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Editorial

Dissemination of one's research findings is an indispensable aspect of the research process. As per, the *Guidance document on Good Academic Research Practice* published by UGC, the goal of dissemination is to "inform the larger community of the findings of the research activity so that it becomes a part of the scientific knowledge base." The research findings immensely benefit other researchers, practitioners, policy-decision makers, and the public. *Al-Shodhana*, a multi-disciplinary refereed research journal offers such a platform by publishing original research papers from the teaching faculty and the research scholars belonging to the disciplines of Humanities, Social Sciences, Management and Business.

The current issue features six research papers across disciplines. Reji P John and E Thippeswamy's paper examines the level of cognizance about the health insurance schemes among Christian and Muslim households in Dakshina Kannada district. The paper indicates the disparity in the level of awareness among the said communities, Hence, calls for a proper design, implementation and publicity of all the health insurance schemes of both the state and the central government.

Nafisa Shaja and Vishal Nayak study the impact of various appeals used in *Youtube* advertisements of insurance policies. The research makes use of Rhetorical Theory and Quantitative Content Analysis to elucidate the appeals in advertisements. The findings of the research indicate that most of the advertisements are logical in nature, and they use real time visuals and characters to convey messages. The researchers analysed the data using code sheet, dividing into different categories and sub categories based on the nature, significance, strategies, and stereotypes in advertisements. Vipin Chandran K P and Sandhya P deal with the transition of state policy from Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals in fighting issues related

to health, nutrition, infrastructure, quality of education etc. They favour the SDGs as they seek to address not only the root causes of poverty but also the universal need for sustained development to provide a life of dignity to all. Moreover, SDGs are more comprehensive in terms of global goals integrating the social, economic and environmental dimensions of development.

Analysing inputs from ministry documents related to foreign affairs and secondary data, Joyce Sabina Lobo examines individual perceptions, interests and opportunities availble for both India and Russia in the Indo-Pacific region.   She argues that both nations should work towards the development of Growth Corridor in the central Asian Region, establish join collaborations, co-operate to enhance Indian naval capabilities, engage with in China trilateral agreement, diversify economic relationships, and enhance the focus on underdveloped regions of India's North East and Russia's Far East. Girish N and Nagya Naik discuss the second most represented role in science fiction i.e. mother. According to the authors Ridley Scott's *Alien* (1979) and James Cameron's *Aliens* challenge the stereotypical depiction of mother.   The paper historicises the cultural, psychological and political aspects of coding the alien queen as monster feminine in James Cameron's *Aliens.*

I profusely thank the Principal of St Aloysius College (Autonomous), Rev Dr Praveen Martis SJ for his support. I'd like to thank all the contributors and all the members of the editorial board for their continuous support in publishing this issue.

Girish N
Editor-in-Chief

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Contents

AWARENESS OF HEALTH INSURANCE SCHEMES AMONG MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN HOUSEHOLDS IN DAKSHINA KANNADA DISTRICT

Reji P John
E Thippeswamy

Abstract

Health is the key component in human capital formation and plays a vital role in overall economic development of the nation. Health insurance has emerged as an instrument of protecting the households against unexpected events occur in life. However, awareness of health insurance is very less among people in India in general and Christian and Muslim households in particular. In this context, the present study was undertaken to examine the awareness about health insurance schemes among Christian and Muslim households in Dakshina Kannada District. The study found out that the majority of the respondents of Muslim and Christian households were found to be well aware of Central Government's health insurance schemes compared to the state government sechemes. The respondents of Muslim housheholds are fully unaware of Jyothi Sanjivini Health Scheme, whereas, only 33.3% of respondents belong to Christian Community were aware of it. Janani Suraksha Yojana and Thayi Bhagya were found to be much higher in awareness among the respondents of Muslim households (83% and 70%) compared to the respondents of Christian households (33.3%). Further, the level of awarenss about Yashaswini, Suvarna Arogya and Arogya Bhagya was found to be more among respondents of Christian households compared to the Muslim households. The level of awareness about health and health insurance scheme is not similar with respect to Muslim and Christian households. Therefore, it is important to utilize all kinds of mass media for giving wide publicity to health and health insurance schemes.

Keywords: disaster, acquisition, insurance, eco-system, transition

1.Introduction

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) states that, "the enjoyment of the highest standards of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion,

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political belief, economic or social condition". Yet, ill health remains a significant cause and a consequence of poverty in all countries. Ill health limits productivity, thereby preventing poor people from grow out of poverty. Every year 100 million people are either pushed into poverty due to the expenditure related to health-care, including out-of-pocket expenses, and many are unable to afford essential health services leading to the aggravation of preexisting sickness. (TST, 2011). Therefore, health care has become an important issue in both developing and developed countries, as imposes heavy economic burden on households pushing them into poverty (Verma et. al., 2017). The quality of popularion can be increased through various public health care measures, increase in medical care facilities and universal health insurance for the entire population. Out of these, health insurance is one of the primary methods of funding the health care system and the best measure to protect the vulnerable. Moreover, it is one such instrument which helps to defer, delay, reduce or altogether avoid payment for health care expenditure incurred by individuals. Recently, health insurance emerged as a possible means of protection from indebtedness, improving access to healthcare among the poor, impoverishment resulting from medical expenditures (Devadasn, 2004) and risk coverage caused by any unforeseen emergencies. However, the condition of health insurance in India is far from satisfactory.

According to NCAER, nearly 85 percent of the Indian population do not have health insurance cover to finance medical expenditure (2017), and consequently, these people either neglect their health problems due to non-affordable treatment and end up facing financial distress after having to pay their exorbitant medical bills from their own pockets (2017). Medical expenditure, especially hospitalization expenses can become a huge financial burden for households. In this situation of skyrocketing medical expenses, the failure to hold an adequate amount of health insurance cover can prove to be a major financial disaster. In this scenario, health insurance could be a way of reducing the financial burden and improving accessibility to quality medical care by the poor and could also prove to be an effective social security mechanism (Maheshkumar, 2011).

2. Review of Literature

Health is important as an end in itself and as an integral part of human well-being, which includes material, psychological, social, cultural, educational, work,

environmental, political, and personal security dimensions (TST, 2011). These dimensions of well-being are interrelated and interdependent. Investments in health, particularly prevention of ill health, enhances a country's economic output through their effects on educational achievement and skills acquisition, labour productivity and decent employment, increased savings and investment, the demographic transition and impacts on the earth's ecosystem (Bloom and Williamson, 1997).

The socio economic development of any country to a greater extent is conditioned by the health status of the community and thus it is crucial for industrial development of a country (NCAER, 2017). The health outcomes of Christian and Muslim minority communities are very poor when compared to other religious groups and this imposes a heavy economic burden on households in the states, thereby increases out-of-pocket expenditure which leads to poverty deepening effect (Verma et. al., 2017). Lack of awareness is one such factor which may lead to increase in the out-of- pocket expenditure. Thus, health care expenditure will make people depend on public health insurance and awareness will make people obtain benefits from these schemes as well as choose private health insurance (Reshmi, 2007). Level of health insurance awareness varies not only from one region to another region, but also across states and religion. Southern states like Andhra Pradesh (94.7 %), Karnataka (92.1 %), Kerala (97.6 %), Tamil Nadu (89.4 %) and Telangana (98.8 %) are more aware than other states in India (NCAER,2018). Awareness of health schemes and utilization of health services is less among Christians and Muslims than other religious groups such as Hindus, Jains and Sikhs (Singh,2011). Muslims are more aware of health schemes such as *Janani Suraksha Yojana* (JSY), *Prasooti Araike, Thayi Bhagya,* Integrated Management of Neonatal and Childhood Illness and *Yeshasvini.* However the benefits obtained from these schemes are very less. Whereas Christians are less aware of these health schemes and also the benefits obtained from these schemes are much lesser than in Muslims and Jains (SECMKR, 2015). When it comes to insured and uninsured households in the southern region, Christian community uninsured households (9.2%) are more than insured households (3.6%) and uninsured households of Muslims was 4.7% which is more than the insured households (NCAER, 2017). In Mangalore, awareness of health insurance among Muslims is 42.11% which is less than Hindus (67.96%), Christians

(78.95%) and Jains (100%) (Reshmi, 2007). Though awareness is high among districts, the awareness level of Muslims is relatively lower than the other religious communities. This clearly indicates that insurance based initiatives have remained unsuccessful for the minority groups in having good health status and in reducing out-of-pocket expenditure. Despite having high literacy rate (91.94%), third rank in health index and second in terms of human development index (Human Development Report, 2014), only 64% of respondents are aware of health insurance. Out of which, Christians are more aware (78.95%) than Muslims (42.11%) and Hindus (67.96%). Thus, there is an urgent need to create awareness about health insurance and bring more people under the umbrella of health insurance. In this background, the present study was undertaken to examine the awareness level about health insurance schemes among Christian and Muslim Households in Dakshina Kannada District.

3. Statement of the Problem

Karnataka has made significant progress in improving the health status of its people over the last few decades. Despite the progress, the State has a long way to go in achieving the desired health goals. Health insurance, insurance against bad weather and insurance against the death of livestock are standard products in rich countries whereas they are more or less absent in the developing countries. Subscribing to health insurance at reasonable price is very difficult for those who are living in rural areas than the urban households (Banerjee and Esther Duflo, 2011). The middle class households spend more on health and education than the poor in developing economies. A well-functioning health information system is one that ensures proper capturing, analysis, dissemination and use of reliable and timely information on health determinants, health systems performance and health status.

Karnataka is a pioneer state that started *Yeshasvini* scheme, a health insurance programme that provided insurance cover to 2.2 million farmers for an annual premium of Rs 60. This scheme was shown to have resulted in increased utilization of health services and reduced out-of-pocket expenditures. In co-ordination with the central government the state also started the *Rashtriya Swasthya Bhima Yojana* that currently covers 35 million families living below poverty line. The state should commit to ensure universal access to healthcare

by all people in the State irrespective of caste, socio-economic group, religion or any other consideration (Karnataka Integrated Public Health Policy 2017). Though, the State government has been making constructive efforts to bring all the eligible households under universal health insurance schemes, majority of households belonged to minority communities are unaware of the benefits and their utilization in general and Muslim and Christian households in particular. Therefore, the present study has undertaken to verify the health schemes awareness level of Christian and Muslim households in Dakhina Kannada District.

4. Objectives of the study

The specific objectives set to this study are:

To examine the socio-economic profile of sample respondents in Dakshina Kannada district

To analyze the level of awareness of health insurance schemes among Christian and Muslim households in Dakshina Kannada district.

5. Methodology of the study

Data required for this study collected from secondary and primary sources. Secondary information was collected from various reports of state, national, international organizations, policy documents of both state and central governments and research articles published in peer reviewed and UGC recognized journals. The primary data was collected from field survey conducted during January, 2020 through well designed and structured questionnaires. Sample of total 60 households, 30 Christian and Muslim households, were selected randomly from the district. After collecting data, mean values of age, literacy, level of education, size of family and income level are expressed in terms of percentages. However, the study was confined to Dakshina Kannada district only.

6. Results and Discussion

In this section, the results of the study are discussed and presented on the basis of objectives set for this study. The results of the study are:

6.1. Socio-Economic Conditions of Sample Respondent Households

Socio-economic conditions of the minority communities in general and Christian and Muslim communities in particular are assumed to be highly advanced and hence it influences the decision making process in the household. Age of the respondent, education level, marital status, rural-urban, size of family, economic status, occupational pattern etc are the important socio-economic indicators of the Christian and Muslim households. Therefore, information was elicited from the head of the family. Head of the family is the one who makes a decision, is considered respondent and information was collected from him or her. Information related to socio economic indicators are collected and presented in the table 1.

Awareness of various health insurance schemes depend upon the socio-economic conditions of the household and whether they reside either in rural or urban areas. Hence the data regarding respondents' households was collected and summarized in table no 1. The overall category is one which consists of pooled data of both the samples respondent households of Christian and Muslim communities. A majority of the households were found to be residing in urban areas (60%) rather than the rural areas (40%). However, in disaggregate data, less number of Christian household (36.7%) resided in urban areas compared to their counterpart (83.3%). Though the Dakshina Kannada district is semi-urban in nature, it could be inferred that people of muslim community prefer to live in urban areas whereas the people of christian community reside in rural areas. Age is one of the important indicators of demographic feature and thus the data related to sample respondents were collected and summarized in the table. Age of the respondents were categorized as young respondents (<30 years), Middle age (Between 31 and 60 years) and old age respondents (>60 years).

Table No. 1: Socio-Economic conditions of Sample Respondents Households

S.No	Particulars	Distribution of Sample Respondents Households		
		Christian Households	Muslim Households	Overall
1	**Rural-Urban Status**			
	i) Rural Households	19(63.3)	05(16.7)	24(40.0)
	ii) Urban Households	11(36.7)	25(83.3)	36(60.0)
	Total	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	60 (100.0)
2	**Age of Respondents**			
	i) Yong Age (<30Years)	08(26.7)	12(40.0)	20(33.3)
	ii) Middle Age			
	(Between 30 and 60 Years)	20(66.7)	17(56.7)	37(61.7)
	iii) Old Age (>60 Years)	02(06.6)	01(03.3)	03(05.0)
	Total	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	60 (100.0)
3	**Gender**			
	i) Male	14(46.7)	20(66.7)	34(56.7)
	ii) Female	16(53.3)	10(33.3)	26(43.3)
	Total	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	60 (100.0)
4	**Marital Status**			
	i) Unmarried	06(20.0)	12(40.0)	18(30.0)
	ii) Married	24(80.0)	18(60.0)	42(70.0)
	Total	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	60 (100.0)
5	**Education**			
	i) Illiterate	00(0.0)	06(20.0)	06(10.0)
	ii) Primary	06(20.0)	08(26.7)	14(23.3)
	ii) Higher Secondary	08(26.7)	11(36.7)	19(31.7)
	iii) Degree and Above	16(53.3)	05(16.6)	21(35.0)
	Total	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	60 (100.0)
6	**Occupational Pattern**			
	i) Daily Wage Labour	00(0.0)	03(10.0)	03(05.0)
	ii) Agriculture	10(33.3)	00(0.0)	10(16.7)
	iii) Self Employed	09(30.0)	18(60.0)	27(45.0)
	iv) Any Other	11(36.7)	09(30.0)	20(33.3)
	Total	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	60 (100.0)

7	Size of Family			
	i) Small Family (<4)	18(60.0)	06(20.0)	24(40.0)
	ii) Medium Family (5-8)	09(30.0)	10(33.3)	19(31.7)
	iii) Big Family (>9)	03(10.0)	14(46.7)	17(28.3)
	Total	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	60 (100.0)
8	Economic Status			
	i) BPL Card Holders	20(66.7)	24(80.0)	44(73.3)
	ii) APL Card Holders	10(33.3)	06(20.0)	16(26.7)
	Total	30 (100.0)	30(100.0)	60 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey 2020
Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages to total

Table 1 shows higher percentage of respondents belonging to middle age (61.7%) compared to young (33.3%) and old age (5%). Similar results were found with respect to disaggregate data in table 1. Sex is very impotant demographic indicator which reflect the women participation in decision making in househoulds and thus the data collected and presented in the tabale. It was observed from the table that the 43.3% were female and remaining 56.7% were male respondents in the overall category. In the study, interesting result was higher percentage of Christian women (53.3%) participated in the study compared to women belonged to Muslim community (33.3%). Therefore, it was evident that women belonged to Christian community haven taken lead in making decisions. Marital status influences the steps need to be taken for protecting the family members against the unexpected risks. Out of 60 sample respondents, 42 respondnets were found to be married whereas only 18 respondnets were unmarried and also similar results were found with respect to Muslim and Christian households.

Education is very important demographic feature which indicates the awareness and utilization of various welfare schemes. Therefore, the data related to level of education was collected from the sample respondents and presented in the table 1. Person who does not know to write and read is considered as illiterate and one who studied upto seventh standard is termed as the one having primary education. The sample respondent who either completed or studied upto 12 years is considered as the one with higher secondary education and those who

studied upto degree or even more are considered as degree holders. In the overall category, 10% of the sample respondents were found to be illiterate whereas 35% of the respondents have completed graduation all above. Therefore, the majority of the sample respondents were found to be educated and well aware of the various schemes of the government. In the disaggregate data, 53% of the respondents from Christian community and 16% of the respondents from Muslim community have completed graduation or have higher qualification than that. The percentage of primary and secondary educated respondents were more among Muslim households than their counter part. Hence, it could be inferred that the level of higher education was low among Muslim community than the Christian community.

Occupational distribution indicates that the distribution of population varies based on different economic activities in the society. Information related to occupational pattern collected and presented in the table 1. Activities on which respondents depend upon was categorized as daily wage worker, farmer, (agriculture), self employed and any other. It is observed from the table that in the overall category, daily wage workers accounted only 5% however 45% of the respondents are self employed. 33.3% of sample respondnets were found to be engaged in any other jobs which included, petty trade, street vendors, taxi drivers etc. The disaggregate data shows that the 33.3% of respondents belong to Christian community engaged in agriculture whereas no one is dependent upon agriculture with respect to Muslim community. Therefore, the people belonging to Muslim community prefer to be self employed compared to Christian community. The size of family reflects the socio-economic conditions and standard of living of the family. Data related to the size of family collected from the respondents' and the size of family was categorized as small family (<4), medium family (5 to 8) and big family (>8). People of Muslim community prefer to live together compared to the Christian community and hence the size of family was big in the case of Muslim community whereas respondents of Christian community prefer to live in small families.

Income is an important indicator to decide the economic status of the family in the society and hence the respondents' household were categorized as Below

Powerty Line households (BPLHs) and Above Poverty Line households (APLHs). Overall category indicates that 73.3% of both muslim and christian households belong to and only 26.7% were APLHs. Therefore, the socio economic profile of the sample respondents showed majority of them were poor, engaged in self employment and other low paid jobs.

6.2. Awareness of Health Insurance Schemes

Development programmes of the government and their success depend upon the level of awareness and participation of people in such programmes. There are thirteen schemes related to health which are designed and implemented by both State and Central governments for protecting the health of people against the unexpected risks. The Government of India designed and implemented four health insurance schemes such as *Rastriya Swathya Bima Yojana* (RSBY), *Pradhana Manthri Suraksha Bima Yojana* (PMSBY), *Pradhana Mantri Jeevan Jyothi Bima Yojana* (PMJBY) and *Ayushman Bharath*. All these schemes are the national level and the remaning nine health insurance schemes are implemented by the State government. Data related to the level of awareness about various national and state level health insurance schemes are collected and results are summarized separately in the table 2.

Table 2. Level of Health Insurance Schemes Awareness among Sample Respondents' Households

Sl.No.	Particulars	Awareness Status of Religious Communities					
		Christians Households			Muslims Households		
		Aware	Not Aware	Total	Aware	Not Aware	Total
National Level Programmes							
1	Rastriya Swastya Bima Yojana (RSBY)	15 (50.0)	15 (50.0)	30 (100.0)	12 (40.0)	18 (60.0)	30 (100.0)
2	Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana (PMSBY)	18 (60.0)	12 (40.0)	30 (100.0)	19 (63.3)	11 (36.7)	30 (100.0)

3	Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyothi Bima Yojana (PMJBY)	16 (53.3)	14 (46.7)	30 (100.0)	17 (56.7)	13 (43.30)	30 (100.0)
4	Ayushman Bharat	26 (86.7)	04 (13.3)	30 (100.0)	21 (70.0)	09 (30.0)	30 (100.0)
State Level Schemes							
5	Yashawini	14 (46.7)	16 (53.3)	30 (100.0)	10 (33.3)	20 (66.7)	30 (100.0)
6	Rajiv Arogya Bhagya	07 (23.3)	23 (76.7)	30 (100.0)	12 (40.0)	18 (60.0)	30 (100.0)
7	Jyothi Sanjeevini	10 (33.3)	20 (66.7)	30 (100.0)	00 (0.0)	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)
8	Vajapayee Arogyshree	11 (36.7)	19 (63.3)	30 (100.0)	13 (43.3)	17 (56.7)	30 (100.0)
9	Janani Suraksha Yojana	09 (30.0)	21 (70.0)	30 (100.0)	25 (83.30)	05 (16.7)	30 (100.0)
10	Prasooti Araike	08 (26.7)	22 (73.3)	30 (100.0)	11 (36.7)	19 (63.3)	30 (100.0)
11	Thayi Bhagya	10 (33.3)	20 (66.7)	30 (100.0)	21 (70.0)	09 (30.0)	30 (100.0)
12	Suvarna Arogya	11 (36.7)	29 (63.3)	30 (100.0)	07 (23.3)	23 (76.7)	30 (100.0)
13	Arogya Bhagya	13 (43.3)	17 (56.7)	30 (100.0)	10 (33.3)	20 (66.7)	30 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey 2020

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages to total

It was observed from the table 2 more than 50% of the respondents belonging to the Christian and Muslims households found to have adequate knowledge about Central Government sponsored health insurance schmes. In disaggregate data, universal health scheme, *Ayushman Bharth* is very popular compared to other schmes with respect to Muslim and Christian households. It was also important to note that more than 70% of Muslim households and 80% of Christian households are fully aware of the *Ayushman Bharath* insurance scheme than any other. Next to *Ayushman Bharath*, the awareness level of *Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana* (PMSBY) and *Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyothi Bima Yojana* (PMJBY) were found to be high

among the respondents of Muslim and Christian households. Moreover, the respondents of Muslim households (40%) were not found to an awareness on *Rastriya Swastya Bima Yojana* (RSBY) compared to the respondents of Christian households (50%). Overall, the respondents of Muslim and Christian households have adequate awareness of the Central Government sponserd health insurance schemes.

There are eight state government implemented schemes related to health insurance in Karnataka. The awareness level about state the government sponsored health insurance was not similar between Muslim and Christian households in the study area. The respondents of Muslim housheholds are fully unaware of *Jyothi Sanjivini Health Scheme* whereas only 33.3% of respondents belonging to Christian Community were aware of it. The level of awareness about *Janani Suraksha Yojana* and *Thayi Bhagya* was found to be much higher among the respondents of Muslim households (83% and 70%) compared to the respondents of Christian households (33.3%). Further, the level of awarenss on *Yeshasvini*, *Suvarna Arogya* and *Arogya Bhagya* was found to be more among respondents of Christian community compared to the respondents belonging to the Muslim Community. Therefore, the level of awareness on health and health insurance scheme is not similar with respect to Muslim and Christian households.

7. Conclusion

The study clearly indicates the disparity in the status of awareness on various health insurance schemes among Christians and Muslims. Insurance schemes such as *Janani Suraksha Yojana* and *Thayi Bhagya* found to have higher awareness among the respondents of Muslim households (83% and 70%) compared to the respondents of Christian households (33.3%). Therefore, the level of awareness on the health insurance scheme is not similar with respect to Muslim and Christian households. 50% of the respondents belonging to the Christian and Muslims households were found to have adequate knowledge about Central Government sponsored health insurance schemes. It was evedient from the study that the people are well aware of central government health insurance schemes compared to the state government schemes. Therefore, the Central and State governments should not only focus on design and implementation of health insurance schemes but also on bringing awareness in all districts. As long as people are unaware of the health insurance schemes offered by the state, a large number of both Christian and Muslim population may not come under the

perview of it. Therefore, it is important to utilize all channels of mass media for giving wide publicity on the health insurance schemes.

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Socio- Economic Condition Of Minorities in Karnataka Report – 2015

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A STUDY ON APPEALS USED IN *YOUTUBE* ADVERTISEMENTS OF INSURANCE POLICIES IN INDIA

Nafisa Shaja
Vishal Nayak

Abstract

In the current advertising scenario, the effectiveness of employing advertising appeals is well-established and advertisers utilize them for disseminating information to their customers. Using quantitative content analysis, the study investigates the presentation of advertisements as a means of persuasion and argues that the advertisements of insurance industry have absorbed the reality to become a primary source for the study on appeals used in YouTube advertisements of insurance policies in India. To serve the purpose of research, the researcher made use of different appeals used in advertisements and theoretical framework of Rhetorical theory, i.e., use of rhetoric as an art of persuasion. The study found that the most frequently employed appeal is the brand appeal followed by rational appeal. The least frequently employed advertising appeal in insurance sector advertising on YouTube is the social and scarcity appeal.

Keywords: insurance, YouTube, appeal, rhetorical theory, advertisements

1. Introduction

According to a report commissioned by the Interactive Advertising Bureau (IAB) and conducted by PwC Advisory Services LLC, online advertising revenues in 2019 showed an impressive growth at 15.9%, reaching $124.6 billion, up from $31 billion in 2012 (Sterling, 2020). Numerous studies have been conducted on this new medium, demonstrating its ability to eliminate geographical distances, affordability, increased worldwide coverage, and accessibility (Berthon et al., 2003). In the current advertising scenario, the effectiveness of employing advertising appeals is well-established and advertisers utilize them for disseminating information to their customers. An advertising appeal attracts consumers and is employed to transform their thoughts and feelings about a brand, person, product or service. Advertising appeals are the themes of an advertisement, the driving force of an effective advertising message (Kotler,

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1997). Advertisers utilize advertising appeal in the hope of arising a consumer's desires and as a means of buying and selling their brand, person, product or service. Advertising appeals strive to depict a positive image of the brand, person, product or service in the minds of the consumer. The message transferred through advertising appeals has an influence on purchasing decisions. As advertisers increasingly seek greater communication effectiveness, careful consideration needs to be provided to the ways in which consumers purchase a product.

Insurance sector is considered to be the backbone of a country's risk management system which is an inherent part of our lives. The insurance companies offer a wide range of products to businesses as well as to individuals in order to offer protection from risk and to guarantee financial security. They are also important factors in the financial intermediation chain of a country and source of long-term capital infrastructure and projects. Through their participation in financial markets, they also provide support in stabilizing the markets by evening out any fluctuations (Kumar, 2019).

The insurance sector is broadly categorised into life, health, and non-life insurance. The companies offer various policies such as pension and retirement income, property insurance, legal liability insurance, etc. In addition, they offer several specialized products to meet the specific needs and requirements of businesses and individuals. Businesses also depend on these companies for various property and liability covers, employee compensation, and marine insurance. Most of the insurance companies in India are in the private sector and they have come into existence after establishing joint ventures with global partners (Insurance sector in India, 2017).

The study investigates the presentation of advertisements as means of persuasion and how the advertisements of insurance industry have absorbed the reality to become the primary source for the study on appeals used in *YouTube* advertisements of insurance policies in India. The research makes use of different appeals used in advertisements and theoretical framework of 'Rhetorical theory', i.e., use of rhetoric as an art of persuasion. The research also studies the significance of various elements by analysing the advertisements.

2. Literature review

Numerous studies have been conducted on examining the appeals employed in advertisements. Vashishtha (2015) discusses advertisement as a medium of communication that facilitates large scale marketing and its importance in marketing mix. His study reveals that right advertising and promotional strategies should be used in place so that they can reap the benefit of an "unlimited potential" (Vashishtha, 2015). Eves and Tom's (1999) study on the use of rhetorical devices in advertising revealed that 45% advertisements use rhetorical figures to persuade the target audience. This evaluation finds echo in Ahmed (2018) who says that the purpose of advertising is to communicate with target audience and persuade them and also used as the most effective promotional tool in marketing mix (Ahmed, 2018).

Clarke & Hazell (2008) examined images and texts of selected advertisements to study the presence of gender and racial stereotyping in advertisements. The coding categories included products advertised, audience of the ads, picture of a product or person, physical characteristics of the model etc. Their findings demonstrate both presence and absence of gender and racial stereotyping in selected advertisements. They argue that advertisers are becoming more accepting of black ideals of beauty by featuring black models, whereas in other ads, ideologies of racism and white supremacy continue to pervade (Clarke & Hazell,2008).

Advertisers use different appeals to influence the audience and persuade them to purchase a product or service. There are different types of advertising appeals such as fear, humour, sex, music etc. and the most common appeal used is emotional and rational appeal (Hasan, 2013). The author also mentions the importance of visuals and graphical components in video advertisements and how they are used in different forms so as to achieve their goals. Pratap (2018) also mentions different appeals used in advertisements and the most common appeal used advertisements is rhetoric appeal, that is the use of ethos, pathos and logos. Ethos is the ethical appeal; pathos is the emotional appeal and logos is logical appeal used in these advertisements and it is necessary to use right appeal in the advertisement to persuade the target audience (Pratap 2018).

Fowles (1982) mentions the use of subconscious appeals and their role in the effectiveness of the advertisements. The author talks about the two basic appeals and the content used in advertisements, the first is the deep-running drive into the consumers, i.e., emotional appeal and the second is information about product or service being sold, i.e., rational appeal. The examination of advertisements is based on these appeals and it makes clear that emotional appeal can be distinguished into categories and each advertisement is a variation of these appeals. The article concluded that advertisements use more than one appeal based on their objective and it is clear that emotional appeal plays a major role in manipulating consumers through grabbing attention, communicating the message and increase in sales (Fowles 1982).

Gupta et. al (2017) focused on analysis of multimedia content in selected advertisements and their individual roles in the success of these advertisements and found evidence of multiple strategies used in successful advertisements which involve both customer-oriented strategies as well advertisement-oriented strategies. The study also analysed that emotions play a major role in effectiveness of an advertisement and make it appealing. The findings of the study reveal that presence of brand name, video, audio and emotional elements play a major role in the success and effectiveness of the advertisements (Gupta et.al, 2017).

The effectiveness of print advertisements containing visual rhetorical device is an area of research where the researchers have focused on the non-verbal components of the advertisements and predominance of visuals in persuasive communication. Minoy (2003) investigated the use of visual rhetoric devices to enhance the effectiveness of the advertisements and compared the effectiveness of these advertisements with those that contain literal images and messages. The findings of the study revealed that rhetorical figures can enhance the effectiveness of the advertisements. The findings also revealed that advertisements that used certain rhetorical device performed consistently better than advertisements that do not use them (Minov 2003).

The evidence of literature review demonstrates the usefulness of employing rhetorical theory for studying the advertisements under consideration. The following section elaborates the theoretical framework within which the current study will function.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Rhetorical theory

Aristotle's definition of rhetoric describes how rhetoric has been used as the art of discovering all the available means of persuasion. For the ancient Greeks rhetoric is a concept that uses three aspects, logos or logical argument, ethos or speaker's credibility, and pathos or emotional argument to construct a persuasive argument (Foss, 2009). There are several studies that focus on rhetorical aspects and rhetorical devices. The classical rhetoric theory views the discipline of rhetoric as the art of discourse. In this classical tradition the focus on rhetoric emphasized the public, persuasive and contextual characteristics of human discourse. Public discourse is an aspect of rhetoric that focuses on communication and has ability to persuade through symbols. Rhetoric is used for determining most effective means of persuasion (Condit and Lucaites,1999 as cited in Minov, 2003). Rhetorical analysis is generally used to interpret the meaning of messages by exploring the symbolic conventions used by communicators.

3.2 Research Gap

Since a majority of the studies reviewed here based on the significance of rhetorical devices keeping print advertisements as the basis of their study, the researcher would like to analyse rhetorical strategies and devices used in video advertisements available on *YouTube* limiting to the insurance industry in India.

3.3 Research Questions

RQ1: What is the nature of advertisements of insurance policies in India?

RQ2: What is the significance of various elements in the selected advertisements?

RQ3: What are the different strategies and stereotypes used in the advertisements?

RQ4: What are the appeals used in insurance policy advertisements in India?

RQ5: Which are the most commonly used canons of rhetoric and rhetorical appeals used in advertisements?

4. Method

Content Analysis is described as the scientific study of content of communication. It is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts within some given qualitative data. Using content analysis, researchers can quantify and analyse the presence, meanings and relationships of certain words, themes, or concepts. It is a method used to analyse qualitative data or non-numerical data. Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson 1952). It is the study of the content with reference to the meanings, contexts and intentions contained in messages (Prasad 2008). It is defined as a method of observation in the sense that instead of asking people to respond to questions, it "takes the communications that people have produced and asks questions of communications" (Kerlinger 1973 as cited in Prasad 2008).

There are basically two types of content analysis: conceptual analysis and relational analysis. Conceptual analysis is a technique that treats concepts as classes of objects, events, properties, or relationships. The technique involves precisely defining the meaning of a given concept by identifying and specifying the conditions under which any entity or phenomenon is (or could be) classified under the concept in question. The goal in using conceptual analysis as a method of inquiry into a given field of interest is to improve our understanding of the ways in which particular concepts are (or could be) used for communicating ideas about that field (Furner,2006). Relational analysis studies relationship between different concepts in the selected samples. The analysis involves exploring relationships between different concepts. There are basically three categories of relational analysis, they are affect extraction, proximity analysis and cognitive mapping. It is a type of research that uses a non-statistical method to understand the relationship between the concepts (VanBaren, 2017).

The method used for analysis in this study is conceptual content analysis in which the researcher examines rhetorical devices and structure in the selected advertisements using the code sheet. The method used for collection of data is convenience sampling, a type of non-probability sampling where the sample is collected based on their availability. In this research the sample advertisements are collected from *YouTube* published between the fixed time frame from March

1, 2018 to September 30, 2019, of different insurance companies such as *LIC India, HDFC life insurance, Max life insurance, ICICI Prudential life insurance, Kotak life insurance* and *SBI Life Insurance* based on IRDAI s report of 2018-2019. The sample advertisements on *YouTube* were searched according to their brand names in the list of IRDAI's report using keywords such as insurance policy advertisements in India, insurance policy advertisements with a moral message, selected insurance companies' recent advertisements. Then the sample that is published between the fixed time frame is chosen randomly from the search results for the study. This method resulted in the selection of 40 *YouTube* ads for content analysis.

On the basis of review of literature, a code sheet was prepared for the analysis of various advertising appeals and they are analysed individually according to different brands of insurance agencies and then various rhetorical devices used in these advertisements are identified and extracted from the selected samples. The data analysis was conducted in three stages, firstly open coding (table 1) in which the researcher coded all the elements related to the theory of rhetoric on the basis of review of literature. Five major themes where identified in this stage of coding, and then the sub themes were categorised under the major themes as shown in table 1. Secondly, the researcher and another coder carried out coding. Thirdly, the data was analysed using the SPSS software, version 20.0. The coding was carried out by two coders and Cohen's Kappa test was employed to check the inter-coder reliability. The first coder for the analysis is the researcher herself and the second coder is a clinical psychologist from Kannur. Through this method, the researcher has coded all the elements related to theory of rhetoric in selected advertisements.

CATEGORY	SUB-CATEGORY
Nature of advertisement	• Type of the advertisement. • Marketing strategy used in advertisement. • Nature of advertisements
Significance of elements in the advertisements	• Visual elements • Verbal elements • Sound elements • Non-verbal elements

	• Graphical elements • The character • Story
Strategies and stereotypes in advertisements.	• Strategies used for effectiveness • Use of stereotypes
Different appeals in advertisements	• Humour appeal • Social appeal • Fear appeal • Personal appeal • Sex appeal • Music appeal • Scarcity appeal • Rational appeal • Masculine appeal • Brand appeal • Adventure appeal • Less than perfect appeal • Romance appeal • Sensitivity appeal • Snob appeal • Statistics
Rhetoric in advertisements	• Rhetorical appeals • Canons of rhetoric

Table 1. Open Coding

5. Results

The researcher analysed the data using content analysis method, in which the researcher quantitatively analysed data using the code sheet, that was divided into different categories and their sub categories such as the nature of advertisements, significance of elements, strategies and stereotypes, appeals used in advertisements and rhetoric in advertisements on the basis of review of literature. With the help of the code sheet the researcher coded the data for analysis and the results of the analysis is briefed.

RQ1. What is the nature of advertisements of insurance policies in India?

Table 2 shows the results of the analysis of first category themes and their results. First category theme deals with the nature of advertisements, and the sub themes coded under first category: Type of the advertisement, Marketing strategy used in advertisement and Nature of advertisements. As per table 2, the type of advertisement is, 72.5% using visuals, and 27.5% of them using graphics respectively. Advertisement using visuals are types of advertisements that use real times pictures and characters, whereas advertisements using graphics are the type of advertisement that are created using animation. The marketing strategy used in advertisements is 50% service oriented, 32.5% is advertisement oriented and 17.5% is customer oriented respectively. As per table 2, the nature of advertisements is 7.5% creative, 35% emotional and 57.5% logical. The results obtained indicate that most of the advertisements of insurance policies in India are using visuals, the marketing strategy used in majority of them are service oriented and majority of the advertisements are logical in nature.

	N (n=40)	%
Type of Advertisement		
Video ads using visuals	29	72.5
Video ads using graphics	11	27.5
Marketing Strategy used in advertisements		
Service oriented	20	50
Advertisement oriented	13	32.5
Customer oriented	7	17.5
Nature of advertisements		
Creative	3	7.5
Emotional	14	35
Logical	23	57.5

Table 2: nature of advertisements of insurance policies in India

In the selective coding, Cohen's Kappa was obtained for the theme 'Nature of advertisements'. The data of the first coder and second coder results were analysed in selective coding and the reliability was analysed using Cohen's Kappa. The Cohens kappa value obtained are 0.5 and 0.634 respectively. The

values obtained indicate there is perfect agreement, moderate agreement and substantial agreement respectively between the two coders and the total percentage of agreement between them are 100%, 77.5% and 82.5%.

RQ2. Which elements have significance in the selected advertisements?

Second category deals with significance of various elements in the advertisements such as visual elements, verbal elements, sound elements, non-verbal elements, graphical elements, story and the character. As per table 3, the highly coded sub theme that has significance in the advertisement is verbal element, 87.5% of the total advertisements. The second highly coded element that has significance is visual element, 45% of the total advertisements. Significance of character and story, were coded as 42.5% and 37.5% respectively. The least coded item that has significance in advertisement is sound element, non-verbal element and graphical elements, 27.5% of the total advertisements. The results obtained in the analysis indicates that verbal elements are the elements that have significance in the selected advertisements. The Cohens kappa value obtained is 0.612 which indicates there is substantial agreement between the coders and the total percentage of agreement between them is 80%.

	Yes	%	No	%
Significance of elements in the advertisements				
Visual elements	18	45	22	55
Sound elements	11	27.5	29	72.5
Verbal elements	35	87.5	5	12.5
Non-verbal elements	11	27.5	29	72.5
Graphical elements	11	27.5	29	72.5
Story	15	37.5	25	62.5
Character	17	42.5	23	57.5

Table 3: Significant elements in the selected advertisements

RQ3. What are the strategies and stereotypes used for the effectiveness of advertisements?

The third category deals with two sub themes, strategies and stereotypes used in advertisements. As per table 4, highly coded strategy used for the effectiveness of advertisements is multimedia content, 55% of the total advertisements and the least coded strategy is symbolic communication, 27.5% of the total advertisement. As per table 4, stereotypes are not widely used in the selected advertisemnets, and the highly coded stereotype used is theme which is only 18% of the total advertisements. The results obtained in analysis indicates that multimedia content is the most commonly used strategy for effectiveness of the selected advertisements and stereotypes are used very rarely. The Cohens kappa value obtained are 0.175 and 0.581 respectively. The value indicates that there is slight agreement and moderate agreement between the coders respectively and the total percentage of agreement between them is 60% and 82.5%.

	Yes	%	No	%
RQ3: Strategies				
Multimedia content	22	55	18	45
Use of Rhetorical devices	20	50	20	50
Symbolic communication	11	27.5	29	72.5
RQ3: Stereotypes used in advertisements				
Theme	7	18	33	82
Portrayal of characters	3	7.5	37	92.5
Gender and race	1	3	39	97

Table 4: Strategies and stereotypes used in advertisements

RQ4. What are the appeals used in insurance policy advertisements?

The fourth category deals with the theme appeals used in advertisements and identify them in selected advertisements. As per the table 5, the highly coded appeal used in advertisement is brand appeal, 60% of the total advertisements. The second highly coded appeal is rational appeal, 50% of the total advertisements. The least coded appeal social and scarcity appeal, 3% and 2.5% of the total advertisements respectively.

As per the table there is no presence of sex appeal in any of the advertisements. The results obtained in analysis indicates that brand appeal is the appeal that is used widely in insurance policy advertisements in India. The results also indicate that sex appeals are not used in insurance policy advertisements. The Cohens kappa value obtained is 0.505 which indicates that there is moderate agreement between the coders and the total percentage of agreement between them is 75%.

	N (n=40)	%
Different appeals used in advertisements		
Humour appeal	4	10
Social appeal	1	2.5
Fear appeal	4	10
Sex appeal	0	0
Music appeal	8	20
Scarcity appeal	1	3
Rational appeal	20	50
Masculine appeal	4	10
Brand appeal	24	60
Adventure appeal	2	5
Less than perfect appeal	4	10
Romance appeal	3	7.5
Sensitivity appeal	6	15
Snob appeal	11	27.5

Table 5: appeals used in insurance policy advertisements

RQ5. Which are the most commonly used canons of rhetoric and rhetorical appeals used in advertisements?

Fifth category theme is rhetoric in advertising and the subthemes analysed in the table are basic rhetorical appeals and canons of rhetoric in advertisements. As per table 6, the, highly coded basic rhetorical appeal in the selected advertisements is pathos (credibiilty appeal), 45% of total advertisements, the second highly coded appeal is logos (logical appeals), 30% of total advertisements and the least coded appeal is ethos (emotional appeal) 25% of total

advertisements. As per table 6, Highly coded canon of rhetoric is style, i.e., pattern of communication, 82.5% of the total advertisements. Second highly coded canon of rhetoric in advertisement is dispositions, i.e., flow of information from introduction to conclusion. And the least coded canon of rhetoric is delivery, how the final product is given. The results obtained from the figure indicate that the most common appeal used as rhetoric in advertising is credibility appeal. And the most commonly used canon of rhetoric in advertisement is pattern of communication(style). The Cohens kappa value obtained for these are 0.7 and 0.625 respectively. The values indicate there is substantial agreement between the coders and the total percentage of agreement between them is 85% and 92.5% respectively.

	N (n=40)	%
Basic rhetorical appeal used in advertisements		
Ethos	10	25
Pathos	18	45
Logos	12	30
Canons of rhetoric in advertisements		
Invention	22	55
Disposition	30	75
Style	33	82.5
Memory	21	53
Delivery	19	47.5

Table 6: most commonly used canons of rhetoric and rhetorical appeals

6. Conclusion

Appeals in advertisements are an integral part of the advertising ecosystem and they are a persuasive pressure that stimulate a person to purchase a product or a service. Brand appeal and rational appeal have been widely used in the insurance advertisements studied while the study found no instances of sex appeal in the insurance policy advertisements. The study concluded that most of the selected advertisements are using visuals, in which the advertisers use real time pictures and characters to convey the message and as a means of persuasion. whereas only few of them are using graphics, where the advertisers use animations to convey the message. The study also concluded that most of the advertisements are logical in nature.

Keeping this study as a basis, comparative analysis of advertisements can be carried out. i.e., how each company uses rhetoric in different ways. This study can be used to analyse the effectiveness of advertisements that uses rhetorical devices. This study can also be used to analyse the different components of the advertisement from a rhetorical point of view. This study can also be used to analyse the context of communication in advertisements. The study can be also applied to other industries such as FMCG (Fast Moving Consumer Goods), cosmetics etc.

Though good care was taken, the research still suffered from certain limitations. The researcher and the coder, may have had their own biases which may have affected coding patterns. Within that broad agenda, a key contribution of this research is that it brings needed differentiation to an important element of advertising: the use of appeals in digital advertising, which is conducive for producing and distributing extended advertising materials, like advertising on video sharing platforms like *YouTube*. A further contribution is to show how rhetorical theory can be extended to encompass some of the variety of advertising appeals available to digital advertisers. Advertising appeals are a fundamental form of rhetorical devices. They are rhetorical because they offer diverse possibilities for creating diverse advertising rhetorics (Aristotle's definition of rhetoric as the means of observing the available means of persuasion in any given case can be recalled here). Finally, there is a commitment to using rhetorical ideas to uncover meaningful differences in appeals employed across digital video advertisements.

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PARADIGM SHIFT FROM MDGS TO SDGS: EVIDENCE FROM INDIAN DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

Even after 74 years after independence, India is still engaged in a struggle for freedom from many deprivations: poverty, hunger, illiteracy, ill health, disease, and many others which the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) sought to overcome, but many remain unfulfilled. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have gained a lot of interest due to the partial success of MDGs in eradication of poverty and human development. India has taken a lot of initiatives to meet the targets for the same and have achieved progress in this regard. The MDGs were particularly helpful in communicating a clear purpose of development aid to mobilize public support. The SDGs seek to address not only the root causes of poverty but also the universal need for sustained development to provide a life of dignity to all. The main objectives of the study are to examine the MDGs in India; and to compare the component wise and state wise progress of MDGs and SDGs in India. The data has been collected from various official publications of UN, government of India, NITI Aayog, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation. The present study reveals that the SDG proposals will ensure momentum generated by MDGs is carried through to 2030 to end deprivations.

Key words: MDGs, SDGs, Sustainable development

1. Introduction

India is home to one-sixth of the planet's humanity, which makes the country a key player in ensuring the prosperity and sustainability of the planet and its people. India has raised the levels of prosperity of its people in the recent past. However, challenges remain in many areas including health, nutrition, basic infrastructure, quality of education among others. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have gained a lot of interest due to the partial success of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in eradication of poverty and human

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development. India has taken a lot of initiatives to meet the targets for the same and have achieved progress in this regard. The MDGs were particularly helpful in communicating a clear purpose of development aid to mobilize public support. In contrast, (SDGs) are a global agenda for sustainable development. The SDGs seek to address not only the root causes of poverty but also the universal need for sustained development to provide a life of dignity to all. The SDGs are most comprehensive list of global goals integrating the social, economic and environmental dimensions of development.

The MDGs focused on poverty - understood as meeting basic needs - and its alleviation. This was a new and a narrow conception of development. For decades, development had focused on enlarging the productive capacity of economies to make possible improved living standards of people. The eight MDGs and 21 targets were limited to ending extreme poverty, thus reconceptualising development. In contrast, the SDGs incorporate ending poverty as a core objective, but the 17 goals and 169 targets set out a broader agenda that includes environmental, social, and economic sustainability. The broader agenda of the SDGs reflect not only a shift in priorities but a reversal of the MDG approach to goal setting. Departing from the principle that global goals should be short and memorable, the SDGs include 17 goals and 169 targets. The MDGs communicated a simplified concept of development as meeting basic needs, stripped of the challenges of inclusions and sustainability, and remained silent on the need to reform institutions. They framed development discourses and debates in this narrow vision. The SDGs also reverse another MDG approach, to set a global goal that is also to be achieved by all countries, neglecting national contexts, and against which governments would be held accountable.

2. Objectives

The main objectives of the study are to examine the achievements of Millennium Development goals (MDGs) in India; and to compare the component wise and state wise progress of MDGs and SDGs in India. United Nations has clearly laid down MDGs and SDGs and each MDG and SDG has several metrics. For every MDG's and SDG's metrics based on the availability of data for the different states

in India. The data has been collected from various official publications of UN, Government of India, NITI Aayog, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation. United Nations has clearly laid down MDGs and SDGs and each MDG and SDG has several metrics. For every MDG's and SDG's metrics based on the availability of data for the different states in India.

3. Achievement of MDGs and its ongoing programmes

Growth as an important instrument for achieving the primary goal of reduction in poverty. While growth is important, it is by no means always certain that it will reach the poor for their poverty removal. The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) as a pro-poor strategy aimed at reducing the rigours of poverty by providing unskilled employment and also building the rural asset base is not a full-fledged strategy for bringing people out of poverty. Regular income-generation opportunities need to be provided, and challenges of health and nutrition need to be addressed to reduce the possibility of the poor slipping back into the poverty trap. India's Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), Mid-Day Meal (MDM) programme, and the National Food Security Act, 2013 are important initiatives taken up by the Government of India to address problems of food security and to some extent, the nutritional deficits. However, in the context of the goal of 'sustainable agriculture', in order to ensure long-term food security, and also to reduce rural poverty, a major challenge lies in agriculture reforms, and improving India's natural resource base of land, water, and bio-diversity. The issue of interconnectedness of the SDGs is very well represented in the case of the sustainability of land resources for agriculture and incomes for poverty reduction. India is still very much a land of subsistence agriculture and small holdings.

While the creation of rural infrastructure, improving the supply of rural credit, and promoting skills and entrepreneurship are necessary for the purpose, the vastness of the scale of interventions is clearly beyond the reach of governments alone and needs the close involvement of the private sector. It also needs to be integrated with the urbanization strategy, since creation of non-farm employment is clearly an adjunct to urbanization. The urbanization programmes of Smart

Cities, AMRUT, and 'Rurbanization' need to be given an appropriate pro-poor bias and integrated more closely with the strategy for poverty reduction. India needs to take urgent actions towards implementing the goals and targets by analysing the successes and failures in relation to the MDGs and designing an inclusive governance architecture that promotes an implementation framework that keeps as the central focus: (i) the crucial importance of inter-linkages and integrated nature of the Sustainable Development Goals; (ii) that no one must be left behind; (iii) that the Goals and Targets are to be met for all segments of society; and (iv) the need to endeavour to reach the furthest behind first, as specified in the 2030 Development Agenda.

Table 1: Achievement of MDGs and its Programmes

MDG Goals, Targets and Indicators	Important Ongoing Programmes
GOAL 1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger	
TARGET 1: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day	
1. Poverty Headcount Ratio (percentage of population below the national poverty line) 2. Poverty Gap ratio 3. Share of poorest quintile in national consumption	· National Rural Employment Scheme (MGNREGA) · Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana - Gramin · Deen Dayal Antayodana Yojana - National Rural Livelihood Mission (DAY- NRLM) · Pradhan Mantry Gram Sadak Yojana · Deendayal Antayodaya Yojana - National Urban Livelihoods Mission · Deen Dayal Antayodana Yojana - National Urban Livelihood Mission (DAY – NULM) · National Food Security Mission
TARGET 2: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from Hunger	

4. Prevalence of underweight children under three years of age.	· Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) · National Health Mission

GOAL 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education

TARGET 3: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling

6. Net Enrolment Ratio in primary education 7. Proportion of pupils starting Grade 1 who reach Grade 5 8. Literacy rate of 15-24 year olds	· Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan · Mid Day Meal Scheme · Early Childhood Care and education under ICDS

GOAL 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women

TARGET 4 :Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015

9. Ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education (Gender Parity Index (GPI of GER) in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary education) 10. Ratio of literate women to men, 15-24 years old. 11. Share of women in wage employment in the non- agricultural sector 12. Proportion of seats held by women in National Parliament.	· Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan · Beti Bachao Beti Padhao · Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidhyalaya Scheme · Incentives to Girls for Secondary Education · Rashtriya Madhyamic Shiksha Abhiyan · Rashtriya Uchhtar Shiksha Abhiyan · Mahila Samakhya Programme · Saakshar Bharat · Kishori Shakti Yojana and Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for · Empowerment of Adolescent Girls – SABLA · Support to Training and Empowerment Programme · Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act

GOAL 4: Reduce Child Mortality	
TARGET 5: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the Under- Five Morality Rate	
13. Under- Five Mortality Rate 14. Infant mortality rate 15. Proportion of 1-year-old children immunized against measles	· National Health Mission · Integrated Child Development Schemes (ICDS) · Rashtriya Bal Swasthya Karyakram
GOAL 5: Improve Maternal Health	
TARGET 6: Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio	
16. Maternal mortality ratio 17. Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel	· National Health Mission · Integrated Child Development Schemes (ICDS) · Indira Gandhi Matritav Sahyog Yojana · Pradhan Mantri Surakshit Matritav Yojana
GOAL 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases	
TARGET 7: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	
18. HIV prevalence among pregnant women aged 15-24 years 19. Percentage of population aged 15-24 years with comprehensive correct knowledge of HIV/AIDS	National AIDS Control Programme
TARGET 8: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases	
21. Prevalence and death rates associated with Malaria 22. Proportion of population in Malaria risk areas using effective Malaria prevention and treatment measures (Percentage of population covered under use of residuary spray in high risk areas) 23. Prevalence and death rates associated with Tuberculosis. 24. Proportion of Tuberculosis cases detected and cured under DOTS	· National Vector Borne Diseases Control Programme · Urban Vector Borne Diseases Scheme · Revised National TB Control Programme

GOAL 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability	
TARGET 9: Integrate the principle of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources.	
25. Proportion of land area covered by forest 26. Ratio of area protected to maintain biological diversity to surface area. 27. Energy use per unit of GDP(Rupee) 28. Carbon Dioxide emission per capita and consumption of Ozone -depleting Chlorofluoro Carbons (ODP tons) 29. Proportion of the Households using solid fuels	· National Afforestation Programme · National Mission for a Green India · National CFC consumption phase out plan
TARGET 10: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation	
30. Proportion of population with sustainable access to an improved water source, urban and rural 31. Proportion of population with access to improved sanitation, urban and rural	· National Rural Drinking Water Programme · Swachh Bharat Abhiyan · Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT)
TARGET 11: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers	
	· Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
GOAL 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development	
TARGET 18: In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications	
32. Telephone lines and cellular subscribers per 100 population 33. Internet subscribers per 100 population 34. Personal computers per 100 population	· National Knowledge Networks · National E Governance Plan · State Wide Area Networks · Digital India Programme
Source: Achieving Millennium Development Goals Target Year Factsheet – India, Government of India, 2017.	

4. Broad Mapping from MDGs to SDGs

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) reached their December 2015 deadline, and the world adopted a new set of transformative and universal Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as part of 'The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'. The Agenda is an inter-governmental agreement that is meant to guide national development efforts over 15 years, from 2016 until 2030. India's achievements on MDGs were good in parts. Significant progress was made in some areas, such as reducing poverty by half, which was met ahead of time. However, India fell short on the target for reducing hunger. India has made progress in providing clean drinking water, but access to sanitation facilities remains inadequate. Control of deadly diseases like HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis have been achieved. India's forest cover increased, but its carbon dioxide emissions and energy intensity remain areas of concern. At the national level, several programmes on poverty reduction, health, education, drinking water, and sanitation were aligned with the MDGs and budgetary allocations increased. However, implementation in the various states has been uneven, with some of the already better-off states doing much better.

Actions that could have further enabled and enhanced the success in meeting the MDGs are: (i) increasing focus on planning and coordinated implementation of the cross-cutting issues, such as poverty, hunger, environment and health; (ii) formulating dedicated national- and state-level strategies and plans particularly for states lagging behind in development; including capacity building of lagging states and their local governance systems; and (iii) providing adequate focus on quantitative aspects of the MDGs. With the arrival of SDGs, a larger development agenda is being globally addressed. In India, where poverty reduction, economic growth and since the 1970s, environmental protection as well, have long been key elements of national development planning, India has several national policies and programmes associated with each goal and target and most are generally well aligned with the SDGs.

Table 2: Broad Mapping from MDGs to SDGs

MDG1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger	SDG 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere
	SDG 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
	SDG 8: Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all
	SDG 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries
MDG 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education	SDG 4: Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning
MDG 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women	SDG 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
MDG 4: Reduce Child Mortality	SDG 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
	SDG 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
MDG 5: Improve Maternal Health	SDG 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
MDG 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and TB	SDG 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
MDG 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability	SDG 6: Ensure access to water and sanitation for all
	SDG 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
	SDG 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialization and foster innovation SDG 11: Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
	SDG 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns, SDG 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
	SDG 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources
	SDG 15: Sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, halt and reverse land degradation, halt biodiversity loss
MDG 8: Develop Global Partnership for Development	SDG 16: Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies
	SDG 17: Revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development

Source: Achieving Millennium Development Goals Target Year Factsheet – India, Government of India, 2017.

5. Goal-wise Performers of SDGs

SDG India index aims to measure India and its state's progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for 2030. NITI Aayog has released the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Index for the year 2019-20 has been constructed spanning across 16 out of 17 SDGs with a qualitative assessment on SDG 17. SDG India Index measures their progress on the outcomes of the interventions and schemes of the Government of India and also this index is intended to provide a holistic view on the social, economic and environmental status of the country and its states and union territories.

Table 3: Sustainable Development Goal wise top state/UTs, 2019-20

Sustainable Development Goals	Goal wise Top State/UTs
Goal 1: End Poverty	Tamil Nadu, Jammu & Kashmir, and Ladakh
Goal 2: Zero Hunger	Goa and Chandigarh
Goal 3: Good Health and Well-being	Kerala and Puducherry
Goal 4: Quality Education	Himachal Pradesh and Chandigarh
Goal 5: Gender Equality	Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, and Ladakh
Goal 6: Clean Water and Sanitation	Andhra Pradesh and Chandigarh
Goal 7: Affordable and Clean energy	Sikkim and Puducherry
Goal 8: Decent Work and Economic growth	Telangana and Chandigarh
Goal 9: Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure	Kerala, Gujarat, Daman and Diu,Delhi and Dadra and Nagar Haveli
Goal 10: Reduced Inequality	Telangana andAndaman and Nicobar Islands
Goal 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities	Himachal Pradesh,Goa and Chandigarh
Goal 12: Sustainable Consumption and Production	Nagaland and Chandigarh
Goal 13: Climate Action	Karnataka and Lakshadweep
Goal 14: Life below Water	Karnataka
Goal 15: Life on Land	Sikkim, Manipur, Dadra and NagarHaveli and Lakshadweep
Goal 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions	Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Pondicherry

Source: SDG India Index & Dashboard 2019-20, NITI Aayog.

Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Telangana have topped the list of states on the sustainable development goals index 2019-20. While Uttar Pradesh, Odisha and Sikkim have shown maximum improvement, states like Gujarat have not shown any improvement vis-a-vis first ranking in 2018. In 2019-20 report, 14 states have fallen in the overall ranking in the index compared to last year. India's composite score improved from 57 in 2018 to 60

in 2019-20 with major success in water and sanitation, power and industry. However, nutrition and gender equality continue to be problem areas for India, requiring more focused approach from the government. Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh are ranked at the bottom of the index.

Table 4: Top 10 SDG Index States in India

Rank	State	Score
2	Himachal Pradesh	69
4	Tamil Nadu	67
6	Karnataka	66
8	Sikkim	65
10	Maharashtra	64

Source: SDG India Index & Dashboard 2019-20, NITI Aayog.

Kerala has the top rank with a score of 70 followed by Himachal Pradesh with 69 points. Further, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Telangana shared the third spot with each state scoring 67 on the Index. Bihar has emerged as the worst performer with the lowest score of 50. Jharkhand, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Uttar Pradesh are also some of the worst-performing states on the index. Uttar Pradesh has shown maximum improvement followed by Odisha and Sikkim. Chandigarh has topped the list with the score of 70 followed by Puducherry with 66.

Table 5: Bottom 5 SDG Index States in India

Rank	State	Score
1	Bihar	50
2	Jharkhand	53
3	Arunachal Pradesh	53
4	Meghalaya	54
5	UP, Assam	55

Source: SDG India Index & Dashboard 2019-20, NITI Aayog.

6. Conclusion

India has taken a lot of initiatives to meet the targets for the MDGs and have achieved progress in this regard. SDGs benefit from the valuable lessons learned from MDGs. India is still engaged in a struggle for freedom from many deprivations: poverty, hunger, illiteracy, ill health, disease, and many others which the MDGs sought to overcome, but many remain unfulfilled. The SDG proposals will ensure momentum generated by MDGs is carried through to 2030 to end deprivations. These also carry forward the unfinished agenda of MDGs for continuity and sustain the momentum generated while addressing the additional challenges of inclusiveness, equity, and urbanization and further strengthening global partnership by including CSOs and private sector. SDGs have one comprehensive goal emphasizing wellbeing and healthy living including NCDs; SDGs will include a vision of building vibrant and systematic partnerships with private sector to achieve sustainable development. The recent initiatives of India are positive signs of India's active momentum and strategic priorities towards an inclusive and sustainable development agenda.

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INDIA AND RUSSIA IN THE INDO-PACIFIC: PERCEPTIONS, INTERESTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Joyce Sabina Lobo

Abstract

The end of Cold War put the relations between India and Russia in a stable yet weak position. The new focus on the Indo-Pacific region is not much explored in the context of the Indo-Russian relations. For the West, particularly the USA, a rising China needs to be contained through its Indo-Pacific strategy wherein cooperation from India, Japan, Australia and some of the ASEAN states is sought. India follows a pragmatic approach guided by idealism that no doubt irks the West. India avoids direct confrontation with its Asian rival-China, while balancing with the interests of the USA, Japan, Australia and some ASEAN member states to "build free and open Indo-Pacific". The Indo-Pacific strategy enables India to diversify its economy to East Asian states through its Look/Act East policy, while enabling it a leadership role in ensuring security in the Indian Ocean Region. For Russia, that had hitherto paid scant interest to its Asian neighbours, the Asia Pacific (its preferred term) tends to be of recent importance. The scant response from the West post-Cold War compounded by economic crises, EU-NATO enlargement, and the events of 2014 led to confrontation with the West resulting in sanctions. These factors have led Russia to rely more on economic ties with Asian economies while tightening its embrace with Beijing. Apart from this forced yet pragmatic move, Russia's objective of developing the Asiatic regions of Siberia and the Far East gets bolstered.

By sourcing inputs from ministry documents related to foreign affairs and secondary analysis, the paper examines individual perceptions, interests and opportunities of both India and Russia within the Indo-Pacific region.

Keywords: *China, India, Indo Pacific, Russia, Russian Far East.*

India's perception of Indo-Pacific

The Cold War period saw tensions including proxy wars between two camps- on one side the USA led-liberal democracy and on the other side the camp of Marxism-Leninism led by the USSR. Both camps vied for achieving the status of super-power by enhancing material and military interests at the international

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level. This not only led to an arms race but also to the creation of military alliances with like minded states along with gathering satellite states leading to the creation of respective spheres of influence. However, the Cold War ended as USSR could not sustain its position both within and outside. With the disintegration of the USSR, Russia succeeded to all the positions, titles and membership in organisations of the former. Russia too made a systemic shift from communism-marxism to liberal democratic policies in both politics and economy leading to the brief triumph of liberal democracy. However, the fault lines that were created by the global undercurrents challenge the international order to which we cannot assign a name. Currently, Most of the focus is laid on two geopolitical areas-regions of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and the Indo-Pacific Region (IPR), hitherto called the Asia-Pacific Region (APR).

India, since the onset of the Cold War period, refrained from joining either the USA or the USSR as part of its Non-Alignment foreign policy. However, the events of 1971 unfolded in the South Asian neighbourhood led India to move closer to the USSR in order to balance the triangular relations between the USA, Pakistan and China. India and the USSR signed Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. As a result, more than 70% of the Soviet military imports added a significant component to the strategic relations between the countries which also continued with new Russia since 1991. However, the new Russia emerged as a nascent liberal democratic country with marked instability in terms of its national politics. Russia tilted to the West and it increased its focus on domestic politics, so it lost its ties temporarily with 'Near Abroad'[1] and with friendly countries like India. India, given its economic challenges coupled with global dynamics unfolding post-Cold War, embarked on systemic change in its economy by reshaping its foreign policy as 'Look East', and subsequently followed by 'Link West' and 'Act East' Policies.

Was this policy, therefore, deliberate? The entire shift to East Asia on part of India took place in 1992. This shift took place in the context of its economic troubles that came in the form of balance of payments and the demands of globalisation. India, during that time had lost its traditional partners who were reduced to a lower status compared to the victors of the Cold War. Especially

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[1]This is in reference to those countries that were part of the erstwhile USSR.

Russia, which succeeded the USSR, moved closer to the West by following 'Atlanticist policy'. This was a short-lived relationship between the enemies of the former Cold War. Russia, later in the late nineties began to diversify its relations in which it started to look at Asian economies. Post-Cold War, India first turned towards Singapore which was largely instrumental in pushing India's focus to the East. This came to be known as the 'Look East Policy' that to be eventually replaced in 2014 by 'Act East Policy'.

Successive Indian governments diversified their relationship with not only the countries towards its east but also to its other neighbours on the west and began to tilt towards Western countries. The focus of the article concerns the relations between India and Russia given the post-Cold War scenario that includes a new focus on the Indo-Pacific Region.

Indo-Pacific is one such mental map (Das 2019) comprising of an area between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. In short, the area is located between the eastern shores of Africa to the western coast of the United States.

The term 'Indo-Pacific' gained currency in 2008. This term was often referred to as Asia-Pacific especially during the Cold War period in which India was excluded as part of the geographical expression. Dr Gurpreet S Khurana, the former executive director of the National Maritime Foundation (NMF, New Delhi), is credited with the first use of the term "Indo-Pacific" in the context of strategic and geopolitical discourse in India. The area stands important for the resources and wealth it possesses apart from the reasons of different stakeholders for control and influence within the region. There are both key players and small players having their own perceptions and interests that conflict, converge or both.

Secondly, it is known for the growing footprint of China across the region while witnessing a relative decline of the U.S. alliance system. Chinese scholars understand the concept of Indo-Pacific as a strategy that the US President Donald Trump has built over his predecessor Barack Obama's 'rebalance'. This has reinforced the attention of the world on the Indo-Pacific region suggesting that a 'Great Game' will be played out in the post-Cold War in this region and not in the Eurasian region.

The Indo-Pacific Region contributes two-thirds of global growth in gross domestic product (GDP) and accounts for 60% of global GDP while having half of the world population. It is strategically critical as 60% of global maritime trade transits through the region wherein the South China Sea alone sustains one-third of the global shipping with two-thirds of world oil shipments. According to the US Energy Information Administration (EIA), the South China Sea within the Indo-Pacific regions holds an estimated 11 billion barrels of untapped oil, and 190 trillion cubic feet natural gas (EIA, 2013). Therefore, its importance to the global maritime economy conjures different perceptions and strategies.

Different state actors have named this geographical expanse differently in terms of their national interests and also the kind of international order they perceive in the context of the Indo-Pacific Region. The choice of words suggests the angle of interest that the stakeholders have in the Indo-Pacific. Indonesia has pledged to strengthen the Indo-Pacific maritime activity through its 'Global Maritime Fulcrum' policy. Japan calls its policy as 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific' (FOIP) while Australia aims to shape an 'open' and 'stable' Indo-Pacific. USA calls for a "free and open Indo-Pacific" wherein it accepts India plus the Asia Pacific. The USA's shift from the Atlantic area to Asia through its 'Rebalance to Asia' strategy or 'Pivot to Asia' strategy led to the great rivalry (USA-China) playing in the new frontier. The USA President Donald Trump's policy of 'free and open Indo-Pacific' is however different from the one that is proposed by India. India calls it as 'free, open, inclusive Indo-Pacific' suggesting that this policy is not to be read as countering or balancing any power in the region or taking sides of either USA or China.

The term Indo-Pacific, however, has been in the minds of Indian policy makers much before nations like Australia, Japan or the USA, wherein the President of the USA Donald Trump, during his Asia trip in 2017, used the term "Indo-Pacific" several times instead of the more familiar "Asia" or "Asia-Pacific." In 2004, the Indian Maritime Doctrine made an indirect reference to this concept by referring to "the shift in global maritime focus from the Atlantic-Pacific combine to the Pacific-Indian". Here the focus of the region is largely maritime. The Indian Navy's 2015 maritime strategy, titled "Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy" updated its 2007 strategy "Freedom to Use the Seas: India's Maritime Military Strategy". The 2015 strategy gives the Indian navy to ensure

Indo-Pacific's navigational safety. The "main interests" zone includes the entire Indian Ocean and Red Sea Basin while the "secondary interests" zone spans from West Coast of Africa and the Mediterranean Sea to Australia and Antarctica (Indian Maritime Doctrine, 2015). The Indian Navy has engaged with countries, such as, Vietnam, Singapore and Japan as part of this. The key direction of India in this region is through its 'Act East Policy'. India has not tailored its policy purely to counter China, unlike the USA, given the increased emphasis on economic, connectivity and cultural components rather than military alone. For New Delhi it means "inclusive, open, integrated and balanced space". As part of its 'inclusive' policy, India has built dialogue with China, Russia, USA etc. Indian foreign policy makers within the government circles have time and again clarified that the concept of 'Indo-Pacific' means open, inclusive and regional balance connected by secure seas, integrated by trade and investment, underpinned by the rule of law and anchored in ASEAN unity and centrality.

To bolster India's strategies in the Indo-Pacific, India adopted the SAGAR concept in 2015 right after the Prime Minister Narendra Modi renamed 'Look East' as 'Act East Policy'. SAGAR (Security And Growth for All in the Region) gives further impetus to 'Act East Policy' and the naval strategies in the Indian Ocean region. The Indian Ocean has over forty littoral states bearing over 40% of the world's population. It is through the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) about two-thirds of the world's oil shipments; one-third of the world's bulk cargo; and half of the world's container traffic transit. Also 90% of India's trade by volume and 90% of its energy imports transit through these waters (Padmaja, 2018). India's vision through SAGAR is to safeguard its mainland and islands and defend its interests while working to ensure a safe, secure and stable Indian Ocean Region. In the meanwhile externally, India sought to deepen economic and security cooperation with its maritime neighbours and assist in building their maritime security capabilities.

For India this region should be an inclusive, open, integrated and balanced space that follows cooperative and collaborative rules-based order. This stand resonates with what is advocated by the USA, Japan or Australia. In his opening remarks at the joint press meet with the visiting US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo in New Delhi on June 26, 2019 the External Affairs Minister of India S Jaishankar clearly stated that "On the Indo-Pacific, the point - the big point - I made was that the

Indo-Pacific is for something, not against somebody. And that something is peace, security, stability, prosperity and rules" (The Economic Times, 2019). This unequivocally suggests that formation of a strategic alliance or even a loose alliance that overtly checks the Chinese military expansion and growing assertiveness in the South China Sea is not favoured by India; at least not in the near future.

Though India participated in the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, or Quad in 2007-18, it has not shown great enthusiasm to justify the cause for which it was created. The members aimed at opposing China's continued militarization and attempts to control strategic waterways throughout the region, namely the South China Sea. Though Australia had initial hesitations, India has not been vociferous in terms of checking Chinese control. This nature of India not to annoy China but maintain peace and stability irks the major powers. Foreign policy of India here is caught between idealism and pragmatism. Idealism in not countering China, and pragmatism in terms of being a net security provider in the Indian Ocean without Chinese interference. This suggests contradictions in the approach of India despite accusing the Chinese through the 'string of pearls' geopolitical theory.

Inspite of India's idealism resting on certain aspects of non-alignment principles, one cannot miss the point that India has maintained pragmatism in terms of ensuring that the Quad lives through mechanisms like the trilateral arrangements namely the Malabar joint naval exercises among India, the United States, and Japan; India-Australia-U.S. trilateral security mechanism of December 2017; bilateral naval drills with Australia, AUSINDEX and its participation in Pitch Black 2018, the multi-nation air-defence exercise held in Darwin; '2+2' defence and foreign ministerial dialogues and trilateral security meetings with Japan and the US.

Apart from fine balancing of interests, India has an akin goal like that of Russia (developing Siberia and the Russian Far East) through 'Look East' or 'Act East Policy' suggesting the need to develop the north east region of India. Building infrastructure and connectivity that runs through Myanmar, Thailand and other South-east nations will aid in the prosperity of the north east in the long run.

RUSSIA'S PERCEPTION OF INDO-PACIFIC

The collapse of the USSR, saw Russia's move towards the West through its 'Atlanticist policy' albeit for a brief period of time (Daalder, 2003). This tilt saw Russia embracing ideas of Western capitalist system namely democracy, market economy, self-determination, and economic integration. However, the political direction including the control of the economic model suggested the rise of managed democracy within new Russia which also guides and directs its foreign policy.

Russia's foreign policy is largely guided by the President's office since the 1993 constitution and this has become more centralised since Vladimir Putin took over as the President in March 2000. This also has led the external influencers on the government machinery such as research organisations or think tanks to bring in policies that speak the language of the administration or "try to nudge existing strategies and dominant narratives among the elites into directions considered helpful given their professional viewpoint" (Barbashin and Graef, 2019).

For Russia, the Indo pacific concept corresponds to 'Greater East Asia' that comprises of North East Asia, South East Asia, Central and South Asia. This has been supported by the experts from the MGIMO University of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This region is looked from the perspective of economic, cultural and civilizational ties (Lunev and Shavlay, 2018). Russia's participation with ASEAN, ASEAN Plus arrangements, EAS aimed at economic complementarities, reduction of tariffs, lifting import restrictions, creation of free trade zone in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

East Asia was not a priority for the erstwhile USSR or new Russia's foreign policy. The Asia Pacific concept which had been put forward by the Premier of USSR Joseph Stalin in a way indicated Russia's "Pivot to Asia" (Lunev and Shavlay, 2018). During Stalin's rule, the Asia Pacific region included forced labour camps which became source of economic development in the Siberian and Far East. Later some of the cities became important military facilities. The Chairman of USSR Leonid Brezhnev came with the understanding that relations with Asian economies particularly with China needed to be revived. The President of USSR Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech at Vladivostok in 1986 spoke on the need for

building a security system in the Asia Pacific region. However, it merely remained in speech with no much action. However, it was Yevgeny Primakov the then minister of Foreign Affairs in 1996 and the Prime Minister in 1998, who brought changes to Russian foreign policy towards Asia. This led to the announcement of the Russia-India-China (RIC) alliance during his visit in December 1998.

President Vladimir Putin's ascendance to power since 2000 saw Russia's attention shift towards the Asian side since 2000. Russia forged relations with China, Japan, the Koreas and the ASEAN. Foreign policy was then termed, "multi-vectored". This saw Russia joining the ASEAN dialogue in 1996 as a participant, member of APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) in 1997 and EAS (East Asia Summit) in 2010; brought Russia into the Korean Six-Party talks; and engaged actively in the ASEAN-plus dialogue and the East Asia Summit (EAS).

Even before the events of 2014, Russia had turned its attention to the Eastern and Western regions, though initially more to the latter. Its state symbol suggests the old coat of arms with a two-headed eagle with one facing east and the other to the west. West (that largely includes Europe) is the region with which most Russians connect their identities with. It also offers Russia with modernisation of technologies and investment. Its gaze to the East is primarily to develop the Siberian and Far Eastern territories. Secondly this is done more so keeping in mind the shift in political and economic climate of the world today which Russia cannot ignore.

Though the Quad does not include Russia, India continues to include Moscow through its principle of 'inclusiveness' within its Indo-Pacific strategy. Russia is definitely a late party that India has partnered with, in terms of engaging wwithin the Indo-Pacific Region despite the former being a traditional partner of the latter. Russia is a traditional partner of India. India and Russia have held one round of dialogue on the Indo-Pacific which led to the September 2019 meeting between Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Russian counterpart President Vladimir Putin. The choice of place i.e., Vladivostok and PM Modi being invited to the Eastern Economic Forum suggested that both nations intend to focus their partnerships and possibilities of engagement in the Indo-Pacific region. This has resulted in the first step wherein both sides have signed a Memorandum of Intent to develop maritime communications between the Chennai

and Vladivostok ports. The Eastern Economic Forum is a key element in Russia's Asia-Pacific strategy. Russia has started to refocus its attention on its Far East regions for the sake of bringing domestic economic development, to balance between the eastern and the western regions, and to counter nations like the USA in adverse times by embracing states like China.

Dialogues with China and Russia on the Indo-Pacific are part of confidence-building measures among India-Japan-US trilateral and also the Quadrilateral that includes Australia. The third edition of Russia-India-China (RIC) Summit in Osaka in June 2019 included the Indo-Pacific on the agenda. The coming together of the RIC group suggests that the three nations have their grouse against USA for different reasons. For India, the recent actions under the Trump administration in withdrawing India's Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) and imposed tariffs on goods are the strongest reasons to revive RIC. The trade and tariff war has renewed their convergence for the defence of respective national interests and the creation of multilateral world order.

But when one speaks about the anti-West attitude of Russia, one needs to bear in mind, first, that antagonism is towards USA than towards the European powers. Russian elite is largely 'pro-European' (Lunev and Shavlay, 2018) and given the geographical proximity, the former cannot discount the significance of the latter.

Apart from the need to focus on its Far Eastern regions, the events of 2014 have further alienated Russia from the West and brought it closer to China. The former enemies during the Cold War are forced to be partners. The claim of Russian President Vladimir Putin in 2014, "Russian-Chinese relations have reached an unprecedentedly high level of comprehensive partnership and strategic interaction" (Kremlin, 2014) a congratulatory message to President Xi Jinping on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China suggested that the reactions of the West has led to the current state of affairs. The West led sanctions on Russia after its annexation of Crimea led to the undoing of the rapprochement between the West and Russia. This led to Russia and China forging strong relations at the international level despite the fact that Beijing reverse engineered Moscow's military hardware.

INDO-RUSSIAN CONVERGENCES AND CHALLENGES IN INDO PACIFIC

India and Russia have different perceptions towards the Indo-Pacific region while they converge on few aspects viz., developing their eastern regions within respective territories. Both India and Russia face challenges that help them to build opportunities while certain challenges draw them away from each other.

India and Russia share same perceptions when it comes to the world order, on positions related to global problems (both economic and political), terrorism and regional problems. On this front, both the nations are part of like minded groups in the emerging market economies i.e., the BRICS to counter many of the ills of the international order. Russia is keen on the creation of a global multipolar order which finds resonance with Asian powers like China and a democratic nation like India. India and Russia have never been part of the world economic system as laid down by the developed countries of the West; they are on the periphery that has largely faced imposition.

Russia is still caught in its former Soviet mindset of 'greatness' and therefore desires to capture the influence of its former Soviet space or restoration of its geographical boundaries. Given the nature of its economic model and the fact that New Russia's existence amounts to hardly three decades, it cannot equal Chinese influence in the near future. Clearly, the post-Soviet Russia has neither gained external strength nor developed internally to create either European or Eurasian identity.

Despite the revival of connections with the Asian Pacific economies, Russia has a set of its own internal problems. Russian territory lies two thirds in Asia while majority of population live in the one third of the European part. Russians generally identify themselves as more 'European' than Asian. Its elite particularly the business elite have ties with Western societies in the form of investments and property. Any move to the Asia Pacific meets with scepticism.

On the other hand, India has had several strategic partnerships with countries like USA, Russia, China, Australia, Canada and with some South Asian and South East Asian nations. This 'Strategic Partnership' syndrome does not signify a true partnership based on some set principles but rather assigned for sake of convenience. The declaration of the 'Strategic Partnership' intensifies a particular

moment to be forgotten after sometime, thus resuming strategic partnership as normal bilateral relations. India or Russia have not created such kind of cooperative partnerships especially on the Indo-Pacific region. And therefore one cannot see this from a geopolitical perspective.

Both India and Russia cannot compete with China in the Indo-Pacific region given India's limited resources and Russia being a major raw material producer to China. Moreover Indian navy is yet to become a potential force. Strong naval capabilities, multilateral diplomacy, economic integration with nations are necessary for India to meet the challenges within the Indo-Pacific Region. The nuclear arms race in the Korean Peninsula becomes much of a worry for Russia in this region, where India's relations and influence are limited.

Inspite of both countries being traditional partners, trade relations have not reached the required potential. This is due to the reasons of logistics which is time consuming and expensive, export credit, compatibility on trade procedures etc. Second both nations have not been dynamic in ensuring the establishment of the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC) for better connectivity that can cut down distance while saving time and expense.

Events post 2014 has put Russia and China in a tight embrace. Both nations have become subjects of West's condemnation related to human rights. USA's support to Philippines and Vietnam in terms of territorial dispute with China in South China Sea, USA's support to Japan in East China Sea, USA's support to Ukraine against Russia have led both China and Russia to embrace each other.

This partnership has been analysed by experts most prominently Bobo Lo whose celebrated work captures the coming together of two former enemies as a partnership of convenience. This alliance will be short-lived if one of the sides will change moves by coming closer to the USA. China's global ambitions and Russian pride cannot meet the twain. Lo claims in his book that any "practical cooperation" between the two is constrained by "historical suspicions, cultural prejudices, geopolitical rivalry, and competing priorities." (Lo, 2008) Therefore he points that much of the cooperation is not in building new structures or ways for cooperation but to counter the hegemonic power of the USA. This is pointed by experts who feel that the actual strategic component for the Indo-Pacific region

is missing between the two states. However, relations between both nations may remain cordial given the fact that they are neighbours too. The relations between Russia and China on the Indo-Pacific suggests that they refuse to acknowledge the Western presence particularly that of the USA in the region. They prefer the use of the term 'Asia Pacific' instead of the 'Indo-Pacific'.

The current scenario wherein the USA condemned the human rights abuses in Hong Kong, and the on-going sanctions against Russia lead the latter and China to partner together. Till the USA is antagonistic to Russia and China, the latter two would converge on policies at the global level be it blocking the UN actions on Iran's nuclear programme, cooperation in Central Asian region, countering missile defense, North Korea, on Syria etc. March 2014 events led to the second isolation of Russia from the West. So far, the pre-2014 events and post 2014 events have appeared to be "virtual bipolarity in the absence of the bipolar background" as Vladimir Lukin (2016) describes.

Moreover, Russia has its own fears with China. When the West had placed sanctions on Russia, Chinese banks have joined the West sanctions in non-issuance of loans. China has been accused of reverse engineering and yet Russia kept silence over this. Moreover, it has its tensions in the alteration of its demography in the Russian Far East (RFE). Russia fears Chinese irredentism in the Russian Far East where the Chinese enjoy right to live, work, and acquire property. These tensions over illegal migration are widening the demographic imbalance between the Russian Far East and China's north-eastern provinces. Russia faces crisis in terms of having a thin population particularly in the Russian Far East region that stands contrary to China's crisis of having surplus population. There is growing Chinese economic influence in eastern Russia. Local Russian scholars estimate that about 70,000 Chinese live in the RFE with dominance over wholesale markets (Su 2019).

Russia's Siberia and the Far East account for 10% of the world's explored oil, about 25% natural gas, 12% of coal, 9% of gold, 7% of platinum, 9% of lead, 5% of iron ore, up to 14% of molybdenum, and up to 21% of nickel. Siberia and the Far East possess about 16% of the world's fresh water (excluding groundwater) and roughly 21% of the world's forests. Siberia and the Far East contain 22% of Russia's arable land. Finally, the marine bio- resources of the Far East are among

the richest in the world (Huang and Korolev, 2017). There is a need for Russia to change its economic model from being an exporter of primary commodities to producing consumer goods to attract foreign industries to these territories

Russia has been however pragmatic in not completely relying on China. It follows a multi-vector policy when it comes to China and USA while diversifying relations with other economies. Japan and Russia held in 2013 for the first time 2+2 strategic dialogue framework that included foreign ministers and defense ministers. Within ASEAN, Russia also has a comprehensive partnership with Vietnam since 2012- trade, joint ventures related to oil and gas, nuclear projects which include the construction of the first atomic power plant, and a free trade zone to reckon with. Russia relies on Korea for sake of modernisation. South Korea and Russia have a robust bilateral trade and relations concerning space cooperation and atomic energy. Russia seeks technological and industrial cooperation from South Korea which helps it to balance instead of relying on European partners. Winning over Russia will help South Korea get essential support viv-a-vis an unpredictable North Korea.

Today Russia is attempting to create its own order in the Asia-Pacific. On October 18, 2011 eight countries (Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Tajikistan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan) from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) signed and then in the following years ratified a Free Trade Agreement (FTA), which provides the free movement of goods within the territory of the member states. Uzbekistan joined in 2013 while Ukraine pulled out of the agreement. On January 1, 2015 the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) was launched, which incorporated the regulations previously set forth in the Russia-Kazakhstan-Belarus Customs Union (CU) formed in 2010, expanded the tariff provisions to cover services, and established unified standards and labeling requirements. This saw the joining of Armenia and Kyrgyzstan.

Vietnam signed the free trade zone agreement with the EEU in 2015, becoming the first non-regional country to join the bloc. In October 2016, a Free Trade Agreement between the EAEU and Vietnam came into force. In December 2016, EAEU members agreed to start FTA negotiations with Iran, India, Egypt and Singapore.   EEU was formed to ensure the free movement of goods, services, capital and workforce among member countries.

The entire concept of cooperating with China means countering the USA hegemony while China has no clear intentions with Russia. It accepts Russians to counter USA, but Moscow is more of a security partner when it comes to import of energy and commodities. It also plays an important role in ensuring peace and stability in Central Asia which is riddled with drug trafficking and organised crime. However while Russia considers the five Central Asian countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmensitan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikstan as its spheres of influence for being the former republics under the erstwhile USSR, China assumes it is their for the taking.

Russia and China hence do share asymmetrical relations and this is more pronounced in the economic sphere. Russia is a raw material producer and cannot match the Chinese might in the high technology sphere.

In terms of India's position, Russians are not comfortable with the Indian elite present in the USA who lobby for stronger relations between New Delhi and Washington DC. Indian origin elite today are present in Canada and Europe wherein they have taken important positions in various governments. The Indian lobby favours tilt to the USA. The buying of arms, energy, etc from USA has led Russia to move closer to Pakistan. These changes also brought in a kind of suspicion in countries like Pakistan, China and Russia on the true intentions of India. Russian experts accuse India of being caught in Cold War mindset in the present scenario. China and Pakistan share a close partnership today. The Indo-Russian activities in the Indo-Pacific region "will be limited, primarily due to their different approaches toward relations with China" (Lunev and Shavlay, 2018). This is given the West hostility to both Russia and China. Here Russia does not take adverse position on South China Sea.

The Maritime Doctrine of the Russian Federation 2015 (Davis 2015) recognises its need to maintain and consolidate its positions in the Indo-Pacific region, peace, stability, goodwill and maritime security. Here, Russia recognises China as its main partner in the Pacific much to the ire of Indian policy makers.

However, what is notable is that Russia's Eurasian Economic Union forms a key element to its Asia Pacific policy. It finds contradiction in China's pipeline extensions to Iran, Turkey and Europe while it is okay with energy connections

with Central Asia. In this regard India and Russia's dialogue and events of September 2019 in Vladivostok open opportunities to enhance engagement in the Indo-Pacific Region.

While India does not challenge China in the South China Sea, the parameters are not the same in Indian Ocean region which it considers as its backyard. China's presence in Pakistan and especially in the Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Maldives, or Myanmar has been a source of tension. In 2017, India had attempted to sign agreements with Oman (Duqm), Seychelles (Assumption Island), Iran (Chabahar) and Indonesia (Sabang). Given India's policies towards other nations is guided by democratic principles, it has unlike China shunned aggressive measures to secures bases or port access or joint developments. It is understood that India will not be able to maintain peace and stability with an aggressive China without countering it along with other powers. It has to rely on nations and groupings like Quad members to enhance and reinforce its operations (Grossman, 2018). So, any trilateral or quadrilateral exercise of armed forces raise Russian-Chinese suspicion. However, India counters this through other trilaterals that involves Russia-India-China (RIC) where discussion focuses also on the Indo-Pacific. Through this format, India assuages the growing suspicions of Russia and China.

For India, cooperating with two nations in the Indo-Pacific as a part of the Russia-India-China will be its greatest challenge. Russia with its managed democracy wherein President Vladimir Putin dominates the political institutions and a China with its monolithic state structure dominated by the Communist Party and a President elected for a life time suggests that India is dealing with two de facto monarchs.

CONCLUSION

Despite the divergences and India-Russia partnership in the Indo-Pacific being in the fledgling stage, both sides can work on the following opportunities.

First, India has entered into bilateral and trilateral infrastructure development partnerships with the US and Japan in the form of the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor and the trilateral working group on infrastructure. India and Russia can attempt to work on such corridors especially in the Central Asian region.

Second, develop the existing and future energy ventures through joint collaborations.

Third, through military technical cooperation, India can enhance naval capabilities, provided, Russia addresses delays that occur in terms of deliverance.

Fourth, continuing to be responsible in multilateral institutions and regional forums.

Fifth, continuing to engage China in trilateral and in other trilateral partnership for the sake of combating terrorism, climate change, etc. while respecting a rule-based order.

Sixth, collaborating in high technology ventures and diversifying the economic relations.

Seventh, working on the connectivity projects particularly the International North-South Transportation Corridor (INSTC).

Eighth, enhance collaboration in underdeveloped regions of India's north-east and Russia's Far East.

Given the fact that Russia and China have their tensions with each other whose roots lie in history, culture and presently in their different political institutions, this bonhomie does find no strength through common ideology. As pointed earlier for the sake of convenience, the current embrace between Russia and China may continue for some time. But India has been practical in terms of engaging both nations. Further Russian move to the Asian pivot arises out of its need to move from hostile West post-2014 sanctions, while Indian move strongly emanates from seeking security for all the nations within the Indian Ocean region.

India wants to emerge as a leader while pursuing its national interests in the context of Indian Ocean region wherein it has proclaimed itself as 'net security provider". In pursuance of this it does not want to disturb relationship with other stakeholders like Japan, Australia, Russia, South Korea, or China. India seeks to avoid confrontations with those having competing interests in the region. This should not be read as India's weakness. The mere fact that India calls for an "inclusive", "open", "peace, stability and prosperity" means that it intends to

strike a fine balance between confrontation and cooperation. The logic lies in degree and not in kind. India seeks to achieve that balance by being an idealistic, yet pragmatic give the fact that it has to focus on its internal development too.

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PSYCHO-DISCURSIVE EXPLORATION OF SUBJECTIVITY IN LANDAYS: THEORIES OF SUBJECT, OBJECT AND THE ABJECT

Fathima Basheer Vadakkan

Abstract

Landay is a form of poetry composed by Afghani women in their native language Pushto. It shares some similarities with Haiku poems. Landays are composed of twenty-two syllables: nine and thirteen syllables in the first and second lines respectively. Most of them end with the sound 'ma' or 'na', some rhyming. Afghani women compose, share, and recite these lines behind closed doors. They protected their work from outside influence and gave their poetry the power of echoing, through which an entire population can be heard. Each landay has a story to tell. This research paper attempts to analyze the female subjectivity in landays using theories of psychoanalysis: Freud's concept of the "Uncanny", Lacanian notion of subjectivity and Julia Kristeva's of abjection theory. By analyzing the landays in this manner, the plights and struggles of Afghan woman and their search for self and identity become clear.

Keywords: *subjectivity, marginality, oppression, separation, psychoanalysis, identity*

INTRODUCTION

Without any paragons and models to imitate, without any poetic authorities to appreciate or acknowledge, the Pashtun women of Afghanistan compose and circulate poetry in oral tradition called Landay. These poems consisting of just 2 lines, have managed to develop a forms with very specific rules of versification. As they are inseparable from songs, they demand to be recited, with its rhyme and rhythm giving it a melodic value. This poetic form is now being translated into French, English and various other languages. Eliza Griswold, a Guggenheim author living in New York, recently teamed up with the photographer Seamus Murphy and travelled to Afghanistan to collect landays. The collection took the form of a book, *I am the Beggar of the World*. Griswold worked with native Pushto speakers to translate the landays into English. She provides us with glimpses into the lives of Afghani women and the hardships that they face.

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In my dream, I am the president.
When I awake, I am the beggar of the world. (63)

It is the marginalization that sets fire to a number of issues concerning the relationship between these women and their subjectivity. Subjectivity emphasizes an individual's existence as not having a passive relationship to the world and the sense of impression it causes. However, the great originality of this popular poetry is the active presence of women. Here she imposes herself the creator, as the author and as the subject of innumerable conflicts.

The "Uncanny" in landays is one aspect of being, where someone can feel assured, in the world that is experienced. It cannot be denied that a physical world stands independent and real around us. But, in some instances we could be mistaken, where all that one may recognize as real are created in the mind from the data that the sensory organs feed in. The subject of the "Uncanny" is of this kind. Sigmund Freud's concept of the uncanny emerges from the lingual origins of the German word *Unheimlich*. Heimlich means "homely" and "familiar" in the ense of comfort, intimacy and a sense of security that one feels within the four walls of the house. But Unheimlich is translated as "uncanny", something that is concealed, kept from sight, so that others do not get to know about it.

Everyone's homeland is Kabul
To me, the deserts and mountains of the homeland is my Kabul (3)

It is not exactly the opposite of homely, but rather a word that describes a sense of estrangement within the home, the presence of something threatening, tempting and unknown that lies within the bounds of the intimate. Afghan women, being constantly in touch with death, view the ultimate moment of death in a specific way.

If my lover dies, let me be his shroud!
Then together we shall wed the dust. (54)

The uncanny is this psychological experience of something as strangely familiar, rather than simply mysterious. They speak of death as something so common, yet strange enough. They are very much prone to war and loss, that they begin to phantasize wedding after death. What Freud distinguishes as uncanny are those

that fall within the boundaries of what is "fearful". These short and passionate lines describe incidents where an everyday object or event is encountered in an unsettling and eerie context. Like the uncanny, landays too undoubtedly belong to all that is terrible, dreadful and horrific.

> Wormwood grows on the one-eyed mullah's grave.
> The talib boys fight blindly on, believing he's alive. (135)

These poets are equally certain, that the word is not always used in a clearly definable sense, so that it tends to coincide with whatever excites dread. According to Freud, "uncanny" is that class of the terrifying which leads back to something long known to us, once very familiar. How this is possible, in what circumstances the familiar can become uncanny and frightening." (Freud: 2) Such circumstances arise, for these women, as early as childhood, where most of these women are bartered into marriage, either to pay off their families debt or to resolve a dispute. Sometimes it is the widespread poverty that forces most parents to get their daughters married to older, wealthier husbands.

> Listen, friends, and share my despair.
> My cruel father is selling me to an old goat. (91)

In the building-up of the feeling of uncanniness, Freud ascribes the essential factor to be "intellectual uncertainty", so that the uncanny would always be that in which one is confused and does not know where one is. A question of self and identity, where the being finds it difficult to relate to the people and objects around it. These Pashtun women are not, allowed to orient themselves to their environment, they are tied up within a small cage, as birds whose wings are cut short and never given a chance to grow. Freud argues that the word heimliche is not unambiguous, "but belongs to two sets of ideas, which without being contradictory are yet very different: on the one hand, it means that which is familiar and congenial, and on the other, that which is concealed and kept out of sight." (Freud: 4) The Afghan women are not familiar with the feelings of self or concepts like comforts of home. They are concealed and kept out of sight of these women. It can be stressed that everything is uncanny that ought to have remained hidden and secret.

> The drones have come to the Afghan sky.
> The mouths of our rockets will sound in reply. (125)

Heimlich also has the meaning of that which is obscure, inaccessible to knowledge. The above example shows this obscurity where the drones have made their way into Landays. It is the omnipresence of the drones in the Afghan skies that make the familiar feel strange. Griswold brings out the translated landays, in a way, to let the world know of the mental state of these women and to understand the uncanniness that surrounds them. Similarly the landays are sung, not for anyone in particular but to imaginary beings. Nor do these landays belong to anyone. As Griswold sees it, "Landays survive because they belong to no one." (6) These themes are all concerned with the idea of a "double" in every shape and degree. In other words, by doubling, dividing and interchanging the self, one would identify oneself with another person or being. And there is a constant recurrence of similar situations, faces, or character-traits, or twists of fortune, or crimes, or even same names throughout consecutive generations. A common recurrence in landays is the calling for death to America. Anti-American landays are not solely of Taliban provenance, but of all those affected in the wars and bombings.

> My Nabi was shot down by a drone.
> May God destroy your sons, America, you murdered my own. (125)

The above landay, Griswold mentions in her book, was one that a woman named Chadana sang. She is the mother of a Taliban fighter named Nabi, who was killed by a U.S. drone strike in Zormat. According to Freud, there are also all those unfulfilled but possible futures to which we still like to cling in fantasy, all those strivings of the ego which adverse external circumstances have crushed, and all our suppressed acts of volition which nourish in us the illusion of Free Will. As per the Afghan culture, singing or poetry implies dishonor. Poetry, especially love poetry, is forbidden to many of Afghanistan's women. From what is assumed through observation, there is an uncanny feeling which is wide awake, which recalls that a sense of helplessness sometimes experienced in dreams. Their reality is more like a dream to others, one which none would want to sleep through. It is a state of confusion that they view everything around them. Sayd Bahodine mentions in her book,

In the Pashtun community, with its tribal and clannish structure, women's condition is especially difficult. In a group of warriors of which only the adult men who belongs to the tribe and sub-clans are fully fledged members, the society is entirely run by male values with the code of honor as its fundamental law. In such an environment, masculinized to the extreme, pious and fanatic in its own way, women are subjugated to a double physical and moral oppression. (XIII)

One of the most uncanny and wide-spread forms of superstition, according to Freud, is the dread of the evil eye. He speaks of the fear involved in the secret intention of harming someone, and certain signs are taken to mean that such an intention is capable of becoming an act. Most landay's express animosity over the USA, for its oppressive foreign policy against Afghanistan. They describe the code of honour among Pashtuns, to take revenge or to defend their homeland.

May God destroy the White House and kill the man Who sent U.S. cruise missiles to burn my homeland. (121) Two things that Freud accounts for the unprogressive and static state of a person are the following:

1. The strength of their actual emotional reaction to the state, and

2. The insufficiency of their scientific knowledge about the state.

Eliza Griswold portrays this picture of the Afghan women where they are thrown into reality even before they can distinguish between reality and imagination. In Kabul, it is common for young girls to be hospitalized shortly after marriage in a state of shock from serious physical injuries and psychological trauma. Young wives also have low status in the family and are more likely to be abused by their husbands and in-laws. Schools for girls were constantly being burned down. Another form of uncanny that prevails is how the religions continue to dispute the undeniable fact of the death of every being and to postulate a life after death. It is no matter of surprise that the fear of death is so strong within people and comes to the surface if given an opportunity. These women speak of death as something they have gotten familiar with. The sight of their dear and loved ones lying severely injured, sure to die, is a frequent one.

The talib's body lies under the dirt.
His orphans grieve at the head of his grave. (135)

The uncanny is nothing else than a hidden, familiar thing that has undergone repression and then is emerged from it. Not everything that fulfils this condition— not everything that is connected with repressed desires and archaic forms of thought is therefore uncanny. According to Freud, it is evident that one must be prepared to admit that there are other elements besides those set down in determining the production of uncanny feelings. The Afghan society pressurizes women into a life full of norms and traditions that she has to live by. Speaking up against this repression is rarely an option. Fearing the sanctions, most of the women try not to get their lives in danger and just get along with the societal pressure. The repression they experience is internalised by traumatic experiences that they encounter. This may suggest, as Freud points out, "a possible differentiation between the uncanny that is actually experienced, and the uncanny as we merely picture it or read about it. Something uncanny in real experience is conditioned much more simply, but is limited to much fewer occasions." (Freud: 16)

Oh Earth! The dues that you exact weigh far too much,
You gobble up our youth and leave the beds deserted. (Bahodine, 56)

Considering the uncanny in connection with the omnipotence of thoughts, instantaneous wish-fulfillments, secret power to do harm and the return of the death. The condition under which the feeling of uncanniness arises within the landays is quite evident in itself. Considering the elements of silence, solitude and darkness, they are prone to, one can only say that they are actual elements in the production of infantile, abnormal and unhealthy anxiety from which the majority of Afghan women have never become quite free. Landays under Lacanian Subjectivity Identity is the medium through which culture can be understood and the assumed identity further helps in recognising the world. The identity man develops from birth with the support of his surrounding is what roots him to his identity. It can be observed that culture too plays a key role in the formation of self. As Simon de Beauvoir writes in The Second Sex (1949), "One is not born, but rather becomes a woman". Precisely, subjectivity is a state of one's being, which enables them to identify themselves as subjects or

persons, whereby, subjectivity and identity could be considered as culturally constructed notions. One could easily reckon the landays to portray the loss of identity of Afghan women. Eliza Griswold describes these landays as expressing a "collective fury, a lament, an earthy joke, a love of home, a longing for an end to separation, a call to arms, all of which frustrate any facile image of a Pashtun woman as nothing but a mute ghost beneath a blue burqa." (4) The painful history of forced separation from all near and dear, whose memory is imprinted on the minds and hearts of these women, not only take away their belongings but their own self. In most Western discourses, this essentialized identity is synthesized in the image of a woman dressed in the head-to-toe garment called the burqa who may not leave her home unaccompanied – has become a synonym for Afghan womanhood. It creates a situation where the concepts of self and identify gets caught up in the politics of recognition, forcing them to remain as Other in order to belong.

> You wound a thick turban around your bald head To hide your age.
> Why, you're nearly dead! (75)

Though silenced outward, they question and mock at everything in their minds. They were not born mute, nor were they born without any desires. It is culture and the stereotypical norms of patriarchy that present these women as mysterious, hidden and veiled. Most of the landays recognise the state of these women as permanently wounded, permanent refugees and as permanent victims of horror. A research by Global Rights estimates that almost nine of ten Afghan women face physical, sexual or psychological violence, or are forced into marriage.

> You sold me to an old man, father.
> May God destroy your home; I was your daughter. (75)

In the majority of cases the abuse is committed by the people they love and trust the most - their families. These women battle with their growing autonomous self through landays. They lack an identity of their own and have been cut-off from dreaming or aspiring for themselves. Griswold declares that in every village and family "one woman is more skilled than others at singing landays, yet men have no idea who she is." (5) She continues, "Much of an Afghan woman's life involves a cloak-and-dagger dance around honour - a gap between who she

seems to be and who she is."(5) She struggles to get control of herself. She remains as nothing but a mysterious being to anyone who tries to know her.

> My body belongs to me;
> To others its mastery. (87)

Forms of identity are often internalized by the individual who takes them on. But in the case of Afghan women, they do not have the rights to create their existence within them. It is moulded and structured by double marginalisation. Subjectivity means nothing other than that each and every one has the chance to tell their story. Lacan has a concise way of expressing this – referring to human beings as ' parles-etre' , literally, 'speaking-beings'. Landays are the voice of Afghan woman that bring out the rage, passion and desires that are suppressed in their subconscious. It is certain that Lacan praised Freud's insights and at the same time departed from him, "shifting the psychoanalytical discussion away from pathologization and normalization to the use of value of psychoanalytic concepts in iconoclastic cultural interpretation." (Lacan: 43) According to Lacan, psychoanalysis goes beyond the physical, the mental and the normal state of mind to something that is more or less irrelevant, sceptical and mysterious. The landay that goes,

> Widows take sweets to a saint's shrine.
> I'll bring God popcorn and beg him to kill mine. (83)

It shows that state of mind where she reflects her hatred and disgust with her husband and her sudden homelessness. In the landays, "Each biting word change has much to teach about the social satire fuelled by resentment that ripples under the surface of a woman's life." (4) Lacan's biographer, Elizabeth Roudinesco, notes, "According to Lacan, psychoanalysis can never be an agent in the adaptation of man to society" (Roudinesco 1997: xv). Indeed, Lacan also writes

> psychoanalysis is neither a Weltanschauung, nor a philosophy that claims to provide a key to the universe. It is governed by a particular aim, which is historically defined by the elaboration of the notion of the subject. It poses this notion in a new way, by leading the subject back to his signifying dependence. (Lacan 1981: 77)

Psychoanalysis does not intermingle man to his society nor is it the world view of an individual or group. It is the consequence of his past or history. Separation is another theme that the landays expose. This separation could be the taking away of the loved ones, or the separation of one's outer self from their inner self.

> Separation bought this kind of grief:
> It made itself a mullah and me the village thief. (99)

Separation followed me with an axe. Wherever I laid love's foundation, the axe smashed it. (99) Both these landays personify Separation as something that stands as a strong barrier between them. It takes the role of an enemy or a troublemaker, but more often as an eternal power that creates two distinct selves within the same person. Unlike Freud, Lacan was less interested in pathologizing certain desires and activities and much more concerned with broadly interpreting the structuring principles of social identity and then pointing out how its debris becomes lodged in the unconscious. One of his famous assertions is that, "the unconscious is structured like a language" (Lacan 1981: 203) Language reflects or expresses the meaning of experience and identity. This approach opens up subjectivities and identities to processes of cultural struggle and resistance. These women use language as a mode to let out their inner feelings that which they have kept repressed in the fear of being beaten up.

Landays are clear examples of a structured unconscious. These women, under the Taliban, were banned from going to school and work. They were not allowed to leave their homes without a male relative or be seen in public without a burqa. For defying the regime's repressive laws, women were openly flogged and executed. Even without proper knowledge over the structures of language, the poetry that arouses within them is well structured to follow the parameters that it does.

> Be black with gun powder or be bloodred But don't come home whole
> and disgrace my bed. (107)

When it comes to subjectivity, Lacan uses the concept of the "mirror stage", sometimes literally and other times metaphorically. From the very early stage itself the little girls begin to imitate and build the image in their minds of what

they see happens to their mothers and sisters. They take it as their roll to be played as a girl. They create their own imaginary self, one that cannot be seen or heard by another. They hide their desires and grievances within their imaginary self. Some landays are spoken in the voice of a male.

> When I was a kid, I was a king:
> Free to stroll with the girls. (39)

Much like the role plays that children take up to get away from reality. That fun act, here is an act of escape. In the Lacanian perspective, our very "selves" are created through language: "The form in which language is expressed itself defines subjectivity… I identify myself in language, but only by losing myself in it like an object" (85-86). As one acquires language, he gets immersed into the symbolic and through the acquiring of language, he dives in to forming his identity from the early childhood itself. Lacan's theory of subjectivity can also be considered as one that is of internal uncertainties and doubts, of unsteadiness in the light of a continuing desire for a firm grounding and sense of security. He sums up, "What we teach the subject to recognize as his unconscious is his history – that is to say, we help him to perfect the present historicization of the facts that have already determined a certain number of the historical 'turning-points' of his existence" (Lacan 1977: 52). While critically regarding the past and the present, Lacan opens up the future also to radical revisionary engagements.

When Landays become the Abject The history of humankind can be accounted as a testimony to the scuffles and feuds women have had to suffer in the process of demanding and claiming their rights to freedom and equality in a society. From the earliest times women have been suppressed. Regrettably, gender discrimination is rampant in several cultures and societies even today. Afghan history exposes one such testimony of women's long and untiring struggle to make themselves visible and to subvert the patriarchal social order. Man identifies himself as the 'subject' and woman as 'the other'. From this understanding, stereotypical notion arises where, "If men are active, women must be passive, if men represent good, women must represent evil… all the negative characteristics of humanity, as men perceive them, are projected onto women" (Beauvoir, 1949: 23).

When sisters sit together, they always praise their brothers.

When brothers sit together, they sell their sisters to others. (61)

In the book ' Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection ', Kristeva writes about that which is beyond the concept of "subject" and "object", that which is being repressed. She contrasts the object to the abject, which is connected to the Freudian mechanism or process of repression, denial and repudiation that are part of the formation of the human subject. She calls it,

> A massive and sudden emergence of uncanniness, which, familiar as it might have been in an opaque and forgotten life, now, harries me as radically separate, loathsome… A weight of meaninglessness, about which there is nothing insignificant, and which crushes me. (Kristeva: 2)

The understanding of landays take a different perception when dealt under the concept of Abjection. For Afghan women, from childhood, things and situations that were once familiar, gradually digress in to something strange, bizarre and dreadful.

> My love, open my tomb and see
> The dust that covers the sweet intoxication of my eyes. (22)

Examining the above landay, she considers her "self" to be dead and buried. Somewhere deep inside, she wishes for someone to come to an understanding of her. She asks to open up the 'tomb', where her identity now lies. It has gone beyond the state of 'self' and 'other' and has taken a bizarre form that she, herself, cannot access. There is dust over it, as it has been inflicted by the constant repression, which now settles them within the range of abjection. Constantly in touch with death, the Pashtun women nevertheless sees this ultimate moment in a very specific way. Her destiny inscribes itself in an immense space that has been interwoven with prohibitions and disillusionment. Some landays contain in them the provocation that functions like a dreadful trap. A sense of abjection. Kristeva defines the abject as, "To each ego it's object, to each superego it's abject. It is not the white expanse or slack boredom of repression, not the translations and transformations of desire that wrench

bodies, nights, and discourse; rather it is a brutish suffering . . ." (2) She continues on this motif further elucidating in poetic terms her vision, shaping the core point that is made. Within the Lacanian framework, the abject is a central juncture or a crossroad in the relation between personal ego and the greater world. It is not just the presence of disgust or horror, but that entire gamut of suffering that is encountered.

> I'm in love! I won't deny it, even if
> You gouge out my green tattoos with a knife. (67)

Here the horror of abjection is noticed as she portrays her will to keep up her honour even if she was put under the knife. For Pashtun women, romantic love is verboten. If discovered to be in love, even with her fiancé, she could be killed. All at once hard and tender, cunning and naïve, violent and gentle, Pashtun woman personifies and identifies as closely consolidated to abjection. For Kristeva, the abject is part of one's buried consciousness. Abjection is part of the earliest and forgotten struggle to separate from the mother who is reluctant to recognize the realm of the symbolic or the law of the Phallus. The following is a landay sung by a mother:

> With my own hands I have sent you off to die, And then I climbed
> onto the roof to see you brave the first volley of guns. (17)

The Pashtun woman accepts the inordinate and strange consequences of her attitude even where her own children are concerned. It is she who sends her son to a vendetta war, who advises him to conduct himself like a hero even when that means he may not return alive. There is also strangeness when they say that if the son is to return, but wounded, he must show that his injuries are on his chest, not on his back. In order to become a subject, the child must renounce its identification with its mother. A line must be drawn to separate itself and the mother. Though in the case of Afghan woman, the separation they have to set forth is an eternal one. They prepare their mind for the worst. That is the kind of abjection they live with. It becomes all the more difficult to identify her borders: he was once in her and now here he is outside her. Beyond the split of the mirror stage, the mother has to confront death, in which she has to give up her son.

My beautiful son, one day you will be killed,
And that will torture me and prevent me from sleeping. (68)

Another phenomenon that sets off abjection, as mentioned by Kristeva, is in the presence of a cadaver. On witnessing a corpse, the initial reaction would be that of disgust, aversion, sickness and nausea. Our minds have taught us to reject things like corpses because, being around them, put us in a state of uneasiness. But Kristeva argues that, psychologically, being exposed to a corpse gives a sort of a dilemma, where there is a being that was alive and now is not. It has moved into an existence that is on the border of life and death. The existence it now maintains is no longer similar to the kind of existence it possessed earlier.

Just to see you I invent circuitous walks.
Like a paddler I cry at every door. (68)

As Kristeva puts it, abjection becomes internalized through language and spoken through the symbolic order. The liminal condition of the abject is that it is neither inside nor outside–human waste, properly not seen, is suddenly expelled. But excrement, like mother's milk is privileged for it is part of the inside/outside which marks off the boundaries of the human body. Over time, there is a steady repression of the maternal element in favour of a political and social rationality of the subject and of the society. The abject defies boundaries, is resistant to unity, and disturbs the identity, order, and system that is necessary to create the subject. To maintain these tenuous boundaries, the abject is objectified or projected forward. As illiterates, most of these women are unfamiliar to the structures of language. It is what they hear and perceive that they recollect, process and reproduce. Without a proper structure of a language, without strict rules of grammar, landays are what they find refuge in. These landays also shows the state of their unstructured and unorganized minds, where they cannot easily relate to the outside world as normal human beings. The disparities of their thoughts and the fluctuations in their feelings and desires often contradict themselves. According to Kristeva, "Corruption is the socialized appearance of the abject." Whether spiritual, social or political corruption implies a "cancer" or alien growth within the bounded object.

Without the Taliban,
Afghanistan would be London. (115)

Art, for Kristeva, in the form of avant-garde practice can transform society. The work of art can explore aspects of the feminine and the masculine. Mimesis is not the woman or the feminine but the constitution and de-constitution of the subject. Kristeva posited a third way, following the failures of first and second-generation feminism, suggesting that aesthetic practices should explore and construct the singularity of every speaking being. Landays prove themselves as such kind of art that explores various aspects of the psyche of the women of Afghan. Their voices reflect what it means to be caught in between the two sides of a conflict, and the impact that war has on a community and their culture. Subjectivity becomes an open system, and poetry becomes an individuating experience of limits. Kristeva feels that a genuine dialectical materialism could be an artistic challenge—a transgression of the historical forms of the Symbolic. In other words, she is suggesting a transgression of or an inversion of a dialectic, based upon rejection and exclusion.

> May you be found cut to pieces by a trenchant sword,
> But may the news of your dishonor never reach my ears! (17)

In feminist terms, Afghan society is markedly gendered, in that it makes stark distinctions between the roles of women and men, and is patriarchal and paternalistic. It is permeated with masculine values such as honour, justice, and hospitality, while the roles assigned to women limit their "agency," or ability to act. The family and tribe are the most important social units, and women are respected as the perpetuators of the family and the holders of its honour. Thus their bodies must be guarded to protect virginity, ensure that their progeny are legitimately fathered, and that they are not abducted or in other ways violated in a hostile act against the family unit. It is estimated that up to 90% of women never leave the home, and certainly the low number of women in public space supports this view. When women leave their homes, they carry their private space with them in the form of the burqa. This renders them taboo, invisible, and therefore secure. Thus the bodies of Afghan women are controlled physically, spatially, and politically by men because of their symbolic importance to the integrity of the family and the tribe. "It's a question of control and power," said Sima Samar, a prominent women's rights activist and chairperson of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission. "You use religion, you use culture, you

use tradition, you use gender to keep the power, to keep control." It is this control and power that takes away the power of these women to remain as mere objects.

> Had I known the time of separation was to come,
> All the way to the battlefield I would have held my lover's hand. (55)

Through this research paper Freud's theory of the 'Uncanny' has been used to portray landays as the residue of the thoughts and actions of Afghani women. Nothing stays as static for these women. Their circumstances are bound to change drastically at any point in time. Things once familiar and known at one point shifts to being unfamiliar and unknown the next moment. This strange sense of feeling make them a specimen of the uncanny. They move into a condition of disorientation, whereby they refrain themselves from things and being and find solace in the melody of the landays, they themselves create. Lacan too brings into consideration this concept of identification of self and the separation of self from other. Subjectivity means nothing other than that each and every one has the chance to tell their own story and Lacan has a concise way of expressing this. He refers to human beings as 'parles-etre', literally, 'speaking-beings'. Landays are this voice of Afghan woman that bring out the rage, passion and desires that are suppressed within.

Heroes are always alive, Only traitors will perish forever. (67) The research paper concludes with the analysis of landays as the abject. Kristeva's view that the subjectivity depends on the notion of the split of self and other. The abject, which is the focus here, is the abject body and the abject mind, but the abject can also be social situations that destabilises our sense of certainty. Much of an Afghan woman's life involves a circus dance around honor — a gap between who she seems to be and who she is. Once a group is identified as "the other," the designation is often carried over from social attitude to political platform and eventually it becomes a military strategy, resulting in the phases of social alienation, political disenfranchisement, ethnic cleansing, and ultimately in civil war. Hidden within the two-line poetry are the answers to the question of existence – 'who' and 'what' they actually are.

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OTHERING THE MOTHER AS 'MONSTER' IN JAMES CAMERON'S *ALIENS*

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Abstract

Mother is the second most represented female roles in science fiction films. According to Dean Conrad maternity lies at the heart of science fiction films and it has been continuously evolving. In the '30s science fiction films, the nobility of mothers was portrayed as important, and in the '50s, American domestic idyll centered on the role of mother. There were hardly any films, which positioned single mothers and allowed them to challenge entrenched stereotypes. Both Alien (1979) and Aliens (1986) problematise the usually accepted roles of the mother by depicting male childbirth and motherhood in alien queen. Aliens in particular, directed by James Cameron re imagines motherhood by offering the spectators the alien queen as a monstrous mother. This paper studies the cultural, psychological and political aspects of coding the alien queen as monstrous.

Key Words: *motherhood, films, monstrous feminine, primal uncanny*

Depiction of alien queen in *Aliens*, directed by James Cameron is a perfect embodiment of Clute and Nicholls' description of monsters especially in 'Creature Features' (Monster Movies). They state that a creature feature contains a mutated animal, or a human or an alien or an unnatural creature, which appears unexpectedly in a serene setting; it is hostile to humanity and its attacks normally increase with severity. In addition to this, alien monsters are usually rationalized as a "dormant prehistoric species newly awakened, an unintended result of scientific experiment, a mutant created by radioactivity, or a secret government experimental warfare device gone wrong". Clute and Nicholls developed a narrative pattern for a creature feature, which normally follows the ensuing convention;

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The peaceful beginning; the first intimations that something is wrong; half-seen glimpses of the monster; disbelief of the first reports; attacks of increasing ferocity in which the monster is fully revealed; the fight back against the monster and its destruction. Often there is also the revelation in the final frames that more monsters are hatching. (816, 817)

Through its visual and acoustic spectacle, *Aliens* follows this narrative trajectory creating a feeling of awe and dread. Barbara Creed confirms this form of coding the alien species in her *Phallic Panic: Film, Horror and the Primal Uncanny* where she perceives that the new art form of twentieth century film, substitutes folklore, myth, and gothic fiction to become the main vehicle for the telling and retelling of stories about monstrous beings whose aim is to terrify and thrill a captive audience (Introduction vii).

Alien monsters that are portrayed in creatures features, monster, horror and science fiction films are not only from the world of fantasy, they do not only function to incite terror and fear, but convey as Clute and Nicholls state "the fragility of the Age of Reason in which we supposedly live. Unreason lurks in the surrounding dark, just beyond the light cast by our campfires…they occupy our world - a world where cause and effect are operative". They further borrow the Freudian analysis of revenge of the id over the conscious ego and Jungian explanation of the irruption of archetypes into a world, which does not consciously recognize them. They argue

The oldest part of our brains, the hindbrain or limbic system, wellspring of our fight-or-flight reflex, is sometimes claimed as the source of our monsters, not so much Unreason reclaiming ground from Reason as the Primitive asserting its continuing strength over the sophisticated. (817).

Using Freud's explanation of uncanny (unheimliche), which is associated with the feelings of horror aroused by the figure of the paternal castrator, Barbara Creed develops the idea of 'primal uncanny'. As analyzed by Freud, "persons, events and situations that arose dread and horror belong to the realm of 'uncanny'" (qtd. in Creed, *Phallic Panic*, Introduction vii). Creed argues that Freud in his analysis

of uncanny neglects the tropes of women and animals as possible source of the uncanny. Creed wanted to remedy this by placing greater emphasis on other sources of horror such as woman, animal, and death. For her, these three fundamental elements of "otherness" signify the "primary uncanny" (Smelik).

The alien species in *Aliens* is represented as monstrous feminine and it problematises the understanding of gender in the politics of power. Etymologically, the term 'monster' is derived from 'monere' which means 'to warn'. With their horrifying features and by offering only a fleeting glimpse in the narrative, monsters create a sense of the uncanny. German philosopher Fredrich Schelling succinctly argued that the uncanny becomes the "name for everything that ought to have remained…secret and hidden but has come to light" (Botting and Townshend, 184). Relating the meaning of 'monster' directly to the uncanny that should have remained hidden, Cameron's *Aliens* functions as a perfect medium for the display of the uncanny monster for bringing into open what should have been kept out of sight.

When the reasons behind the creation of monster by the symbolic order are analyzed, it is invariable to evaluate the monster's origins, nature, and functions. Depiction and interpretation of monsters are not historically conditioned to one type. They have changed over the course of time due to historical factors, scientific and technological developments, special/visual effects, and socio-cultural milieu, which play an important role in the representation of the monsters and their appearance. Nevertheless, monsters' presence as uncanny in its all otherness has been a universalizing account. Relating back to the question of the gender of monsters, it is important to note how one of the early philosophers Aristotle grappled with the problem of monsters and their sex. Huet analyses Aristotle's claim, "anyone who does not take after his parents is really in a way a monstrosity, since in these cases Nature has in a way strayed from the generic type". Aristotle had further argued, "The first beginning of this deviation is when a female formed instead of male". Even though Aristotle grudgingly accepted that women are necessary for the perpetuation of the species, he made a "decisive association between the monsters and women as two departures from the norm" and insisted that man is the norm, and "the female is as it were a deformed male" (Huet 3).

Analogous to Aristotle's view was the understanding of the Catholic Church, which argued that women constituted monstrous deviation from the moral/male norm. Analyzing *The Makkeus Maleficarum* (1484), an official inquisitor's manual for the prosecution of witches, Creed states that the book's influence extended well into the twentieth century. The book, provides details of the way women were perceived as different from men, and ascribed the differences which rendered them not only as monstrous, but also more susceptible to becoming a witch, the supernatural female monster par excellence. She observed,

> The witch who could change shape and weave spells was held responsible for natural calamities as well as supernatural events. Woman is an 'evil by nature, painted with fair colours!' The main reason for her otherness is her lust: 'but the natural reason is that she is more carnal than man, as is clear from her many carnal abominations'. Woman's monstrosity constitutes a moral deviation which leads to monstrous deeds. (Creed, Phallic Panic Introduction, x)

Various philosophers and theologians believe that not only women were monstrous by nature, but were also responsible for creating monsters. Creed uses Marie-Helene Huet's study, *Monstrous Imagination* in which she had stated "from the classical period through Enlightenment, people believed that if a woman gave birth to a monstrous child it was because of the destructive power of the maternal imagination" (Creed, Phallic Panic, Introduction x). Huet declared,

> Instead of reproducing the father's image, as nature commands, the monstrous child bore witness to the violent desires that moved the mother at the time of conception or during pregnancy. The resulting offspring carried the marks of her whims and fancy rather than the recognizable features of its legitimate genitor. The monster thus erased paternity and proclaimed the dangerous power of female imagination. (1)

Using examples of Heliodorus of Emusa and Secreta Mulierum, Huet further states that women using the power of their imagination can influence the facial characteristics of the developing embryo, and the same applies for birth defects, birthmarks, and other abnormalities. She further refers to the birth of monsters

either as contempt to nature's laws, that is, human copulation with animals or to the mother's delinquent imagination at the time of conception (qtd. in Creed, Phallic Panic, Introduction x).

Mary Shelley's *Frankestein* (1818) published at the height of the Romantic Movement altered this situation. Literary artists of the period, according to Huet, sketched out a model genealogy for the work of art and the procreative role of the artist. They "reassigned the vis imaginative to the father alone" and "reaffirmed the seductive power of the monstrous as aberration, and the creative role of the scientist, or the artist as visible father. Imagination was reclaimed as a masculine attribute". Huet further observed

> If the theory that credited the maternal imagination with birth of unnatural progeny implies a theory of art as imitation, Romanticism, in turn, reinterpreted art as teratology. The vision of Romantic artist as creator borrowed a metaphor of creation from the theory that long ascribed the birth of monstrous progeny to the maternal imagination (8-9).

Barbara Creed's analysis of the alien species in *Alien* (1979) directed by Ridley Scott as a "complex representation of the monstrous-feminine in terms of the maternal figure as perceived within a patriarchal ideology" can be extended to the alien queen in *Aliens* of Cameron. According to Creed, the alien is an "archaic mother, the reproductive/generative mother, who haunts the mise-en-scene of the film". She appears in many forms as "the treacherous mother, the oral sadistic mother, the mother as the primordial abyss" ("*Alien*" 128). Catherine Constable in the essay "Becoming Monster's Mother: Morphologies of identity in the *Alien* series" finds that both *Alien* and *Aliens* "represent the alien in ways that emphasize its visceral qualities:

> from the pulsating flesh of the pods to the mucus-secreting double jaw of the fully grown monster. In these films, human reproduction is represented as scientific or sterile, in clear contrast with the alien's physical maternality, thus setting up an opposition between the human and monstrous." (173)

Constable analyzes the representation of maternality in *Aliens* borrowing Julia Kristeva's model of the "structures of abjection, in which the subject rejects the flux of physical matter in order to secure the boundaries of its own identity". She further discovers that *Aliens* "sets up an interesting structure of mirroring by pitting Ripley and Newt against the alien queen. The final battle can therefore be read as confrontations between two parthenogenetic mother figures, a doubling that disrupts the structures of abjection". She sees both the mother figures as tropes for the perpetuation of their respective species. "The conflicts between them take the form of attempting to destroy each other's generative powers." She further states

> While the representation of motherhood as the instinctive desire to protect one's young does not break with tradition, the use of the mirroring mother figures in the final battle scenes does have a significant impact on the dialectical structures…Rather than upholding the oppositions between individuation/materiality, human/monstrous, the scenes imply that the desires and motives of both maternal figures are the same. Such a paralleling serves to undermine the Kristevan model of abjection in that it suggests that Other might have its own desires and motives. (173,184,189)

Throughout the film, Ripley is associated with feminine characteristics and nurturing instincts. From the early minutes of the film itself, Ripley's nurturing instincts are highlighted. When she was found after fifty-seven years, she is seen wrapping around Jonsey her cat, and she redirects her nurturing impulses to Newt, the lone survivor in the alien planet. Thomas Caldwell in the essay "Aliens: Mothers, Monsters and Marines" finds that, While Ripley is aligned with feminine and natural characteristics through her nurturing instincts, she is far removed from the alien creatures that represent the natural world at its most brutal and savage". Most of the time, the marines refer to the alien species using animal imagery. They are often compared to both ants and bees and "it turns out that they are socially structured like an insect colony with a queen at the centre doing all the reproduction while her workers/drones go out to find bodies to be impregnated".

The primal/archaic/alien mother is shown in the film with devouring jaws and prolific egg production. As the egg laid by alien queen opens, usually prompted by the availability of a human host, the face hugger emerges with its "elongated legs feeling its way over the edge of the pod. The creature's skin is stretched taut, each limb displaying two bony joints. Its six-legged structure and wavering movement resemble a spider" (Constable 186). It jumps on to the face of its victim. On a closer examination, the face hugger bears semblance to female genitalia. It uses its tail to wrap around the neck of the victim and through its "vaginal cavity a penis like finger juts into the throat and implants an alien embryo deep into the viscera of host" (Bundtzen 12) in what appears as an oral rape. When a face hugger is first shown as one of the lab specimens, Burke tries to have a closer look at it, and the creature inside the stasis tube "lunges suddenly, slamming against the glass. From the palm of the thing's hand like body emerges a pearl-escent tubule. Like a tapered piece of intestine, which slithers tongue like over the inside of the glass. Then it retracts into a sheath between the gills" (Cameron, *Aliens*). As Bundtzen perceives this "fusion of male and female sexual organs does not make Aliens androgynous". The feminity of the alien monster is confirmed by the "vulva and labia which surround the slit- a graphic display of female anatomy" (Bundtzen 12).

After the implantation of the embryo, the host goes through an incubation period in which he/she experiences a death- like sleep. The embryo draws nutrients from the host's body and grows quickly and attaches itself to several major organs. The face hugger falls off the face, waking the host unaware of the growing alien species within his/her body. This brief period of calm is suddenly interrupted as a fully developed chest buster erupts out of the body of the host in what appears like a caesarean birth, which kills the human host. The chest buster as analyzed by Amy Taubin is,

> prehistoric in appearance… it embodies the return of repressed infantile fears and confusions about where babies come from and the anatomical differences between the sexes. Its toothy, dripping mouth…hermaphroditic; while the double jaws represented the inner and outer labia of the vagina dentate, the projectile movement of the inner jaw was phallic threat. (94)

Aliens "work to impress upon us the threatened human/animal distinction in many ways" (Zwinger 82). It aligns the aliens to the animal world very often. When aliens counterattack the marines, Hudson howls "What d'ya mean? They cut the power? How could they cut the power, man, they're ANIMALS!" (01:53:01-01:53:05). In the final scene Ripley shouts "Get away from her, you bitch" "reinstalling animal imagery at its most liminal/ uncanny" (Zwinger 83). Caldwell remarks,

> by aligning the aliens so closely to the insect world *Aliens* is able to remove all audience sympathy from them as being part of the natural order. They are not a misunderstood species that only attack when provoked but are a deadly parasite that destroys other life so that it may continue. There is no doubt that the aliens must be destroyed and the charge to do so is led by Ripley, the human character most associated with nature.

The mother monster is located in Sublevel 2, which is surrounded by dark and oozing womb like passages. Janice Hocker Rushing in "Evolution of 'The New Frontier' in *Alien* and *Aliens*: Patriarchal Co-Optation of the Feminine Archetype" borrows the idea of "archaic mother" developed by Barbara Creed and reasons that the alien mother as the "animalized Mother" is associated with dark, underground swampy districts because they are symbolic of the repressed unconscious. Rushing further argues that the queen alien is more than just Creed's 'archaic mother',

> she is virgin, Mistress, and Mother simultaneously. She is not a virgin…in the sense that she is unrelated to and independent of any one male figure. Her consorts are drones, aiding her in her reproductive process and protecting her and her eggs from attack. Shaped like a hulking pelvis with fangs, she is also a frightening open womb, the Devouring Mother at her horrendous best. She traps her intruders in a spidery web.

She is "an enchantress who confuses the senses and derives men out of their minds…Indeed the marines are confused and disoriented when they try to track

her down…One soldier's (Hudson) personality disintegrates into that of the whining prepubescent" (109).

The design of the alien queen in *Aliens* by Cameron calls for special attention. Though Cameron heavily borrowed   the biomechanoid concept of Hans Rudi Giger, the significant change was in the gender of the species. Gigers' alien was phallic and Cameron made it female. When Ripley stumbles into alien queen's hatchery while saving Newt, she is horrified to see the protrusion of the alien queen's ovipositor laying a slime covered egg. She sees the

> trembling orifice, and then back along the enormous, semi-translucent, sagging egg-sac to its point of connection with the alien queen, who is revealed from tail to ornate head, her crown internal to her own cranial anatomy. The monstrosity of that egg-sac – supported by resinous says fixed to the ceiling, half hidden by steam arising from the warm, newly laid eggs, half-full of a soupy, slightly bubbling liquid – is so extreme that it even undercuts the awesomeness of the queen's body. It is the absolute embodiment of Ripley's vision of flesh and fertility, of the biological realm, of life as such: it is everything that she and her family are not (Mulhall 63).

Gallardo and Smith state that this obvious comparison between alien reproduction and defecation leaves no doubt that the alien queen is meant to represent the abject archaic mother, a colossal and repulsive reproductive body (107).

In the script of *Aliens* available on The Internet Movie Script Database, the alien queen is given the following description:

> A massive silhouette in the mist, the ALIEN QUEEN glowers over her eggs like a great, glistening black insect-Buddha. What's bigger and meaner than the Alien? His momma. Her fanged head is an unimaginable horror. Her six limbs, the four arms and two powerful legs, are folded grotesquely over her distended abdomen. The egg-filled abdomen swells and swells into a great pulsing tubular sac, suspended from a lattice of pipes and conduits by a weblike membrane

as if some vast coil of intestine were draped carelessly among the machinery (Cameron Aliens).

In an interview with Randal Frakes published in James Cameron's *Story of Science Fiction,* Cameron elucidates the idea behind the alien queen. He explains that he "gave her very long, elegant, tapering legs and almost a kind of a high-heel look at the foot, and then she just kind of turned into this creature that was hideous and yet somehow beautiful". Cameron further explains that the two-part life cycle of the alien species which he created for the film, "the egg would give birth to a facehugger, which would then inject a second egg inside the host. So the big egg was a container for the facehugger. The facehugger would then inject its egg into a host and give birth in a parasitic way to the actual alien itself that would become an adult" (36,37).

Cameron adds "somewhere in there an alien queen would emerge in the same way that bees can use hormones or some other signal to generate a queen when they need a queen". According to him the hand-to-hand fight between Ripley and alien queen is a depiction of unity of opposites in which two mother figures "as the sort of avatar protector of life, or the life principle, against a death figure" (James Cameron's 37,39) fight for their own life principle. Stephen Mulhall contends that the queen as a mother is a mirror image of Ripley herself. According to him,

> both are in essence, nurturing warriors. The queen simply incarnates the reproductive drive that is internal to any species, including the human; and her aggressive impulses are as informed by her maternity as are Ripley's – as her willingness to accept Ripley's wordless bargain (Let us go and I won't torch your nursery') underlines. Thus far, she responds exactly as her nature demands- her motivations are as natural as they could be, and hence the monstrosity of her representation can be understood only on the nature itself (as incarnated in her) is felt to be monstrous. What transforms her from a brooding mother to a warrior is not some malevolent or gratuitous desire to destroy human beings, but rather Ripley's attack on her nursery; the queen's final pursuit of the human mother and child is driven by a desire for vengeance upon the one who slew her

offspring. This simply confirms the implicit equivalence between Ripley and the queen – since it was the same drive to protect her child that brought Ripley into the nursery in the first place. (41-42)

Exploring reproduction as the real threat in *Aliens*, Gallardo and Smith argue that the film portrays the fear cultivated around the control of reproduction and reproductive mechanism, which threatened the traditional nuclear family during the reign of Ronald Reagan (108). For Amy Taubin, Cameron's *Aliens* is a "politically conservative film" which portrays "A Pentagon inspired family values" of the Reagan '80s. She extends the argument about the final scene of the one-on- one between the alien queen and Ripley as a refusal of the "monstrous feminine…archaic, devouring mother" to historically more specific and loaded with political meaning. She argues,

> If Ripley is the prototypical, upper middle class WASP, the alien queen bears a suspicious resemblance to a favourite scape goat of the Regan/Bush era- the black welfare mother, that parasite on the economy whose uncurbed reproductive drive reduced hard-working taxpayers to bankruptcy (94-95).

Rhona Berenstein in the essay "Mommie Dearest: Aliens, Rosernary's Baby and Mothering" observes that *Aliens* serves as potent example of the horrifying status of motherhood in the American patriarchal culture. She explains mother as "one of patriarchy's terrifying Others, psychoanalysis's "unsitely" threat and wound, the cinema's monster and object of its gaze…her presence and absence demand her perpetual domestication and warn of her enduring threat of empowerment". Citing Robin Wood, who had categorized the '80s horror films into 'teenie-kill pic and violence against women movie', that Aliens was a "backlash against 60s and 70s feminism…which included violence against women" (55, 57). She further states that the film concerns with both motherhood and monsterhood in which Otherness and horror of the female reproductive process is represented. As she claims mother has always served patriarchy's principal other who must be dealt with "either by rejecting it and if possible annihilating it, or by rendering it safe and assimilating it into itself" (quoted in Bernstein 57). As per her analysis, historically mother has been repressed in both social and

psychoanalytic senses under the guidance of the patriarchal subject and when she appears she does so "with the full force of the return of the repressed, that she emerges in nightmares". Ripley is seen plagued by nightmares of giving birth to an alien monster coinciding with the fear that the monsters are also capable of reproduction. Berestein terms it 'pregnancy anxiety'. Bundtzen asserts that Ripley is haunted with the "fear of giving birth" (15), which guides Ripley's every action while on the mission and it is clear that the sight of her swelling belly and the imminent birth of "something from within is terrifying not only for her, but for the onlookers as well" (Bernstein 57-58).

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Svendsen, S., & Løber, L. (2020). *The big picture/Academic writing: The one-hour guide* (3rd digital ed.). Hans Reitzel Forlag. https://thebigpicture-academicwriting.digi.hansreitzel.dk/

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