, the decision to depict an overweight man with excessive belly fat in graphic form perhaps does not let it to be seen in its actual form. In addition, the almost caricatured male body works towards keeping the issue light and frothy. This also aligns with the argument that majorly media portrays below-average body weights and shapes and, in this case, too, it avoids the discomfort of showing a man with belly fat and chooses to have graphic representation instead. Thus, male body is symbolic while female body is actual and therefore more scrutinized.



Fig. 3. Source: “Happy Healthy Diwali”, The Times of India, Chandigarh, November 6, 2018.



Fig. 4. Source: “*Hey man, get rid of that belly fat*”, The Times of India, Chandigarh, November 18, 2018.

Therefore, as supported by innumerable studies as well, the discourses about keeping a check and maintaining a ‘desirable’ body weight in print media are more addressed towards women, although, in this case it is done discreetly.

Gastronomy

Many factors in the twentieth century consolidated food as an entertainment and as an art form. Along with that, the gastronomic phenomenon also reached unmatched media coverage. Before the monumental success of ‘food and lifestyle’ television and the pervasiveness of the internet, print media (including the newspapers) was the main source for those wanting to get their ‘gastronomical fix’. But to date, food journalism is an important segment of print media.

A total of thirty-five articles were classified under the trope of gastronomy, seven of which were standalone recipes under the section of 'love food', a three-column section which appeared alongside the matrimonial sections of the weekend paper. Considering that the section is not usually consumed by a majority of the readers, one can safely count them out, which leaves us with the core data of twenty-eight articles. The newspaper, during the chosen time period, was running a special section- 'Times Kitchen Tales' in the Sunday section, curated by Kalyan Karmakar, a food blogger and author. A total of six articles from this section are part of the database. These can be labelled as quintessential food writings, ranging from festive dishes based on a family heirloom recipe (#100) to inviting guests into one's home and kitchen to share with them traditional food typical of one's community (#59).

Signe Rousseau has examined how coming together of different factors like an existing celebrity culture, media advances and the pervasiveness of spectatorship and consumerism in contemporary society has resulted in the rise of the celebrity chef. The figure of the celebrity, including the celebrity chef, with enormous cultural and economic influence, has the potential to influence decisions of people regarding food consumption. A total of eight articles have been classified as those which delineate some kind of relationship between celebrities and food. Given below are examples, when celebrities, not from the world of food, influence certain food and health choices of their fans, or the general public as well:

"Beyonce, along with her husband Jay-Z, has written a forward for a new book by her trainer, in which she urges people to switch to a plant-based diet." (#46)

"Actress Nina Dobrev says she eats after every two hours to keep her metabolism stable." (#67)

Due to the inherent nature of the celebrity culture, it is

understandable that they have the power to influence their followers, even in the very mundane of their decisions: such as, what, how and from where to eat. Some of this is direct advice (#46), where the celebrity influence is being used evidently to bring about some positive change (#73), some of it is celebrities sharing their own lifestyle (#67), which in turn can have an impact on the followers. Another direct impact is when the celebrities from the world of food—chefs, food bloggers and YouTubers—intervene in the ways people eat. Two of the articles were interviews—one with the Mumbai-born first Indian woman chef to be awarded a Michelin star (#136) and another with a food photographer and blogger turned cookbook author (#78). The questions which were answered, talked about the journeys and the cooking styles/techniques of these celebrity chefs. Rousseau has delineated, in detail, how the increasing dependence on the celebrity culture, when it comes to matters of eating and cooking, has led to an increased intervention and consequently interference in the lives of people.

Among the analysed articles, five articles were from the editorial page of the newspaper. Although they are not directly about food and/or eating, but they referred to one or the other issues, sometimes, tangentially. Such mentions show the kind of attention and coverage these topics find in the editorial sections, which is not specialist journalism but is meant for every reader's consumption, and can give important insights.

“Across the world, in India and abroad, more and more people-men as well as women...are taking up cooking, not as a daily chore which has to be performed to put daal-roti on the table, but as a creative hobby.” (#128)

“...women are a tiny minority at Michelin-starred restaurants- a reflection of how starkly sexist the culinary world still is... Women are expected to cook at home, toil in their kitchens for no reward or gratitude, but when it comes

to the high-status, high-returns work of the professional kitchen, men rule.” (#133)

“But now it seems that...the seel-batti is staging a comeback...This return to roots, both literal and metaphoric, is largely prompted by a general desire to go back to a more natural way of life and living.” (#153)

The example from article #153, which is from an editorial titled ‘Back to the Future’, there is a common strain of nostalgia that runs through these write-ups. Whereas article #153 overtly chalks out how we are going back to practices of the past and how the idea of progress can mean going back and completing a circular loop, #22 talks about the future, a time for which present will be the past and laments the way humans will be forced to eat (virtually). Editorial #133, while celebrating awarding of an Indian woman chef for the first time, with a Michelin star, it brings to attention the conspicuous absence of female chefs in the industry. Complimenting this, editorial #128 emphasizes upon the fact that the present reawakening of interest in cooking is not limited to the women alone. Thus, editorial section, when it comes to food, brings in its ambit wide spectrum of issues—from sexism in the food industry to food as performance and an art-form to the changing relationship of humans with food.

To sum up the trope of gastronomy, given below are two headlines of articles, which serve as quintessential examples of this category:

*“Deconstructing the language of brewing the perfect chai”
(#11)*

“City, how about tandoori tea or blue tea this winter?” (#43)

Environment/Planet

This category includes news items which are concerned with the issues of environment and health of the planet as a whole. It

has the least number of articles, only four. The production and reproduction of meanings of anthropogenic changes to the environment are done in a major way by news media (Carvalho 172). Many studies have been conducted which demonstrate that the issue attention paid to changes in the environment and climate have increased in the last decade. A study conducted by Mike Schafer et al. studied 'issue attention' in print media in the Indian context, along with Australia and Germany, from 1996 to 2010. Contrary to many assumptions, it was found that, in the Indian context environmental changes like climate change do not figure in as important factors in 'issue attention' and Indian print media coverage is triggered, exclusively, by international drivers rather than domestic factors (169). The findings of the current study also corroborate with the study conducted by Schafer et al. Apart from climate related environmental news, the ones interconnected with food systems have also received minimal coverage.

Out of the four articles, one was a report of a vegan charity lunch organized in Chandigarh, to encourage healthy and guilt-free eating (#41). Another discusses textile created from discarded leaves of pineapple and the hope of it becoming a sustainable alternative to leather (#58). The other two articles referred to studies that were conducted about the relation between human diets and their impact on the environment. Given below are the headlines of both of these articles:

“Organic food good for you, but not for planet” (#75)

“Why we can't all eat a healthy diet” (#144)

A close reading of both these articles shows that the headlines, on account of selective information, can come across as misleading and assuming that both were consumed by the same group of readers, it can be confusing to the extent of making them feel incapacitated about making a decision. Article #144, whose headline hints towards the impossibility of everyone being able to eat a healthy diet, towards the very end says:

“The study suggested that adopting a more nutritious diet is not only good for us but also for the planet. Shifting production to match nutritional guidelines would require 50 million fewer hectares of arable land because fruits and vegetables take less land to grow than grain, sugar and fat.” (#144)

Even though the referred study mentions the drawback of the current global agricultural system and goes on to suggest how a healthier diet for humans is also favourable for the environment, yet the headline of the article suggests otherwise. But overall, this trope has not been mainstreamed in print media and a meagre 2.6 percent allocation to it shows that in an emerging economy like India, the discourse of food systems and their relationship with the planet and environment are not conspicuously present in media.

ID	Article No.	Title	Section	Page no.	Column Space	Date	Tagline	Category
1	#1	Find your sleep chronotype	Chd Times	S7	6	31-Jan-19	business	Health insider.in
2	#2	Rush to collect free food coupons kills 2 in Malaysia	Times global	13	1	30-Jan-19		News item
3	#3	Health talk at PGI marks 'Kishori Divas'	Chd Times	S5	1	30-Jan-19	TNN	Health
4	#4	Branded outlets in PU, in the name of quality food, unacceptable: Kanupriya	E times	E1	4	30-Jan-19		Govt policy
5	#5	UT proposes milk/egg in MDM from next session	Chd Times	S3	3	29-Jan-19	Kamini Mehta	Govt policy
6	#6	Drug resistance among top threats: WHO	Times Nation	S9	4	28-Jan-19	Durgesh Nandan Jha	Health
7	#7	Love on the streets of India	Times Life	L2	5	26-Jan-19	Kalyan Karmakar	Gastronomy
8	#8	JALDI SEVEN	Times Life	L2	5	26-Jan-19	Pooja Makhija	Health
9	#9	Love food (recipe)	Chd Times	S12	4	26-Jan-19		Recipe
10	#10	City's medical frat validates going back to basics to prevent diseases	E Times	E1	0	23-Jan-19	Jaspreet Nijher	Health

11	#11	Deconstructing the language of brewing the perfect chai	E Times	E3	5	23-Jan-19	Faguni Verma	Gastronomy
12	#12	Upgrade your health	Chd Times	S7	6	22-Jan-19	Daily Mirror	Health
13	#13	Beware of chemicals in your toothpaste	E times	E3	8	22-Jan-19	Joyeeta Chakravorty	Health
14	#14	Additives used in processed foods may up risk of anxiety disorders	Times Trend	14	1	21-Jan-19	PTI	Health
15	#15	'JUNK FOOD SHOULD COME WITH WARNINGS LIKE CIGARETTE PACKS	All That Matters	AA4	5	20-Jan-19		Health
16	#16	India marches on its stomach	Times Life	L2	5	20-Jan-19	Kalyan Karmakar	Gastronomy
17	#17	Garam tadka to winter flavour	E Times	E4	3	20-Jan-19		Promotional
18	#18	GIFT YOURSELF GUT HEALTH	Times Life	L3	1	20-Jan-19		Health
19	#19	TIPS FOR WINTER SKIN CARE	E Times	E3	4	20-Jan-19	Richa Agarwal	Body/ beauty
20	#20	India sees fastest app download growth	Chd Times	S8	3	18-Jan-19	Digbijay Mishra	News item business
21	#21	Danone back in India with Epigamia investment	Times Business	13	1	16-Jan-19	Digbijay Mishra	News item business
22	#22	Jobs of the future	Editorial	12	2	15-Jan-19	Rudroneel ghosh	Gastronomy, food writing
23	#23	Sewa slows, langars now bank on machines, migrants	Region	2	7	14-Jan-19	IP Singh	News item
24	#24	Herbal supplements a hit at organic fest	Chd Times	S3	2	14-Jan-19	TNN	News item
25	#25	LESSONS LEARNT	Times Life	L3	8	13-Jan-19	Luke Coutinho	Health
26	#26	ASK THE EXPERT	E times	E5	4	13-Jan-19	Harpreet Pasricha	Health
27	#27	Mark Your Diary	Chd Times	S3	1	13-Jan-19		Calendar event
28	#28	Love Food	Times Interact	T2	3	12-Jan-19		Recipe
29	#29	Mark Your Diary	Chd Times	S3	1	11-Jan-19		Calendar event
30	#30	School canteens in state to be checked for sale of junk food	Punajb	3	2	10-Jan-19	TNN	Govt policy
31	#31	DIET MORE IMPORTANT THAN EXERCISE TO LOSE WEIGHT: STUDY	E Times	E3	8	09-Jan-19	IANS	Health
32	#32	Enhancing fine dining experience of Ludhiana	E Times	E3	4	09-Jan-19		Promotional

33	#33	Enjoy veg food & live music at this Murrthal restaurant	E Times	E3	4	08-Jan-19		Promotional
34	#34	New Year resolutions to improve your health	E Times	E3	4	07-Jan-19	Daily Mirror	Health
35	#35	Railway vendors asked to give bills or free food	Chd Times	S6	3	07-Jan-19	Jaskaran Singh	Govt policy
36	#36	'Artificial sweeteners may harm than good'	Times Trends	12	1	07-Jan-19	PTI	Health
37	#37	Food undergoes a sea-change	Times Life	L3	4	06-Jan-19	Amin Ali	Gastronomy
38	#38	Love your food. Love yourself	Times Life	L2	5	06-Jan-19	Kalyan Karmakar	Health
39	#39	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E3	4	06-Jan-19	Harpreet Pasricha	Body/ beauty
40	#40	ANGRY RIBERY DEFENDS HAVING GOLDEN STEAK	Sport	18	2	06-Jan-19	AFP	Celebrity food
41	#41	A vegan lunch to support animal rescue operations	Chd Times	S3	3	06-Jan-19	TNN	Planet/ environment
42	#42	A new menu in diverse flavours	E Times	E3	3	05-Jan-19		Promotional
43	#43	City, how about tandoori tea or blue tea this winter?	E Times	E3	8	04-Jan-19	Ismat Tahseen	Gastronomy
44	#44	No call on multiplex eatable rates	Chd Times	S1,S3	1	03-Jan-19	TNN	Govt policy
45	#45	Brewed perfectly for every season	E Times	E3	0	03-Jan-19		Promotional
46	#46	Bey urges fans to go vegan	E Times	E4	5	02-Jan-19	Agencies	Celebrity food
47	#47	Food Fundas, WELLNESS FOOD	Times Life	L3	2	30-Dec-18	Amin Ali	Gastronomy
48	#48	Clean, pray, cook	Times Life	L3	6	30-Dec-18	Kalyan Karmakar	Gastronomy
49	#49	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E4	4	30-Dec-18	Harpreet Pasricha	Health
50	#50	TRAVEL HEALTH FITNESS IN 2018	Times Life	L4	8	30-Dec-18	Supriya Sharma	Gastronomy, cultural capital
51	#51	Dharmendra enthalls city with stories of food and films	E Times	E5	4	29-Dec-18		Promotional
52	#52	Biryani made and served fresh in its handi	E Times	E5	4	29-Dec-18		Promotional
53	#53	IN TRUE PUNJABI SPIRIT	E Times	E4	4	27-Dec-18		Promotional
54	#54	PAUL MCCARTNEY'S GLOBAL XMAS MESSAGE TO FANS: DON'T EAT, DRINK TOO MUCH! I KNOW I WILL, BUT	Global	11	0	26-Dec-18		Celebrity food

THAT'S NO EXCUSE
FOR YOU

55	#55	'90% kids till 13 months didn't get adequate diet in 2015-16'	Nation	10	1	26-Dec-18	Ambika Pandit	News item
56	#56	Lobster or grass?	Editorial	14	2	25-Dec-18	Bikram Vohra	Gastronomy
57	#57	Faith served hot with tea on train to Nanded Sahib	Sunday Special	4	8	23-Dec-18	Neel Kamal	Gastronomy, food writing
58	#58	Now, you can eat your pineapple & wear it too	Times Trend	12	2	23-Dec-18	Reuters	Planet/ environment
59	#59	The key to our hearts lie in our kitchens	Times Trend	L2	5	23-Dec-18	Kalyan Karmakar	Gastronomy
60	#60	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E3	4	23-Dec-18	Harpreet Pasricha	Body/beauty
61	#61	Winter relish	Times Life	L3	4	23-Dec-18	Amrita raichand	Gastronomy
62	#62	'Add eggs, butter to mid-day meal menu'	Haryana	5	3	23-Dec-18	Ajay Sura	Govt policy
63	#63	CURE IN A CUP	Times Life	L3	3	23-Dec-18		Health
64	#64	Punjab bans sale of loose spices and salt	Haryana Himachal punajb	5	2	22-Dec-18	TNN	Govt policy
65	#65	Love Food Interact	Times	T3	3	22-Dec-18		Receipte
66	#66	Severe dieting may lead to binge eating disorder, obesity	E Times	E3	3	21-Dec-18	ANI	Health
67	#67	Dobrev reveals fitness secrets	E Times	E4	4	21-Dec-18	IANS	Celebrity food
68	#68	Naspers leads \$1bn round in Swiggy, valuation hits \$3.3bn	Business	13	4	21-Dec-18	TNN	News item, business
69	#69	Mother Dairy set to enter organic biz through Safal	Business	11	1	20-Dec-18	John Sarkar	News item, business
70	#70	Worm in food at PU Student Centre	Chd Times	S3	3	19-Dec-18	TNN	News item
71	#71	Brewing more fun in Chandigarh's nightlife	E Times	E3	3	19-Dec-18		Promotional
72	#72	Meals at restaurants have more calories than fast-food meals, new study finds:	Chd Times	S7	1	19-Dec-18		Health
73	#73	Zoe opens up about battle with eating disorder	E Times	E4	4	18-Dec-18	Agencies	Celebrity food
74	#74	Warnings about high-salt diet may've been wrong	Times Trend	12	6	18-Dec-18	Aaron Carrol, NYT	Health

75	#75	Organic food good for you, but not for planet	Times Trend	14	2	17-Dec-18	PTI	Planet/ environment
76	#76	As tiffin boxes feed veg-non-veg divide, schools issue diktat	Nation	6	6	17-Dec-18	Prithviji Mitra, Somdatta Basu	News item
77	#77	The hard slog behind that hot samosa delivery	Chd Times	S7	5	17-Dec-18	Sonam Joshi, Chittaranjan Tembhekar	News item
78	#78	There are not many gay and brown folks in food. But hey, we can cook too	All That matters	9	4	16-Dec-18		Gastronomy
79	#79	FRESH FOOD AT YOUR DOORSTEPS	Times Foodie	F4	8	16-Dec-18		Promotional
80	#80	Opening one's heart and hearth makes for a richer kitchen	Times Life	L2	5	16-Dec-18	Kalyan Karmakar	Gastronomy
81	#81	UNBELIEVABLE 24 KARAT GOLD ICE CREAMS IN CHANDIGARH'S	Times Foodie	F2	4	16-Dec-18		Promotional
82	#82	Down Town Café & Bakery	Times Foodie	F2	4	16-Dec-18		Promotional
83	#83	BEING ORIGINAL IN A MYRIAD OF DUPLICATES	Times Foodie	F3	8	16-Dec-18		Promotional
84	#84	A JOYOUS CULINARY JOURNEY AT PANCHKULA'S FALCON CAFÉ & LOUNGE	Times Foodie	F4	8	16-Dec-18		Promotional
85	#85	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E3	4	16-Dec-18	Harpreet Pasricha	Body/ beauty
86	#86	SMASH THE OFFICE MONOTONY AT SECTOR 7 SOCIAL	Times Foodie	F1	8	16-Dec-18		Promotional
87	#87	EXPERIENCE THE EXOTIC PATISSERIE WORLD WITH Let's Go Dutch	Times Foodie	F2	4	16-Dec-18		Promotional
88	#88	Enjoy a fit menu, without the guilt of calories at Amigos's Café	Times foodie	F2	4	16-Dec-18		Promotional
89	#89	The party goes on at Qizo	Times foodie	F1	8	16-Dec-18		Promotional
90	#90	Adding sweetness to winters	E Times	E3	5	15-Dec-18		Promotional
91	#91	TOI CITIZEN REPORTER	Chd Times	SA2	5	14-Jan-19	(Jatinder Sapra)	Govt policy

92	#92	Inculcating healthy habits in kids	Chd Times	S5	6	13-Dec-18	Nishant Kumar	Health
93	#93	Delivery Agent eats packed food	Nation	AA3,8	3	12-Dec-18	Rachel Chitra	News item
94	#94	We built an app to help people grow veggies	Chd Times	S7	6	10-Dec-18	Sindhu Hariharan	News item, business
95	#95	Guha deletes beef tweet after threats	Nation	7	2	10-Dec-18	PTI	News item
96	#96	More than pots and pans	Times Life	L4	4	09-Dec-18	Nona Walia	Health
97	#97	Eat skin-deep	Times Life	L3	4	09-Dec-18	Dr. Mohan Thomas	Body/ beauty
98	#98	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E3	4	09-Dec-18	Harpreet Pasricha	Health
99	#99	SEASONAL MUNCH	Times Life	L3	4	09-Dec-18	Amrita Raichand	Health
100	#100	The most delicious stories begin in grandma's kitchen	Times Life	L2	5	09-Dec-18	Kalyan Karunakar	Gastronomy
101	#101	TOI CITIZEN REPORTER	Chd Times	SA2	3	09-Dec-18	Jatinder Spara	Govt policy
102	#102	SpaceX Xmas delivery arrives at space station	Times Global	11	1	09-Dec-18	AFP	News item
103	#103	Mohali, PkI vendors still use LPG cylinders	Chd Times	S4	2	08-Dec-18	TNN	Govt policy
104	#104	Winter Of Discontent	Editorial	10	2	08-Dec-18		Govt policy
105	#105	Love Food	Times Soulmate	T2	3	08-Dec-18		Recipe
106	#106	Cherished bar exchange celebrates second anniversary	E Times	E3	5	07-Dec-18		Promotional
107	#107	Unilever gets Boost with Horlicks	Front. Business	1, 11	5	04-Dec-18	TNN	News item, business
108	#108	Agriculture sector shifting towards organic: Experts	Chd Times	S6	3	03-Dec-18	TNN	News item
109	#109	Gen Y shakes up protein market	Business	13	4	03-Dec-18	Namrata Singh	News item, business
110	#110	Cheating your way through parties	Times Life	L2	5	02-Dec-18	Pooja Makhija	Health
111	#111	EAT RIGHT FOR A STRONG BACK	Times Life	L2	5	02-Dec-18	Luke Coutinho	Health
112	#112	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E3	4	02-Dec-18	Harpreet Pasricha	Body / beauty
113	#113	An award for holistic wellness	E Times	E3	2	02-Dec-18		News item
114	#114	Addressing childhood obesity	E Times	E3	4	01-Dec-18		Health
115	#115	After diet colas come diet candies	Business	13	4	01-Dec-18	John Sarkar	News item, business

116	#116	Barista to enter FMCG biz, open restaurants	Business	11	3	30-Nov-18	John Sarkar	News item, business
117	#117	Unilever may pip Nestle to buy GSK's India unit	Business	13	3	29-Nov-18	TNN	News item, business
118	#118	Mark Your Diary	Chd Times	S3	1	28-Nov-18		Calendar event
119	#119	Sky's the limit for this lounge	E Times	E3	4	26-Nov-18		Promotional
120	#120	GO SOLO	Times Life	L3	3	25-Nov-18	Supriya Sharma	Health
121	#121	Taking the bite out of adulterated foods	Nation	J1	8	25-Nov-18	Gauree Malkamekar	Health
122	#122	Grazing on the go	Times Life	L2	3	25-Nov-18	Pooja Makhija	Health
123	#123	This cool hangout place now has a new menu	E Times	E3	4	25-Nov-18		Promotional
124	#124	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E3	4	25-Nov-18	Harpreet Pasricha	Health
125	#125	CHECK THE TEX-MEX SPREAD	E Times	E3	5	24-Nov-18		Promotional
126	#126	Love Food	Times Interact	T1	3	24-Nov-18		Recipe
127	#127	Providing memorable dining experience	E Times	E3	3	24-Nov-18		Promotional
128	#128	By hook or cook	Editorial	J2	2	23-Nov-18	Jug Suraiya	Gastronomy, food writing
129	#129	A unique skylounge set to launch in city tonight	E Times	E3	4	23-Nov-18		Promotional
130	#130	Hookahs are addictive, can kill too	Chd Times	S5	5	20-Nov-18		Health
131	#131	Hey man, get rid of that belly fat	Times Life	L2	5	18-Nov-18	Pooja Makhija	Body/beauty
132	#132	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E3	4	18-Nov-18	Harpreet Pasricha	Body/beauty
133	#133	Michelin Goddess	Editorial	14	2	17-Nov-18		Gastronomy
134	#134	Kolkata's rich flavours leave Gary Mehigan mesmerised	E Times	E4	4	17-Nov-18	Ruman Ganguly	Gastronomy
135	#135	Food startups play health card	Business	15	4	16-Nov-18	John Sarkar	News item, business
136	#136	Woman who turned gobhi paranthas into fine dining	Nation	10	3	16-Nov-18	Sonam Joshi	Gastronomy
137	#137	Why do restaurant hamburgers taste better than homemade ones?	Chd Times	S7	1	14-Nov-18		Hastronomy

138	#138	Handy shortcuts to cut sugar post festive season	E Times	E3	3	13-Nov-18	IANS	Health
139	#139	Why our diet is likely to increase in future	Trends	14	2	12-Nov-18	IANS	News item
140	#140	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E3	4	11-Nov-18	Harpreet Pasricha	Health
141	#141	Handy shortcuts to cut sugar post festive season	E Times	E3	4	10-Nov-18	IANS	Health
142	#142	Have you tried the fusion flavours of desi mûhais?	E Times	E3	8	09-Nov-18	Shikha Shah	Gastronomy
143	#143	'Customers bought into my idea sooner than my family'	Chd Times	S7	4	09-Nov-18	Amn Ali	News item
144	#144	Why we can't all eat a healthy diet	Chd Times	S7	4	06-Nov-18	ANI	Planet/ environment
145	#145	Happy Healthy Diwali	Chd Times	S3	4	06-Nov-18	www.nutri ionix.com	Health
146	#146	Diet rich in fish can help fight asthma	Trends	12	1	06-Nov-18		Health
147	#147	Are you your happy weight?	Times Life	L3	4	04-Nov-18	Luke Coutinho	Body/ beauty
148	#148	ASK THE EXPERT	E Times	E3	4	04-Nov-18	Harpreet Pasricha	Body/ beauty
149	#149	Love Food	Times Life	T1	3	04-Nov-18		Recipe
150	#150	Five science-backed ways to boost your immune system	Chd Times	S8	2	04-Nov-18	Daily Mirror	Health
151	#151	Fresh Beginnings	Times Life	L3	3	04-Nov-18	Amrita Raichand	Body/ beauty
152	#152	Love Food	Times Interact	T3	3	03-Nov-18		Receipe
153	#153	Back to the future	Editorial	10	2	02-Nov-18	Jug Suraiya	Gastronomy, food writing

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Notes on Contributors

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