

**Co- Optive versus Coercive: An Enquiry into the Differential
Depiction of Violence in the Select Plays of Annie Zaidi, Abhishek
Majumdar, and Shivani Tibrewala.**

Thesis submitted to University of Calicut
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in English Language and Literature

By

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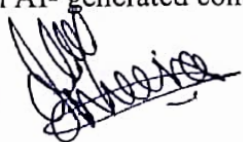
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Declaration

I, C. M. Meera, hereby declare that the work presented in the thesis entitled "**Co-Optive versus Coercive: An Enquiry into the Differential Depiction of Violence in the Select Plays of Annie Zaidi, Abhishek Majumdar, and Shivani Tibrewala**", submitted to the University of Calicut for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is an authentic record of my studies and research carried out under the guidance of Dr. Pradeepkumar K., Research Supervisor, Research and Post Graduate Department of English, St. Aloysius College, Thrissur. I hereby certify that no part of this work has been submitted or published for the award of any degree, diploma, title, fellowship, or recognition. The contents of the thesis have underwent plagiarism check using **iThenticate software** at C. H. M. K. Library, University of Calicut, and the similarity index was found within the permissible limit. I also declare the work to be free from AI-generated contents.

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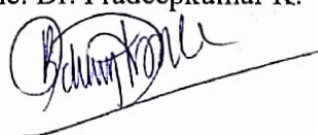
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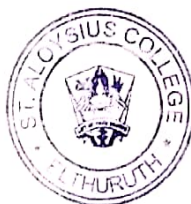
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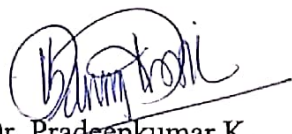
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This is to certify that the thesis entitled **“Co- Optive versus Coercive: An Enquiry into the Differential Depiction of Violence in the Select Plays of Annie Zaidi, Abhishek Majumdar, and Shivani Tibrewala”** is a bona fide record of studies and research carried out by C. M. Meera under my guidance and supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English. To the best of my knowledge, this research work has not been previously formed the basis of award for any degree, diploma, fellowship or any other similar titles. Its critical evaluation represents the independent work on the part of the candidate.

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Abstract of the Thesis

This thesis researches the dynamics of violence and power as it is portrayed in the modern Indian English theatre through the theoretical framework of Michel Foucault, Hannah Arendt, and Joseph Nye. Centering on the select three plays, *Untitled 1* by Annie Zaidi, *Pha-La* by Abhishek Majumdar, and *The Laboratory* by Shivani Tibrewala, the research analyses how state and corporate bodies exert both hard as well as soft power to sustain authoritative control over people and communities. The paper contextualizes the plays chosen in the socio-political context of the study, where the surveillance, cultural dominance, and corporate control are critiqued as a form of violence. The notion of liquid surveillance as well as surveillance capitalism is implemented in *Untitled 1*, while *Pha-La* is scrutinized from the perspective of cultural imperialism and resistance by the natives in the Chinese invaded Tibet. *The Laboratory* is critically analysed through the perspectives of neo-imperialism and pharmaceutical colonization in the Global periphery. By incorporating Nye's concept of soft and hard power with prevailing concepts of operational and psychological violence, the study reasons that power and violence, albeit notionally discrete, tend to serve concurrently inside the societal institutions. The selected plays besides sensationalizing these power relations also provide resistance methods via the description through the story, framework, and character empowerment. This research adds to the domains of Theater studies, theories of governance, and cultural criticism by depicting how the play functions as a powerful tool for delving into the existing power structures and their effect upon personal as well as collective identities.

സംഗ്രഹം

മിഷേൽ ഫൂക്കോ (Michel Foucault), ഹന്ന ആറെൻറ് (Hannah Arendt), ജോസഫ് നൈ (Joseph Nye) എന്നിവർ മുന്നോട്ടുവയ്ക്കുന്ന സൈദ്ധാന്തിക ചട്ടക്കൂടിലൂടെ, തെരഞ്ഞെടുത്ത ആധുനിക ഇന്ത്യൻ ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് നാടകങ്ങളിലെ അക്രമവും അധികാരവും തമ്മിലുള്ള ആഴത്തിലുള്ള ബന്ധത്തെ കുറിച്ചാണ് ഈ പ്രബന്ധം അന്വേഷിക്കുന്നത്. ആനി സൈദിയുടെ 'അൺടൈറ്റിൽഡ് 1' (Untitled 1), അഭിഷേക് മജുംദാറിന്റെ 'ഫാ-ലാ' (Pha-La), ശിവാനി തിബ്രവാലയുടെ 'ദ ലബോറട്ടറി' (The Laboratory) എന്നീ മൂന്ന് തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്ത നാടകങ്ങളെ കേന്ദ്രീകരിച്ച്, ജനങ്ങളുടെയും സമൂഹങ്ങളുടെയും മേൽ നിയന്ത്രണം സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നതിനും നിലനിർത്തുന്നതിനുമായി ഭരണകൂടവും കോർപ്പറേറ്റ് സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളും മർദ്ദകാധികാരവും (Hard power) പ്രലോഭനാധികാരവും (Soft power) പ്രയോഗിക്കുന്നതെങ്ങനെ എന്ന് വിശകലനം ചെയ്യുന്നു.

പഠനവിധേയമാക്കുന്ന നാടകങ്ങളെ അവയുടെ സാമൂഹിക-രാഷ്ട്രീയ പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിൽ അവതരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതോടൊപ്പംതന്നെ നിരീക്ഷണം (surveillance), സാംസ്കാരികാധിപത്യം, കോർപ്പറേറ്റ് നിയന്ത്രണം എന്നിവയെല്ലാം അക്രമത്തിന്റെ രൂപങ്ങളായി അടയാളപ്പെടുത്തുന്നു. 'അൺടൈറ്റിൽഡ് 1'-ൽ 'ലിക്വിഡ്

സർവൈലൻസ്' (liquid surveillance), 'സർവൈലൻസ് ക്യാപിറ്റലിസം' (surveillance capitalism) എന്നീ ആശയങ്ങൾ പ്രയോഗിക്കുമ്പോൾ, ചൈനീസ് അധിനിവേശ ടിബറ്റിലെ സാംസ്കാരിക സാമ്രാജ്യത്വത്തിന്റേയും അതിനെതിരായ തദ്ദേശീയരുടെ പ്രതിരോധത്തിന്റേയും വീക്ഷണകോണിൽ നിന്നാണ് 'ഫാ-ലാ' പരിശോധിക്കപ്പെടുന്നത്. 'ദ ലബോറട്ടറി' എന്ന നാടകത്തെ നവസാമ്രാജ്യത്വത്തിന്റേയും (neo-imperialism) ആഗോളവൽകൃതമായ ഔഷധ കോളനിവൽക്കരണത്തിന്റേയും (pharmaceutical colonization) കാഴ്ചപ്പാടുകളിലൂടെ വിമർശനാത്മകമായി വിശകലനം ചെയ്യുന്നു. മർദ്ദകാത്മകവും പ്രലോഭനാത്മകവുമായ അധികാര രൂപങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള നൈയുടെ സങ്കൽപ്പത്തെ അക്രമത്തിന്റെ പ്രവർത്തനതലത്തിലുള്ളതും മനശാസ്ത്രപരവുമായ വശങ്ങളുമായി ചേർത്തുവെച്ചുകൊണ്ട്, അധികാരവും അക്രമവും സൈദ്ധാന്തികമായി വ്യത്യസ്തമാണെങ്കിലും സാമൂഹിക സ്ഥാപനങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളിൽ ഒരേസമയം പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നുവെന്ന് ഈ പഠനം വാദിക്കുന്നു.

പഠനവിധേയമായ നാടകങ്ങൾ ഈ അധികാര ബന്ധങ്ങളെ നാടകീയമായി അവതരിപ്പിക്കുക മാത്രമല്ല, കഥാതന്തുവിലൂടെയും കഥാപാത്രങ്ങളുടെ ശാക്തീകരണത്തിലൂടെയും സവിശേഷമായ പ്രതിരോധ മാതൃകകൾ മുന്നോട്ട് വെക്കുക കൂടി ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ട്. നിലവിലുള്ള

അധികാര ഘടനകളെയും അവ വ്യക്തിപരവും കൂട്ടായതുമായ സ്വത്വങ്ങളിൽ ചെലുത്തുന്ന സ്വാധീനത്തെയും ആഴത്തിൽ പഠിക്കാൻ ഉതകുന്ന ഉപകരണങ്ങളായി നാടകങ്ങൾ പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നതെങ്ങനെ എന്ന് വിശകലനം ചെയ്യുന്നതിലൂടെ, ഈ പ്രബന്ധം, നാടക പഠനം, അധികാര സിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങൾ, സാംസ്കാരിക വിമർശനം എന്നീ മേഖലകളിൽ നിലവിലുള്ള അറിവുകളെ വിപുലീകരിക്കുന്നു.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Violence: The Politics of Violence and Representation

Defining and explaining violence is a scientific challenge of the highest order. Its ambiguity, the ubiquity of its occurrence, its immediate availability as a resource, and the cognitive indistinctness of the human understanding of violence mark some of the difficulties. (Heitmeyer 659)

Academics and policymakers widely study violence because it is both difficult to understand and diverse in nature. Violence refers to “physical harm that someone does to themselves or someone else through force or power including threats”, and has to do with the practice of power that “can be directed toward oneself or others” (Ayotte 185; Staudigl 43). As our current world stands violence remains a critical part of the way we live. There are numerous incidences of violent behaviour that are manifested in contemporary life among individuals, in the historical system, and within formal institutions. When violence destroys property and injures individuals, it harms “our natural ability to understand the world both through our physical connection to it and our social interactions” (Mensch 4). Scientists agree violence cannot be explained only by its direct causes since it needs recognition as a multifaceted problem with fundamental existence concerns. According to experts, "autotelic violence" or our motivation for violence can stem from our need to control others when violence serves no practical purpose (Schinkel, *Violence and State* 45). All in all, this realization places violence not as an aberration or an act isolated, but as a multidimensional more structural phenomenon that requires ethical, social, and philosophical questioning rather than mere simplistic causal explanations.

Today society experiences multiple types of violence both within personal relationships and throughout entire communities at large. Modern global connections increase both the “impact and spread of violence” which deserve our “shared focus and knowledge” (Schinkel, *Imagined Societies* 5; Staudigl 43) as violence still prevails upon “embodied social relations” (Mensch 4) and functions across “structural and communal levels” (Schinkel, *Violence and State* 45). The present world hosts different kinds of political violence that appear as diverse forms. To attain political aims most people resort to violent actions or oppressive techniques to change how power works in society. Through its military forces and law enforcement the state uses violence to control its citizens and reject their political opposition. Governments use popular sovereignty to start ethnic battles even though bureaucracy and advanced technology help them organize massive state violence projects. When people target both government officials and other social groups through violent actions we see civil strife that causes political instability within nations. These issues involve multiple forms of organized conflict including street protests, labour actions, public uprisings, targeted attacks on properties and civilians as well as governmental takeovers and armed hostilities within the national territory. Multiple groups in a society will fight violently for their place when religious, ethnic, or racial differences lead them to want power over resources and prestige. Violent clashes developed due to multiple underlying factors: “popular sovereignty deeply impacted ethnic differences”, states faced “a weakness in legitimacy and acceptance”, and “bureaucratic systems” teamed with “technology” to build “organized” attacks (Kershaw 107; Staub 303). Political violence remains therefore a side effect of the existing inequalities and broken state legitimacy showing how power, identity and resource struggles still bring instability to societies even in the face of modern systems of governance.

The thesis reviews present techniques of analysing power and domination, and more specifically how various types of violence form and maintain power relations. Although Hannah Arendt defines violence as a negation and not a power maker, Michel Foucault interprets violence as a constituent part of power per se. Based on these theoretical stances, the thesis examines the interplay between power and violence, using some plays- *Untitled 1* by Annie Zaidi, *Pha-La* by Abhishek Majumdar and *The Laboratory* by Shivani Tibrewala. The plays disclose that the connection between power and violence is deeply anchored in the involvement of the physical bodies, material conditions and infrastructural systems, which play a significant role in the production and stabilization of power relations. By analysing the text closely, the study observes that different types of violence execution are carried out and discusses how they perform the functions of narration purposefully. It examines the distribution and exercise of power by characters and institutions and how power relations are created and reinforced through violence to add to the overall meanings of the plays. The thesis also examines how the characters respond to violence as well as power and critically evaluate the effectiveness and imperfections of the strategies employed. It also deals with emotional, social, and psychological aspects of violence as well as oppression and the ways that characters adopt to endure and resist them. Finally, the study contextualizes the chosen plays in their socio-political backgrounds showing how they respond to and address the modern issues of violence, power, and resistance.

This introductory chapter mainly explores the concept of violence through its socio-political and theoretical aspects. Violence is very much connected with the concept of power which is an inseparable ingredient with all social institutions. Power acts as a pivotal point between violence and its enforcement at the socio-political

level making power, institutions, and violence extremely intertwined. Though the chapter deals primarily with the subject of political violence, its exercise, its intrusion into privacy, and its expression in Indian English drama selectively, it is necessary to have a larger discourse on violence as a general construct to understand the context.

Defining Violence

Violence originates from the Latin word *Violentia*, and it conveys the meaning of extreme duress. Usually, Violence refers to the operation of material and emotional force; the confrontational type of productivity to damage; or the pure vicious conduct that would imply injury and infringement to any human or non-human entities and other possessions. In *Understanding Violence*, E. K. Englander points out that, in general, violence is used to allude to the “aggressive” way of behaving with the purpose of bringing “about destruction”, both material and psychological” (11-12). Violence is a manner of conduct that gives rise to human misery; that aberrates from forming any resolution. He reminds that intent is principal to the idea of violence.

Marvin E. Wolfgang’s definition of violence is that, “Violence is a generic term that may include many forms of overt and often noxious expressions, ranging from internal psychological changes in the organism to external behaviour that directly impinges upon the safety and security of other organisms...” (2). Joseph Betz highlights that: “If violence is violating a person or a person’s rights, then every social wrong is a violent one... If violence is whatever violates a person and his rights of body, dignity or autonomy, then lying to or about another, embezzling, locking one out of his house, insulting, and gossiping are all violent acts” (341). Remarking on the conceptualization of violence in *Religion and Violence: Philosophical Respective from Kant to Derrida*, Hent de Vries formulates that:

The concept of violence is both empirical and... transcendental or metaphysical, ... Violence, in both the widest possible and the most elementary senses of the word, entails any cause, any justified or illegitimate force, that is exerted- physically or otherwise- by one thing (event or instance, group or person, and, perhaps, word and object) on another. (1)

All of these views imply that violence is a complex phenomenon, involving both non-physical and physical acts, and is intrinsically determined by the intentions, the context, and the effects on the rights and well-being of other people. It is therefore corporeal as well as ideal and dominates human interaction.

The various explications on violence perfectly project its convoluted essence and thus, the strenuous process of reaching into a definite conclusion on it. Tobin Siebers in his article “Philosophy and Its Other- Violence: A Survey of Philosophical Repression from Plato to Girard” reflects on Violence as “other” in philosophy (1). These debates point to the fact that violence is hard to define as such because it is complex and elusive. Siebers is keen on highlighting that philosophy tends to regard violence as something foreign, out of the norms or the margins of traditional philosophical inquisition. Usually, Violence has been classified into “Visible (overt) and invisible (covert) violence” (Galtung 168). Visible violence refers to any apparent, observable happening in the world of existence, which can be perceived through senses and thus validated. Invisible violence is less visible, but conceivably more hazardous and continues to retain intense psychological aftermath. Combination of these views highlights the fact that violence is a complex phenomenon, which has both overt and covert aspects and cannot be easily defined because of its complex, pervasive and hidden effects on people and society.

In *Violence and Sacred*, Rene Girard scrutinizes violence as “proliferant, and can be brought to a cease only through violence. It is exceptionally transmissible, and like an incensed flame it survives on those entities pre planned to calm the same blaze” (27- 28). The further humans attempt to restrain their violent drives, there appears to have an utmost escalation in the violent whims. By assuming a particular individual’s desire as a “facsimile of every distinct individual’s want”, it “always induces contention; and rivalry in succession converts desire into violence” (179). This implies that, upon being universalized, the desires of the individuals may grow into conflict, finally turning the needs of people into elements of violence.

In *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections*, Slavoj Zizek conveys the necessity to view “into the far side of the more overt subjective violence, - figurative form of violence incorporated in linguistic modes, and the more methodized violence perpetuated by the various economic and political systems”. He differentiates between the covert and overt forms of violence and states that “the two cannot be comprehended from the same standpoint” (1-3). For instance, in linguistic violence, language is appraised as the foundation for spurring psychological violence, instead of any form of visible violence. This form of violence is of equal importance while considering the functioning of “soft power” in implementing both the visible and invisible forms of violence in general and especially, in the plays chosen for discussion here (Nye, *Soft Power* 5). Therefore, linguistic violence shows that subtle, non-physical types of power can be a significant shaper of behaviour as well as enforcer of control, and a complement of more overt violence in the society and in the drama.

Introducing the idea of Linguistic violence, W. C. Gay opines that language is functional in degrading the social disagreement amongst individuals and in

administering violence upon them. Linguistic violence refers to the “circumstances in which individuals are injured by the purposeful operation of astute, offensive, and awful forms of words” (139- 40). Violence inbuilt in language and its context of usage is of real importance, because by not being overt, it is competent of incapacitating psychologically. Meanwhile, always referring to the powerless subdued individuals, communities, and even nations, with the third person personal pronoun “it”, continually demean their existence as that of an object to be always targeted.

David Riches, foregrounding violence as a subjective notion, differentiates between the stance of the performer, victim, and the witness, while evolving the conception of “triangle of Violence” (qtd. in Stewart 3). In his discernment, the Performer will view the brutally violent action as justful and thereby legitimized. The witness will have a wide variety of perceptions, contingent on whether he/ she is aligned either with the performer or the victim or both. In the same manner, the victim would perceive the same act of violence irrational, unacceptable and unlawful. In Riches’ opinion, the production or even the representation of violence is essentially, debated on the uncertainty over the question of lawfully right or wrong (qtd. in Stewart 3). This triangle concept is very much applicable to the textual as well as the theatrical projection of nuances in the representation of violence.

In *The Philosophical Investigations*, Ludwig Wittgenstein observes that a “word’s exact meaning is exclusively realized by detecting its purpose in the specific circumstances in which it is made use of”. Thus, “it is inevitable in understanding the complications involved in apprehending violence” (11- 17). Likewise, each individual’s discernment of the very word of violence also differs according to the varying context. Context and an individual’s outlook are the two essential components for recognizing violence and its representation. This suggests that the perception of

violence is entirely situational, and will be influenced by both the situations under which it is perceived, as well as the views of the perceivers. This means that any study that treats violence has to consider these interpretations of variables in order to understand the complexity of violence.

Violence too has a transformative impact on man. The political activists like Mahatma Gandhi and Frantz Fanon very consciously produced new modes of understanding the integration of violence with politics. The “political relevance of Gandhi’s perspective of self-rule is that it is closely associated with his perspectives on gender and sexuality” (Patel). His principle of *Swaraj* is closely linked with the necessity to implement self- rule by each and every individual. Also, Gandhi says that if an individual need to understand ahimsa, he should have an understanding of Violence too. In his opinion, “You cannot teach ahimsa to a man who cannot kill” (Gandhi (a) 385). He also believed that, “Ahimsa is a renunciation of the highest type. A weak or effeminate nation cannot perform this grand act of renunciation, even as a mouse cannot be properly said to renounce the power of killing a cat” (Gandhi (b) 386). Through his contemplations, Gandhi implies that to practice ahimsa as it is, one needs to have a deep understanding of violence, and that renunciation can only be significant when one understands the power and the possibilities of causing harm.

Fanon regarded it as true that the opposition to colonial violence basically necessitated a new approach to politics. He declared that the violence performed by the colonial authorities was savage, omnipresent, and constantly approved the predominance of the colonizer and the humiliation of the victim. For him, politics can be war: “The art of politics is simply transformed into the art of war; the political militant is the rebel. To fight the war and to take part in politics: the two things

become one and the same” (Fanon 105). Thus, the development of the brand-new politics necessitated allegiance to violence.

This addresses the way both Gandhi and Fanon relied on modern politics as a transformational project that intended to create new kinds of social and political relations as an alternative to the violence and oppression perpetuated by the imperialistic power. They highlighted how body and mind were related in producing these new political subjects, such as how women could interact with their communities and take control. Their political philosophy struggles with the problem of rallying revolutionary action- especially violence- in a manner that conforms to the positive intentions of the new system they hoped to bring to existence, and which is in opposition to the current colonial system. Both philosophers use gendered approaches in studying conflict and war to explain how they can use proper tactics to resist in their respective settings.

Feminism has made a serious theoretical contribution in delineating violence, by focusing on violence and its role in upholding the specific social tiring. Jane Addams (1860- 1935), Sarah Ruddick (1935- 2011), and Jean Elshtain (1941- 2013) are a few critics to name. Feminism has a considerable proportion of theories that aims to divulge the violence constructing the socio- political stratum masked by the law, political considerations and appeasements. For instance, the very personal, but culturally acceptable varieties of violence, work for the motive of supporting patriarchy. Feminists concur that the “the continuity of gendered violence link[s] the brutality happening in the name of gender to more structurally categorized illegal and punishable forms;” which “associates the supposed private and public violence along with the violence propagated by the state” (Boyle 29; Frazer and Hutchings, “The Feminist Politics” 211). The feminist concern explicates how the chief advocacy of

violence hinges upon diverse structures of demarcations, which are in both ways- either experimentally or reasonably, not acceptable. Moreover, by unwrapping the images of war and gender through examination, the feminists erode the expansive assets by which the diverse agreements on the points of connection between politics as well as violence have conventionally mend with each other.

Violence and Power

The idea of violence is inseparable from the concept of power. It differs in each discipline, depending upon the thinker. Robert Paul Wolff's deliberation on power is dependent on force and authority. He declares that "power is more often the propensity to formulate and implement decisions". The utilization of two terms happens here- "de- facto authority (the authority to give orders and directions and to be abided by)" and de- jure authority (the capability to make one's authoritative assertions tolerated by others, upon whom it is contended)" (45). Therefore, de- facto authority can be regarded as the kind of power, providing a medium through which the possessor of power administers their resolve. Wolff discusses three modes of execution of power within the society- Primarily, via the utilization of pressure, signifying the capability to reorganize the world in the manner in which the fellow human beings would find attractive or unpleasant. Secondly, by the mode of de- facto authority, which endures within it the capability to obtain compliance, and tertiary, by the use of general sentiment or the use of symbolic force.

Violence is strongly linked with, but at the same time can clearly be differentiated from politics. The essence of violence in politics is evident from the state's venture to dominate, of the military troops, lawmen, lawful penalization and in the forceful compulsion over a particular social group along with the always given out choice of violence for revolutionary motives. The difference of violence from that of

politics is evident in the contrast between engaging in conflict and vocalizing political worth, inducing others of such worthiness, or setting up, constitutionalizing, and executing strategies in social mobilization, political parties, in the governmental or administrative milieu. Within the bounds of political theory, one can find a number of methods, whereby violence and politics are recognized with, and differentiated from one another. All of these methods have distinct suggestions for the denotation as well as illustration of violence and politics, along with the delineation of advocacy of justifying discourses related to these notions.

Over time, Finley observes that “the idea of violence and politics have become more indistinct” than opposing (69). Violence, politics, and the power they encompass manifest in various forms, creating essential opportunities for discussion in today's landscape. Violence is often discussed in terms of visibility, damage, and the unavoidable act of committing it, involving both a medium and a victim. However, this description is frequently questioned in the context of contemporary scenarios. The inescapable action of executing it, afflicted by a medium and a victim, is often challenged as an adequate description of violence in the contemporary scenario, with the advancement of technology, changing needs of the population, and the ever changing platforms in which the power is being exerted. Therefore the analysis of violence, often associated with the fact that violence is now and again inflicted by an agent through direct harm alone, is now delving more into its necessary indirect form. It happens when the real agent of violence is rarely the one who transfers the move, but the source which deliberately controls the aggressor or produces the circumstances inside which the assault happened. Additionally, the contemporary circumstances too have proved that the individual purposefully or via medium is not always an obligatory setup for violence.

The current generation must make it vividly clear that the notion of political violence is not identical to the genre of war, and various thinkers have different opinions on war as an example of political violence or an absolutely different happening from what actually can be considered as political. However, various discussions invoking the idea of virtue, justice, or responsibility in order to explain political violence, repeatedly turn to reasoning and reflections on war alone. This focusing on the war especially engages with the situations or facts whereby resorting to war and managing it is just ethical. Increasingly secularized narratives of just war reflect “the integrity of the sovereign states to proceed with war” and place “considerable attention on controlling the ways of war” (Bellamy 118). But there are also many critics who increasingly focus on individualist neo-Kantian descriptions of rights and responsibilities (McMahan 8- 15) and probe into the moral framing of rights and duties at the level of the individual (Fabre 103–10). This has emerged as a “hiking argument in the justification of political violence” (Finley 279). All endeavours to circumscribe the frontiers of politics and violence, or to explain political violence complicates it more.

This thesis delves into how the execution of violence happens in a (re)-created form in the lives of the modern individual as well as communities, through execution of the power in a more persuasive manner, rather than compulsion alone. The power and violence proves to be a very closely linked entity in devising as well as executing the function of every object in its vicious loop. The selected plays- *Untitled 1* by Annie Zaidi, *Pha- La* by Abhishek Majumdar, and *The Laboratory* by Shivani Tibrewala, project the interdependence of violence and power in the functioning of various socio- political and economic structures. It in fact gives an

upper hand for the role that soft power plays in comparison to the hard power in keeping the objects unable to move out of the vicious circle.

The defining of violence in politics mandatorily calls for the reduction in the quality of violence and other related entities. Philosophers project violence conformably or descriptively as retribution, as part of self- protection, as retaliation, as disgust, as justification, as supremacy, as domination. The prominent part in the dialogues and theories of violence are on war and gender. The major concern here was how to describe and distinguish politics and violence, in order to make a demarcation between what is justifiable and unjustifiable violence. This problematisation of violence and politics is done at various levels by thinkers like Karl Marx, Georges Sorel, and Simone de Beauvoir. These historical sketches of violence refer to the manners and conclusions – with regard to the methods, development, and regulation. While here we come in contact with violence both as a direct and systemic entity, the thinkers like Hannah Arendt yearned for understanding the limit to which the feasibility of politics needed violence, both internally and externally.

In *The Human Condition* (1998), Arendt suggests a perfect outlook of political life:

What makes man a political being is his faculty of action; it enables him to get together with his peers, to act in concert, and to reach out for goals and enterprises that would never enter his mind, let alone the desires of his heart, had he not been given this gift- to embark on something new. Philosophically speaking, to act is the human answer to the condition of natality. (142)

The politics as action in the public scenario is at the focus of Arendt's deliberation of violence and of her critical analysis of enduring means of creating the association

between violence and politics. In political context, Arendt sees violence as being “by nature instrumental” and thus, “justified through the logic of means and ends” (*On Violence* 4, 79). Her notions of political thoughts stick on to the analysis of political theories with a focal point on who rules. The concept of having a government too is governing humans by humans. In this perspective, politics is a subject of instruction and compliance. The most immoderate type of violence, according to Arendt, is the one that is perpetrated against the majority either by extremists or by violent state institutions, and thereby she claims that “power and violence are opposites; where one rules absolutely, the other is absent” (*On Violence* 42). She also states that “power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert” and so when one is told to be in power, “it means that he has been empowered by a certain number of people to act in their name” (44). But, on the other hand, violence is dependent on implements, and Arendt observes that “violence can increase power only in the short run” (46). Power for that matter is different from strength and violence. It can’t be accessed essentially. It is a premise that allows individuals to reflect and take action-inclusive of reasoning and executing instrumentally or by means and end method. From this point, Arendt comes to the conclusion that no mode of government, based primarily on violence, has ever been perpetuated at any point of time. Thus, Arendt infers that “power is indeed the essence of all government” and “violence is by nature instrumental”, and thus cannot establish its core (50). It is against this theoretical context of Arendt distinguishing between power and violence that the thesis approaches the chosen plays to explore how these forces are played out in reality, but also expands upon it by addressing anarchist views on violence. Many anarchist thinkers of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries hold forth violence as “reprisal or punishment” (Miller 116-17). For the Anarchist thinkers- Mikhail

Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, and Leo Tolstoy, just like Marx and Engels, the master plan of divulging in the State's violence is at the core. It is too based on their attempts to convince others of the actuality of state violence and its remarkable profundity.

One of the challenges that were identified in anarchist political thinking is how nation-states hide coercion and violence behind the discourse of consent, civility, economic necessity, rights, and social order. This necessitates a need to identify the forms of violence which are unrecognized or accepted in law and organization. The theory of anarchism therefore anticipates violence as an element of structural arrangements in the society, especially in exposing the dynamics of state authority in reaction to doubts or even opposition to its legitimacy. By revealing such forces, anarchist intellectuals emphasize the necessity of force inherent in statehood. They, therefore, propose forms of independent existence, where, in case of true mutual powerlessness, the state turns to persuasion, negotiation, or force, which in the end reproduces coercion and violence.

Violence is firmly associated with the notion of lawful authority and it is expounded as outlawed or unwarranted need of force to achieve decisions in opposition to the discretion of other individuals. Here, violence is the utilization of coercion in manners that are unsanctioned by the conventionally embraced lawful administration within the geographical demarcation. According to Wolff, our potential to determine the "reasonable and unwarranted; lawful or illicit exercise of forces", fit to moral philosophy- preferably steered by "our values and commitments" (601, 603). But, "only, the political notion of violence can be provided with a logical definition", by depending on the conviction of the lawful political jurisdiction (615-

16). The comparative notion of power, according to the philosopher Michael Foucault as explicated in his *Psychiatric Power* (2006) is:

...Power is never something that someone possesses, anymore that is that emanates from someone. Power does not belong to anyone to or even to a group; there is only power because there are dispersions, relays, networks, reciprocal supports, differences of potential discrepancies etcetera. It is in this system of differences, which have to be analysed, that power can start to function. (4)

Foucault is engrossed in relations of power rather than power in general. According to this delineation, in this relational understanding of power, each individual inhabits an exact purpose in the power structure and this planned disposition authorises power to be implemented. In his article “The Subject and Power” (1982) he views power as neither essentially positive nor negative. Rather it is “a way in which certain actions may structure the field of other possible actions” (780). Power does not ingest domination alone, and is benevolent if not accustomed to restraint freedom of another. In this way, the relational concept of power as presented by Foucault focuses on the productive and contingent quality of power and how it is seen to exist in the form of structured possibilities of action and only becomes oppressive when it limits or does not allow freedom of other people.

Wherever power is in execution, there exists opposition towards it. In *History of Sexuality, Volume- I*, Foucault comments on the inevitable association of power and hostility/ aversion to it. He says that “where there is power, there is resistance,” and “this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” (95). Resistance emerges from the minor structures of power employed by the pertinacious, by the student community, and so on- the declared ward- off subjects. However, like a

lot of philosophers, Foucault too beheld the idea of violence and denotes the firm connection allying power and violence. In his anthology of lectures titled *Psychiatric Power* (2006), he declares that every time, violence is the end result of the exertion of physical power. Here, he assumes every form of power as corporeal, and its acquaintance of implementation being the body. Thus, power not imbued by violence is not visible power (14). Therefore, according to Foucault, power can only be intelligible as it is inscribed on the body, wherein violence serves as the material condition that makes power visible and functional.

Louis Althusser examines the idea of power in its reference to the nation-state. The state existing as the predominant political institution and a repressive device of oppression within the society, upholds its power by “Repressive State Apparatus (RSA)” (136) like police, government, etc. along with the “Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA)” (136) like school, cultural ventures, etc. The functional realm of both these apparatuses are hugely different as RSA delves into the more practical realms of society whereas ISA makes itself functional through the more enclosed personal spaces. But both these operate themselves by using the devices of violence and ideology. The sole and worthy distinction between the duo being that RSA is primarily and extensively concerned on “repression” (137) through brutal force and tangentially by ideology, while the ISA executes tremendously “by ideology”(137) and excursively by repression. In Althusser’s point of view, there is nothing to the best of human knowledge that is “entirely ideological” as many institutions “established on the ideological grounds to make use of acceptable procedures of penalizing and dismissal”. The “Repressive methods are enhanced within the premises of family too” (136- 138). The misuse of power by various apparatuses may pertain in overt as well as covert forms of violence, and power

perverted by the institutions of the nation state appears to have more substantial consequence than the mere physical power. The repressive operation of power can be noticed at various levels in the select plays studied here.

Violence is highly interconnected with power which involves coercion, force and claim of power. Violence is usually a result of the transgression or illegal discharge of authority by persons, societal clusters, or institutional arrangements, usually as a method of attaining goals that are opposed to the interests of others. It is strengthened by people in authority directly and indirectly, and can also occur when people or groups feel disempowered or deprived of power and they seek to gain it through other, more violent ways. Although some instances of violence might be justified or explained by certain situations, the fact of its occurrence depends mostly on the situational conditions, making the notion highly complicated and many-sided. Violence is an indomitable and perennial facet of human life, even though it is ambiguous.

Whether human beings partake in violent behaviour or not is a very complex question that cannot be easily explained. Whether violent nature is inborn? Or is it acquired? Can it be classified as a mental disorder? Are violent people different from others besides their hostile way of conduct? - these questions too, at some point of time, get involved with the conception of violence. Violent behaviour cannot be attributed to a single factor but it is a consequence of a combination of several interdependent factors, such as social and cultural contexts and the situational context in which a person is placed. The study of violence therefore needs to be multidimensional where the individual dispositions are taken into consideration in addition to environmental factors.

B. B. Lawrence and Aisha Karim define that “violent actions are always undertaken under the complete assistance of a context” (12). The state of affairs not only formulate performers or targets, it also brings effect on the ones who constitute violence. The conditions pertaining to violence are immense and differ relying on disparate person’s distinct encounters, their contrasting situations, etc. The trope of chains is also referred to as putting stress on the concept of violence. The entity of the chain can be reformed, modified or envisaged afresh, over and over again. All the time, it is dependent upon the specified institutions and the human medium, positioned in the particular context of time and space. Likewise, violence can be juxtaposed within a chain as it is unsteady and uncertain. Therefore, violence too, like a chain, gets susceptible to change. In addition, all the connected events of violence, “hold within it, connections that differ based on daily circumstances, but also lead to generation of various interpretations of violence, in the eyes of each spectator” (22). In a similar vein, the exercise of violence and the legitimacy of power cannot be separated out of the roles and bodies of those subjects to which it is applied: it is as fluid, as much a matter of circumstance. Also, the vital outlook, which can never be disregarded in the detailed scrutiny of power and violence is the concept of the subject. For the operation of power, it no matter requires substituting individuals as subjects to put across its substituents. The conduct of each individual labels its power as effective or valid. Meanwhile, in order to be carried out, violence always prefers a subject – a material body, human or non- human, or any lifeless object, upon which violence can be implanted. Hence, the notion of power and violence is inevitably connected with the subject.

Foucault accredits two explications for the term subject- subject to anyone by powerful domination and over- reliance; and bound to one’s own identity as a subject,

pertaining to the moral sense of right and wrong or self- actualization. Both these interpretations put forth an incarnation of power, bringing under dominant control and establishing something conditional to. He invokes three major means of transforming an independent persona into a subject. Primarily, it “prevails around manners of exploration, which allow one another, the stature of sciences and materialize the speaking subject” (“Subject and Power” 777). Secondly, “the segregating actions separate the subjects within themselves or from everyone else. For instance, the insane from the coherent” (779). Thirdly, the “manners in which the human kind acknowledge themselves to be subjects” (781). The combination of these dimensions brings out the fact that subjectivity is created and governed by social, scientific and institutional practices and determines the way people feel and enact power and violence.

In this thesis, the treatment of human beings as subjects to someone with a hand of domination over them, has equal importance like the treatment of the subjugated sections as objects, devoid of identity. In the political theories on violence, the frequent occurrence of violence has removed our focus of observation into the core of the issue, by incorporating violence in other associated categorizations like resistance, rebellion, penalty, self- armament, defence, justice, supreme power, military force, righteousness and vices of bravery or weakness, or the exquisite classification of devastation or aesthetics. Here, the attempt will be to make a move towards the politics of violence.

Elaine Scarry, a political critic, in her work *The Body in Pain* (1985), expresses the compact, remarkably astute textural examination of the anatomy of human body, suffering, and suppression, and what materializes into truth and to theoretical credibility in the forms of power. Scarry examines the two manifestations

of political violence- the process of tormenting and war. The focus is on what affliction is and what it implements. Her examination of pain puts forth that this undergoing alienates the interconnection between people, as it eventually gives awareness of how incompetent it is to share these experiences. Pain and suffering contracts the entire world into an individual's private space: "the absence of pain is a presence of the world; the presence of pain is the absence of the world" (Scarry 18). At the same time, this extends the entire scene of abuse into a frightening and outrageous event, as the actuality of a profuse emotive incident is speculated as "information gathering" (29). The analysis by Scarry highlights the fact that political violence does not only cause physical and psychological pain, but also isolates individuals, hence, making personal suffering turn into the deep breakdown of social and perceptual reality.

Real pain, agonizing pain, is inflicted on a person; but torture, which contains specific acts of inflicting pain, is also itself a demonstration and magnification of the felt experience of pain. In the very processes it uses to produce pain within the body of the prisoner, it bestows visibility on the structure and enormity of what is usually private and incommunicable, contained within the boundaries of the sufferer's body. It then goes on to deny, to falsify, the reality of the very thing it has itself objectified by a perceptual shift which converts the vision of suffering into the wholly illusory, but, to the torturers and the regime they represent, wholly convincing spectacle of power. (Scarry 27)

A crucial understanding about the involvement in the pain and wound is that it isolates the physical body affected by pain from the individual's own capabilities for language, delineation and interactivity. Scarry contends that it generates a probability

for the representation of pain to be relied on by distinct people, all the time. She asserts that the essence of all utterances of pain and hurt is parallel. The individual incidents of pain can't be questioned by the victim, as it is real for him. Anyway, to have the "second- or third-person narrative of this suffering" would be sceptical (7). But for sure, in the context of one individual forcing injury upon the other, there is an unjust association with power. She prepares us to discern how power relations are concerned with the procedures of detaching. This occurs when we portray political violence in ways, we appreciate such violence diversely.

The proper form of violence is featured by a politics of the structure of authority, command, justness and sacrifice. Nonetheless, the perpetrators of the real sort of violence pass on as the protectors of the inadequate, in defiance of repression. This statement on the politics of violence validates hardly those who murder, than those who lose life. This description of politics and violence override the involvement as well as explication of violence in addition to another entity- something that just occurred, unaccompanied by neither physical nor digressive prerequisites nor outcomes. But, if we delve more closely into the political patterns of violence and recreate it within the scope of political thinking, a noticeably more composite picture becomes visible. Thus, politics of violence, automatically expands from mere political connections that it illustrates to its authorizing circumstances and to its suggestions or implications. Every time, the examination of outcomes has been essential in understanding the political theories on violence.

On Differentiation of Politics and Violence

The definition of violence, especially political violence, is always complex because mere definitions of means and end are not enough. Political violence is not limited to observable activities such as riots or physical assaults; it is more depicted in

the associations of agents and victims both directly and indirectly that define its meaning and effect. Political violence is not a distinct and simple category; it is an inherent and complicated element of political life. Outdated perceptions- of violence as an inherent human nature or as an instrument to achieve political goals are insufficient. Political violence is changeable, restricted and socially and theoretically determined, and thus, it is a systematic human practice. Both these thought processes cannot remain alive, once political violence is developed as variable, complicated, constrained, unforeseeable and imbued with meaning. Instead, political violence turns up as a complicated human establishment, in which its effectiveness is maintained via acute collective and theoretic conditioning. This makes us arrive at a different question, - the debate over absolution or justification. The instrumental justifications paves way for methods by which violence works for some fine political motives like giving rise to command, absolving rights or providing justice. The two types of justification are based on socially endorsed rhetoric, which is often supported by gendered and aesthetic structures of war.

The entire world is intensely violent. If violence needs to be used to fight against violence, then it is a necessity to understand the manner in which violence is interpreted. Fundamentally, this version depends on our capability to differentiate amongst good and bad violence. Through the discussions made by various thinkers, we can manifest that violence is not a means or tool; - it is an association- one which depends on the specific type of political imbalance and adopted by a gamut of constitutional and digressive rankings and prohibitions. This has a very complicated and incalculable end result.

Violence against violence merely supports and legitimizes violence in the political discourse, rather than confronting it. This kind of justification blurs the line

and allows the militarization, mass armamenting and use of other techniques such as torture, especially in the grey areas between war and peace. It depends on the regeneration of the imaginary concepts of efficacy of violence as an implement, and “on the racialized and gendered identities through which we are able to sustain a sense of our own righteousness whether in oppression or resistance” (Frazer and Hutchings, *Violence Political Theory* 125). It “reinforces political violence in all its manifestations, symbolic, structural, indirect and direct” (125). The confirmation through various incidents implies that the standardization of violence in reciprocating to violence, be it in the brand- new modes of crowd control or via the systematization of the concepts of just war, is much more menacing than a commitment to battling violence in a different manner.

Violence has a politics and to the extent that we retain violence as a default position of last resort to bring about political ends, we risk conflating the politics of violence with politics per se. If we want to sustain a position in which the politics of violence does not exhaust politics, we must reject the idea that violence is a justifiable resource for politics and take our political imaginations out of the realm of the given, into a different domain of possibility. (125)

Therefore, such rationalizations eventually institutionalize violence as a valid political course of action, which reproduces the cycles of violence without revealing ethical and human enduring costs embedded in the structure of power and struggling.

Social Institutions and Violence

The operation of violence is evident in various social setups too. As this thesis focuses on the nuances in the depiction of violence in both personal and social spheres, a consideration of several social and political structures within which

violence comes across is essential. The various structures of violence are exclusively pointed at three levels- Personal, Public and Political, in spite of the fact that the structured aspect of organizational violence frequently tends to be concealed. The various institutional setups like the government, bureaucrats, military, educational institutions and even family become a constant site for violence, in the process of establishment as well as destruction of power.

The detained reclamation of the previous soaring and distressing memories brand the existence of the victim, succumbing to immense dejection and depression in the present. The select plays here, work on the vandalizing repercussions of violence in the present existence of these characters. Thus, the association of violence with memory can also be seen here. The consequence of these reminiscences, when the victim is repossessed by these in the instant; the kind of emotional and psychological devastation these impeded recoupment produce in the cognitive of the victim; the probability of the victim to prevail over such traumatic experiences of the past; the hardly unfeasible nature of such traumatic experiences- these areas are of immense importance while coming to the discussion of the select plays.

For instance, the question of being under continuous scrutiny traumatizes the existence of the writer Vishwas (protagonist) in the play *Untitled I* by Annie Zaidi. He is always precautious of the authoritative departments of the state who fearlessly intrude the individual's private space. In *The Laboratory* by Shivani Tibrewala, witnessing the constant subjugation of her mother to domestic violence as well as understanding how her illiterate mother was degraded to the status of a guinea pig for the profitable benefit of the corporate coloniser brings in a harsh impact in the mind of the budding medical professional Joy. She is brought to face the reality of the existence of the third world human bodies as mobile laboratories for helping the first

nation corporations amass huge wealth. It establishes the reality of a new mode of imperialistic violence inflicted by the corporate powers. In *Pha- La* by Abhishek Majumder, nun Deshar embarks on a constant struggle to justify her own identity. Her memory and present state of existence is fully traumatized by the painful recollection of memories of subjugation, territorial alienation, displacement and the want for an unwavering identity. Through the character of Deshar, the playwright Abhishek Majumdar delineates the struggle of every Tibetan living within the geographical territory of Tibet to pursue their own culture and Buddhist teachings, under the stringent Chinese control and scrutiny.

This thesis searches for how power and violence gets executed in the selected plays- how both complement each other in its realm of functioning, though both have their own separate existence. Both play a crucial part in creating an adverse effect on individual and collective identity. Thus, the study of the select plays show that both violence and power are correlated entities in the contemporary scenario. It has become a constant scene to contend and to establish recognition too. The recollection of violent incidents in the past can instil added charge as imputations or revelations, insignia of the continually exploited identity. Thus, in the select plays for the study, the traumatized events, with an encumbered plot of challenging moral and socio-political assertions, engage in a discussion of the significance of violence and its interdependence with power. The direct as well as the indirect involvement with the violent actions, makes a conclusive remark on the identity of the victim as the subjugated and the tormented. This simultaneously has a huge impact on their current state of welfare.

Representation of Violence

A discussion on the representation of violence becomes relevant here because drama has got an inducing power over the readers through its mode of narration. This shows a positive thematic evolution of Indian English Drama at the international level. In the view of Hannah F. Pitkin representation is an individual process, which is immensely composite providing “an extensive scale of approaches in diverse circumstances” (8). The representation is the “re-presenting of an entity, which is however absent then. In representation, an absent entity gets represented literally” (8). Anyhow, the role of representation is vital in the generation and distribution of meaning. This complicated notion is bound to political overtones. Frequently, representation gives an impression of being determined by concerns of the prominent sections of the society, where appears an indirect function of the frames of power. This totally affects the action of representation.

E. H. Carr explains in *What is History?* (1990) that, the various circumstances in history, “do not speak for themselves” (7). It verbalizes only at the will of the historian. The details of reality are reliant on the responsiveness of the historian who “selects and arranges the facts” (9) and elucidates it with a fictional apprehension of “what the reader for whom he is writing needs” (30). Similarly, representation is a personalized choice, configuration, and elucidation by the person who represents things. Linguistic elements do have a vital part here. According to Stuart Hall, language is a core element in the “process of representation” (59). Language functions like a symbolic system constituting various symbols that portray distinct individuals, their “concepts, ideas and feelings” (59). The entities acquire meaning according to its mode of representation via language. In a much broader perspective, language is not

just the words articulated in either spoken or written form, rather it encompasses every socio-cultural activity that symbolizes and portrays anything.

The representation of violence happens in all disciplines including art, literature, theatre and media. During the process of representing, the various modes of portrayal throw in immense alternatives. Representation of violence is double stranded- one, representation can pave way to further increased sense of violence and two; it may be utilized to reduce the expansion of violence. Rather than representing violence to prevent the progression of violence; occasionally, the representation by its very nature may transform to an action of violence, stirring up an added sense of violence. Such representations over emphasize actions containing violence and thus infers a negative impression. Hence, what is of great importance is the demeanour of representation- how the portrayal of violence be accustomed to stop the development of violence. The method of representation will give rise to an unpropitious after effect on the spectators, if not handled proficiently, to avoid any negativity. Slavoj Zizek's method on how to represent violence needs to be remarked here. In *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections*, Zizek points out that:

A distinction needs to be made, as well, between truth (factual) and truthfulness: what renders a report on a raped woman (or any other narratives of trauma) truthful is its factual unreliability, its confusion and its inconsistencies. If the victim were able to report on her painful and humiliating experience in a clear manner, with all the data arranged in a consistent order, this very quality would make us suspicious of its truth... The only appropriate approach to my subject thus seems to be the one which permits variations on violence kept at a distance out of respect towards its victim. (3)

Thus, truthful representation of violence will have an increased impact than the blatant representation of violence. Zizek also stresses that there is a significance of investigating the causation of violence and to embrace hands-on methods to find an answer to the dilemma rather than going along with simulated determination (4-8). In all the selected plays, readers are given a space to experience the element of violence as they are made aware of the meaning of violence happening around them and even involving them in a more authoritative and meaningful manner.

Filippo Tommao Marinetti in “The Variety Theatre” (1973), comments as follows on the nature of audience:

Introduce surprise and the need to move among the spectators... spread a powerful glue on some of the seats ... sell the same ticket to ten people:... - Offer free tickets to gentlemen or ladies who are notoriously unbalanced, irritable, or eccentric and likely to provoke uproars with obscene gestures,... Sprinkle the seats with dust to make people itch and sneeze, etc. (130)

The pool of readers become or at least relate them to the victimised object themselves solely via the effect of such disturbing scenes and through the power of inducement that the writer uses in the play. All over, it creates feelings of anger, irritation, exhilaration, refreshment or animosity. The productions of modern Indian drama evade boundaries of conventional theories. It fervently refutes or doesn't confine itself within the claims of interpretative aesthetics, which attempts to appreciate the artistic activity alone. The omnipresence of violence demonstrates in it to the person via means of legislations, amenities, and inequity. So, the select plays here becomes the depiction of or a sign of violence that each person tolerates when under the control of the state and this certainly engraves in essence the physique as well as the inner consciousness of the physically present body. Perhaps such practices evoke everyday

ventures in common man's life, inferring that the excessive consumption of many artefacts is a hint for human beings towards the covetous, materialistic bound capitalist society.

For the readers, the events represented are the mirroring of their own implicit victimization at the hands of the state. The readers often expound that these representation of violence, which is too ruthless, may extent from self- torture to the other types of violence that each individual may come across either by the virtue of the event itself or by the agency of the state. The readers potentially take these representations of violence as a censure of societal circumstances, which acknowledges the afflicted as victimised by the state and is in need of self- denial. It can be inferred from the select plays for study that, rather than producing aesthetic works, the writers try to progressively generate moments, involving both the written work and the readers. Thus the context necessitating representation and recognition via art, have got altered in a decisive manner. The crucial factor of these representations of violence is not anymore an artistic creation disconnected and free from its author and the reader. In replacement of this, there is an analysis of the contemporary play of power and violence, amalgamated by the activities of both the writer and the reader. Thus, bringing a change in the concrete and semiotic status of the objects involved in the representation.

Research Methodology

The methodology of this research is discourse analysis of the select plays in order to analyse whether power and violence are non- dualistic entities or not, as per the many contemporary issues put forth and discussed. According to Arendt, both power and Violence are dualistic entities. This research seeks to make certain propositions regarding the time tested applicability of violence in a democracy.

However, the political consequences of such violence have most of the times been excluded from being part of political philosophy and theory. Violence is basically downplayed and summoned as an “extra-political phenomenon” (Winter 1), given a “natural and originary impulse” (2), that makes new policies and regulations possible and which is further subsequently “refined through politics” (4). It is used as “an instrumental tool”, and its effect provides proof of the given statement (6-7).

Prescriptions concerning violence are usually linked to rebellions, terrorism and genocide and these generally stay outside the domain of the empirical political assessment which they seldom encroach into. As with violence, power is also “depoliticized” or its use and function is limited to the level of “personal meaning-making” (Allen 131, 149). Some define power as solely “unrelated to, and even opposite” of, “violence” (Hayward 274, 280); others admit violence as a definite “instrument of power” (Lukes 83), but it’s often “minimized or theoretically marginalized” within political sphere (Searle 173). An important problem of politicized violence remains outside discourses on power, and hence, a generally underdeveloped concept of violence is used to reveal how power maintains the present-day order.

Political violence both “overt and covert”, continues to threaten the world's security today (Lindemann 45). Political fights over “power resources and beliefs” generate violence that takes many forms from “official actions of the state” to protests from the ground up (Cornell et al. 102). Both gender identity and political violence form an intricate yet underappreciated relationship. Most societies have missed the true nature of political violence because accounts of women taking part in these practices tend to remain “invisible or rare” (Cornell et al. 87). Growth in “identity categories” has led readers to see violence as more than individual acts, now they

view it as “part of today's domination system” (Crenshaw 1241). Acknowledging political violence as a basic system problem helps us control it more effectively. When groups facing discrimination come together through identity-based politics it helps them build strength and knowledge while creating meaningful communities to fight against systematic unfairness that produces violence. Activities that are motivated by collective identity have become popular but are incompatible with mainstream liberals where identity is seen as an obsolete bias.

According to Hannah Arendt, power is constructed and sustained through interactional processes. Power and violence are antithetical to her because the latter cannot build power in the way such practices do. Arendt completely eliminates not only violence, but most of the material activity of mankind and its outcomes from the process of power generation. Though these may be the preconditions for power to develop, in Arendt's account, these do not hold any constitutive function. Such a position renders it difficult to study the continued impacts of violence on the present-day democratic power relations. Hence, unlike this dualistic vision, it is necessary to underline that power relations are made of heterogeneous elements and are not exclusively violent.

In her books *The Human Condition* and *On Violence* Hannah Arendt shows us how power and violence work differently in our world. Based on her research Arendt shows “violence and power are separate elements that frequently operate in opposition” (Kateb 42). According to Arendt, power and violence operate as distinct forces that usually work against each other. Power emerges when groups unite and agree but violence develops as a substitute for lacking power. In Arendt's analysis power means joining together to create beginnings for the political world. When people lose their capacity to accomplish tasks they turn to violent methods to control

others. Arendt looks at violence and power through her fundamental theories about the human experience in politics. According to Arendt, political action requires “unpredictable starts to new processes” that differ entirely from the control-based nature of violence (Kateb 130). According to Arendt, “violence erases all that it touches because it destroys, not builds, connections between people who need each other to create power and act together politically” (Grunenberg 961). Arendt's analysis of power and violence teaches us important facts about our present-day politics. Through Arendt's analysis we gain better tools to study both modern political power struggles and “how violence affects public space” (Merino 53). All in all, the insights of Arendt show that the difference between power and violence is a key to understanding modern politics and how violence pervades collective action and the life of the masses.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault investigates how modern societies can achieve social control through the interaction of violence, authority, and imposed discipline. Through his analysis, Foucault shifts our view of power from the traditional image of forceful commands down to the ground up arrival and shows how power becomes active through gentle training systems. Through historical examples, Foucault demonstrates how changing forms of power, since public executions replaced disciplinary tactics, influence modern violence practices. In his essay, Anderson explains how modern societies have “replaced old-fashioned brute violence” with “non-obvious disciplining procedures” (329). Disciplinary power explains how violence and power influence each other in the perspective of Foucault. Organizations use disciplinary power by making people “submit to social rules” and produce “compliant bodies” through monitoring systems plus alignment to norms and time limits (Anderson 329). Beliefs and conduct of individuals improve automatically

without physical compulsion through disciplinary power's methods. This power operates anywhere people interact and it extends beyond standard control facilities into all parts of social existence including personal settings. Foucault examined power and violence to influence studies of education, sociology and political science strongly. Through his research Foucault showed us that “administrative procedures” serve as methods “of control” (Deacon 180) that make education “appears neutral and non-coercive,” nonetheless “produces regulated and productive subjects” (Marshall 105). Foucault proved that even education methods made to look good and fair can serve a power system by enforcing tight control.

The thesis makes an examination of the dynamics of violence and power based on these perspectives propounded by Foucault, and Arendt. The three plays selected here for the study are:

- (i) *Untitled 1* by Annie Zaidi- The play is the recipient of *The Hindu Playwright Award* in 2018. Though the play is placed in the near future, it talks of the reality of a totalitarian nation-state controlling its subjects and their existence via both direct and indirect modes of surveillance. The play is very captivating with the depiction of designed violence and its execution via various modes of power, through the conversations over artistic freedom, happening between Vishwas (protagonist) and his wife Dina. They are constantly scrutinized by the agents like the officials from various departments of the state.
- (ii) *Pha- La* by Abhishek Majumdar- This academic play was realized with the help of Re-Imagine India and Arts Council England. The fund for implementing this play was availed by the playwright from the Foundation for Universal Responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. It premiered at the

Royal Court Jerwood Theatre Upstairs, Sloane Square on the 3rd of April, 2019 and was published by Oberon books, London also in 2019. The play discusses the loss of autonomy of Tibetans and the lack of identity that the Tibetans living within Tibet face, under the control of the Chinese authority.

- (iii) *The Laboratory* by Shivani Tibrewala- Shivani Tiberewala's play 'The Laboratory' was first performed on April 27, 2008 during the National Bioethic Conference held in PSG Institute of Medical Science, Coimbatore organized by the Indian Council of Medical Research. What is more, the playwright acted as the director of the play. The work was later on published in 2012 by A Writers Workshop Bluebird Book. It specifies how multinational pharmaceutical companies originating from developed nations use the bodies of indigent uneducated people in the developing world to test new drugs so that they obtain patents faster than their counterparts and thereby generate lots of cash. This has been heralded by the critics as an effective means of tackling the postmodern unethical realities of the giant pharmaceutical companies' abuses and exploitation of vulnerable subjects of the Global South.

In order to delineate the importance of different forms of violence discussed in these select plays, the concept of "Hard and Soft power" introduced by Joseph Nye is made use of in this thesis (Nye, *The Future Power* 19, 29). In international politics, agenda setting is an important tool since it entails influence and persuasion and gives one government leverage over other governments. Soft power as a term was first introduced by Joseph Nye in the 1990s; it is different from hard power, it uses attraction rather than force. Even though soft power is traced back to the 1980s, one can hardly observe unified opinion on the measurement of the concept and

identification of its particular instruments. The primary concern of the dichotomous approach is mainly an attempt to classify the management instruments and behaviours as “either hard or soft power” (Trunkos 397), whereas the mixed approach continues a focus on the “perception and relations between these various instruments” (Atkinson and Coffey 46). In such a way, the inability to agree on the definition and measurement of soft power emphasizes the complexity of the concept of soft power and the necessity to introduce more integrative frameworks that would look beyond strict classifications and towards relational conceptualization of power.

Despite these interrogations on Violence and power by Arendt and Foucault, the concepts of Hard and soft power introduced by the political analyst Joseph Nye too becomes worthy while making a complete analysis of the dynamics of power in the selected plays. Joseph Nye's hard and soft power framework impacts how violence functions in international relations. As Nye explains, “soft power operates through attraction and persuasion grounded in cultural values and policy legitimacy” (Sheikh and Rashid 29), while “hard power relies on military force and economic pressure to influence state behavior” (Rugh 3). The difference between hard and soft power shapes the workings of political violence across today's global landscape according to Lam. Throughout history states have depended on military intervention and economic pressure to control other nations effectively. After conflicts like the Iraq War witnessed “failing military strategies harmed US political goals” demonstrated that, under the soft power approach states can reach their goals by “spreading their cultural and ideological beliefs” (Nye, *Future of Power* 67). As Lam points out, “the interplay between hard and soft power fundamentally shapes the manifestation of political violence in the contemporary global order” (349). Countries now put more

importance on soft power strategies like public diplomacy, public exchange and building a good international image while working in foreign relations.

The consequences of this change extend across different areas. When nations use soft-power strategies they need less political violence because persuasion and attraction bring better results than military coercion. According to Nye "getting others to support our goals reduces the need for encouragement and rewards to achieve our objectives" (Sheikh and Rashid 29). The recent growth of soft power strategies does not make hard power unimportant. Multiple countries around the world keep strong military forces standing guard to defend their core objectives. The importance of soft power has grown because it now plays a dominant role in how nations influence global politics. Soft power adoption by states has changed their methods of using political violence. States today prefer indirect ways to fight their opponents including digital cyber assaults, financial restrictions and controlled story creation in place of using military strength (Nye, *The Future Power* 153).

Concentrating on soft power application by the military, prior works have largely dealt with the "different nation states and their initiatives of military education, training, exchanges etc." (VanOudenaren & Fisher 107-8). However, there has been minimal research regarding how the middle power countries may also utilize their hard power and soft power capacities. Moreover, there has not been adequate analysis on how these kinds of middle power countries may apply a hard power capacity as soft power. Thus, this thesis has the tendency of filling the mentioned gap through the evaluation of power and violence in the selected Indian English drama as well as evaluating their correlations and their applicability in the political context.

Situated as a capacity that is employed to realize successful results, power is an essential element of organizational leadership. It manifests in two primary forms:

soft power and hard power. The two main concepts concerning the international relations that are vital in analysing the foreign policy of a country are hard power and soft power. Coercive diplomacy is defined as the possession of the resources and the capability of a state or a non-state player to employ threats and pressure to force another player to deliver a specific favourable outcome. “Threatening people or showing dominance is part of an actor’s competence”, which is an essential element of the use of hard power (Pallaver 97). On the other hand, soft power is the power as a result of making others willingly want to follow your direction without employing force or resorting to such things like financial pressure. The concept of smart power by Joseph Nye is based on the use of hard and soft power where one has to strategically use both to gain advantage in the state’s goal in the foreign relations. Hard power depends on one’s military power, economical power, sanctions or punitive measures aimed at another party. It depends on the capabilities to influence people’s behaviour and force them to act in specific ways using threats or enticements, respectively. While the former is characterised by force and coercion in the use of power, the latter is softer and indirect, appealing to culture and diplomacy and the use of charm to get others to do what they want. Thus, soft power complemented with the traditional understanding of power as military and economic muscle, so-called smart power allows actors to coordinate their actions and achieve the desired goal in a constantly changing world.

Based on these concepts, of violence and power and its influence in contemporary international politics, the second chapter of this thesis deals with the analysis of the play *Untitled 1* by Annie Zaidi. Analysis of the play is based on the theoretical concept of “Liquid Surveillance” by Zygmunt Bauman and David Lyon. It analyses the death of Autonomy and deterioration of privacy resulting from

surveillance and the causing of uncertainty over the identity of the individual. The use of Hard Power through the thorough scrutiny by the state institutions as well as the intensive use of Soft power in the name of enhancing security is also assessed.

Finally, this chapter looks into the concept of Surveillance Capitalism introduced by Susannah Zuboff, intruding into the life of the common man. The major research objectives of this chapter include:

- (i) Examining the depiction of violence in the play *Untitled-1* comprises detecting the variety of violence portrayed (Physical, Psychological, Structural), probing the drives behind these violent actions, and measuring the influences of these on characters' lives and the whole storyline.
- (ii) Explore the power dynamics in this dramatic composition by focusing on how power is circulated and used amid the characters, directing on how this power play adds to or originates from those violent activities. To contemplate on the involvement of social institutions in spreading power disparities.
- (iii) To explore the depiction of privacy and its abuse within the play. Evaluate how the character's privacy gets endangered or negotiated and the concerns of the same on the personal lives and affairs of those involved.
- (iv) Evaluating how violence and the power involved thereby impact the common man's lives. It comprises assessing the character's involvements with violence on a daily basis, their surviving methods, and their strategies of resistance.
- (v) Examining the dramatic techniques like the play's structure, dialogues and other devices to add to the expression of the themes of violence, power, and privacy. And to understand how they contribute to the overall conveyance of the message.

(vi) Reverberating alongside the existing apprehensions about violence, power, and privacy, to traverse through the socio- political context explicated through the play *Untitled 1* and assess the significance of violence, power, and privacy in the contemporary Indian society.

The third chapter makes an analysis of the play *Pha- La* by Abhishek Majumdar and sees into the alienated existence of Tibetans within their Geographical Terrains. Understanding individual aggression as the source of conflict, it comprehends the need for a proper resolution, by the theoretical understanding of three kinds of violence introduced by Johan Galtung and John Burton's Human Needs Model. The forceful cultural and educational reforms introduced by the Chinese authority on the Tibetan territory converts into a soft power for exhibiting the Chinese dominance in the long run. Chinese authority's intrusion and working of the Tibetan land introduces a monopoly over the land. The major research objectives of this chapter include:

- (i) Examine the depiction of Tibetan Identity in the play *Pha-La* and how external forces try to control it.
- (ii) Assess how the characters try to explicate their identity amidst the cultural and political gravities. How the characters in the play attack the oppressive external authority and affirm their agency.
- (iii) Scrutinize the types of violence portrayed in *Pha- La* and its impact on Tibetan society as an ethnic minority. This aims at an analysis of the concerns at the individual level and the community level.
- (iv) To explore the power dynamics exercised in the relations between Tibetans and the Chinese dominating forces. To look into how power is used, sustained, and defied in the specific context of the play. Detect the various

modes of resistance (both visible and invisible), and calculate their efficiency and limitations.

(v) The significance of spirituality, the Buddhist beliefs and practices as a foundation for resilience, comfort, as well as an agenda of confrontation for Tibetan's in resisting the oppressive forces.

(vi) To examine how the playwright makes use of various dramatic techniques to add to the conveyance of the overall theme of the play.

The fourth chapter analyses the play *The Laboratory* by Shivani Tibrewala. Its exploitation of third- world bodies as mere laboratories for testing the newly discovered drugs by First world corporates, looks into the Corporate Colonization and its functioning on the neo- imperialistic mode of violence. The concept of Disaster Capitalism too becomes a focus here. The Hard power of the corporates functions via the hospitals and professionals becoming the agents whereas illiteracy and poverty of the third- world nation- states become a suitable platform for implementing the soft mode of functioning for the corporates. The major research objectives of this chapter include:

(i) To interrogate the various types of violence in which the pharmaceutical corporations get involved in like the bodily harm done for the sake of drug testing, economic and psychological exploitation, by taking into consideration their aftereffect over the third world population.

(ii) Explicate how first nation corporations exercise power via modes of controlling various resources, twisting of rules according to their requirements, and establishing a kind of dependency.

- (iii) Ascertain the different modes of resistance employed by the characters from oppositions at the personal level to different modes of defiance in collective manner and assess their aftereffects as well as limitations.
- (iv) Examine the ethical problems confronted by the characters within the play and consider the larger ethical concerns adjoining corporate responsibility and human rights.
- (v) Evaluating the socio-economic and political aspects that lead to the defencelessness of third world population to pharmaceutical exploitation.
- (vi) Assessing the play's structure and other devices to comprehend their contribution in conveying the overall theme of the play.

The fifth chapter of this thesis contains the conclusion of the study. Violence gets perpetuated continuously and power gets involved in it in one way or the other. Arendt argues that violence and power are dualistic entities and both have a separate existence. But, through the study of the selected plays, it is found that violence and power can have their own existence, but they are non- dualistic in their functioning. Chapter six of this thesis deals with recommendations for further study on the topic.

Chapter Two

Blue-pencilled Lives: Identity, Autonomy, and the Vicious Parameters of Surveillance Capitalism in the Play *Untitled 1* by Annie Zaidi

The complicated power dynamics in the digitized world are much more ubiquitous and thus catastrophic than those of all previous forms of power structures. The modern-day governments continuously proclaim the essential modifications or the timely restructuring required in the name of security, to not treat the cause but the effect, as it's more economic and less problematic. Surveillance of citizens in a consolidated form has developed into an actuality in every society supposed to be existing for the welfare of its subjects. The work of the administrative mechanism over such sophisticated, correlated data structures was huge and so many plans were sought to prevent the disintegration of this system. Thus through the newly advanced surveillance system the government initiates for the policy of "a fully integrated government network" (Campbell and Connor 89). This change implies a move towards an alternative of integrated control under the programme of a fully unified grid of government.

The new structures of surveillance build nuanced patterns by themselves and make the inhabitants reside within it with their own free will. Now desire and inclination is utilised in achieving those purposes which were commonly executed by normative rules and directives. Rather than the exigencies pursuing its targets, it is the duty of the ones offering the service to track the chances of dominance or bondage. The new mammoth of power in the near future, termed as "control" (Burroughs 42), confined in itself alacritous, active embodiments of "free- floating control" (Deleuze, "Postscript" 4). In this ever-changing pattern, control no more hunts but implants itself inside the schemes of service, transforming power pervasive, and proactive.

Liquid Surveillance and Security Concerns: A Reduced Life under Authoritarian Control

Living in a completely surveilled society, where surveillance has become boundless, it is always better to look into that society, in order to understand the volume of private data stored by the administrative, bureaucratic and various departments of maintenance of law and security. Here, surveillance has to do with the rule over facts and documentation. It can be inferred that the magnitude of surveillance in such a society is essential in identifying how individual data is procured and utilised as well as for searching the steadiness maintained between security and privacy of the individual. As surveillance becomes more and more dependent on facts, it becomes indispensable to disparagingly scrutinise its consequences on personal liberties, responsibility, and the disposition of truth enclosed by the machineries of governance.

In the play, Untitled 1, the protagonist Vishwas gets targeted as a potential deviant of the laws and regulations of the state by assessing him through the stored data of his daily interactions. He himself senses a dark place around the artist, at least around the interrogative attitude of his mind, created by the power structures of the society. The close scrutiny of the authoritative structures fences the freedom of speech and expression, a condition faced by any writer in the modern scenario. Vishwas points out that he is not delving into the terrains of other living beings, but he is just excavating the ideas and thoughts deep within himself.

Modern day surveillance begins with the process of monitoring at the initiating points rather than from its deduced and anxious destinations. This imparts detecting, detaining, and deactivating the accused from the mainstream scenario, and welcoming the function of various departments concerned with the maintenance of

law and order in the works of crime deterrence. Here, Hannah Arendt's "floating' of authority/ power" can be brought forth since the new mode of surveillance diffuses authority amidst numerous organisational structures of governance , facilitating an enlarged and most often undetectable mode of control, that operates in an excessively deterrent manner rather than receptively ("What is Authority" 121) . The concept of responsibility casted as buoyant is the most extensive and productive schemes of adiphorization, of incapacitating ethical aversion in carrying out unethical actions and the prime application of the norm of influential coherence in the selection of manners to advance.

According to Bauman, the contemporary form of modernity has gotten far and more "liquefied" (*Liquid Modernity* 31). On account of the fact that these structures have a brief lifespan, they can no longer freeze themselves into settings of apropos for various human activities and plans of action. Thus, surveillance has become lively, exuding and unfurling into numerous spheres of life. In a liquid modern society categorised by temporary and imbalanced structures of governance, surveillance arises as a vigorous and prevalent instrument that responds to and invades manifold facets of ordinary life.

Similarly, the society of control put forth by Gilles Deleuze conveys that surveillance enhances more like a sneaking weed rather than the mere vertical growth of a tree (*Negotiations* 177). Kevin D. Haggerty and Richard Ericson elucidates that "Surveillant Assemblage" (605) snatches the movement and distribution of the data of the physical body, swinging them into extremely liquid substances with moving "data doubles" (610). Hereby, a manifold number of assumed significations, definitions and infrastructures of modern-day life dissolve its boundaries, initiating even the well-defined concepts to liquefy. Nation-state is a self-governing political body constituted

by a definite territory and a demographic group that has a common perception of identity, frequently grounded on linguistic, cultural, or ethnic aspects (Heywood 92). Vishwas, the protagonist of the play, fails to be part of the nation- state because he lacks mobility in his actions and are therefore not traceable. Didier Bigo reveals that the function of security is in tracing “everything that moves (Products, information, capital, humanity)” (“Security and Immigration” 68). Consolations and compensations are poured on those active categories in society, for whom these innovative technicalities become visible as natural. Profiling practices and insular methods look for those categories which are unfortunate enough to be tagged as unwelcome.

Vishwas’ situation under the authoritative and controlling nation state is so appalling. The system treats individuals as fragmented particles for initiating the process of datafication, happening at different layers down the fortifying framework of digitalized networking. The citizen in Vishwas terribly fail to follow the hyper-industrial society of our days. From emotional analysis to the face-detection softwares, all in the new emerging form of tyranny, are programmed to convert the procured information for which the protagonist is yet not ready, despite the dire consequences. It showcases the modes in which power and politics are ever-changing but at the same time shattering vividly, departing from customary standards and associations.

Power as of now remains in the international and extraneous space, but politics which is associated with the interest of the individual as well as the general public, continues to be provincial, incapable of performing at the universal level. In the absence of any political authority, power gets transformed as the root cause of unreliability while politics appears to be indifferent to numerous individual’s issues

and worries. The power of surveillance in the play, practiced by various departments and associated sections of the government just like many corporate powers, befall into this characterization. This breakdown of faith in established structures' power ranges over governance, permeating even into the realm of creative form of communication, where writers struggle with the threats of enunciating truth under the pervasive, unrelenting gaze.

The writers who pen everything within and over the earth find it troublesome to document their own deaths in the current scenario, where under total surveillance and complete control, the individual statement of the facts, even if true, will undergo a thorough scrutiny if not backed by the account of credible witnesses. Vishwas confines to the dark spaces in order to continue his process of writing because of the frightful results that contemporary technology has upon his morals. The instrumentality of the human sense is not anymore regulating the modes to ends but permits our destinations to be persisted by the accessible methods. When the concept of we can do it, so we will do it prevails over the individual's options, the individuals attain a position with respect to which the ethical clarity of the human actions and their inhumane consequences cannot be reliably put forward or effectually realised.

The documentation of the previous activities of the protagonist Vishwas places him as an object to be placed under more scrutiny by the state. Once registered as an individual with a record of activities against the modified rules and regulations of the state within the networked spaces, traps Vishwas in the helix of "Data Images" created by the algorithms (Laudson, "Dossier Society" 4). Within the security bonds of the nation- state, political existence has become impossible for Vishwas, as the state that has been declared a democracy is fast turning into a security state. The current surveillance state model insinuates that any venture to annihilate the existing

system becomes a more favourable chance to regulate those efforts to move in a beneficial manner towards the system, however fierce the venture may be. This is well evident in the case of Vishwas that, how much he tries to escape or stand apart from the functional system of the state, more and more he comes to be treated as a traitor with respect to the nation state. He seems to fall constantly into the violent helix of the power structure, which is a continuous, vicious circle.

This mechanism of continual surveillance and domination over people like Vishwas discerns a resembling in the theoretical outline of Mark Poster, on the emphasising of tagging and power by the information technologies. According to Mark poster, the recently developed “mode of information” witnesses the electronic form of stored data inflicted upon others (25). These stored data located in specific matrices within the network is seen restricting the lattice of all kinds of classifications and areas that are in need of gradation as well as immersed in the obscurities of daily articulations and memories. The State is never ready to delve into a thorough investigation towards the well-being of its individuals because from the point of view of the state, such an investigation would turn to be more subjective and will thereby question the objectivity as well as reliability of the data stored in the networked spaces. These moderated dialects add up to the recently developed arena of network space intersecting with the Industrialist economy, the state and the individual. Thus, they materialise precisely into technically modified society, eroding the frontiers demarking the spaces defined as personal and public.

While Vishwas sits in his office with his “laptop open”, gazing at its screen, he feels somewhat safe by ensuring himself that even the minute outlets are being covered with “blinds” (Zaidi, I. 1). In the meantime, while Vishwas is trying to sense and assimilate his thoughts into words, again the pre- writing process gets interrupted

by “Satyajit B.”, an officer from the “Department of Public communication of the state” (I. 2). Vishwas senses the need to pretend as an apt individual of the monotonous Society in order to avoid frequent inspection. Satyajit, feels it redundant to break the rules of society and question the scrutiny of the state, as it is for the welfare of its citizens. Unlike Vishwas, the routine movement of life is considered the most comfortable zone for any citizen to live in as it’s devoid of having any animosity with the state. A new kind of power which does not seem to fall into this limitless spiral structure of security is what the present situation demands for. Giorgio Agamben states, “... to think of something, a purely “destituent power”, that cannot be captured in the spiral of security” in the context of the sovereign power using law to sustain control and security (“What Destituent Power” 2). Likewise, Vishwas is becoming the prey of violence instituted in the process of building, conserving, and maintaining law. However pure his resistance against this is, so much he is endlessly defeated in his struggles against the power structure of the authoritative state.

Consequently, the sudden official visit of Satyajit B. puts Vishwas in a rather rancorous condition, and makes him more uncomfortable as he is unable to judge the main intention behind this visit. Within sometime Vishwas gets convinced that the purpose of Satyajit’s visit with all the digitalized official documents containing the records of the social media streaming and the data regarding his personal communication is to make a track on his creative activities. The discrepancy in assessing the odd sort of messages, having indirect and inbuilt meanings sent by Vishwas, surfaces disturbances within the system. The much advanced and technophile surveillant system is unable to judge the play of semantics that Vishwas implement throughout his writings and is discontent in his resistance towards updating himself with the digitalized era. His obstinate determination to stand away

from almost all accessible ways of scrutinizing, again puts Vishwas under the precautionary list of the authority that his activities in seclusion signals an impending dysfunction to the set system. Thus, denying him to be incorporated as a subject admissible within the system of a surveillant Society.

Vishwas is questioned about the “footnotes” on history that he sent out very recently (I. 3). As Satyajit extends his official enquiry on Vishwas, with his phone carrying the digitized document of the same. Community policing attempts to foresee predictable calls by recognising regional level crimes and the problems of disruption via examining as well as predicting in accordance with the collective demographic and other societal data, inclusive of insertions from the society groups. “Hotspots” become the focus of the officials in charge of the maintenance of law and order in order to install suitable precautionary actions (Campbell and Conor 227). Vishwas becomes a focal point of the state as there is a heightened level of tension or a possibility for sudden conflict or transformation against the operation of the state.

The magnitude of the issue expands when Vishwas answers, “In the end, we shall be nothing more, and nothing less, than the footnotes of history” (I. 3). The official is unable to take receipt of Vishwas’s reply that it was unintentional. The official enquiries on the meetings that Vishwas conducts in his own house in a very abrupt manner. Techno-policing diminishes the freedom of the residents of the nation as the unconditional suspicion enhances and abruptly intensifies the reliance of police on the stored data of the individual deduced from the community (Dandekar 132). In addition, the advent of Satyajit B. increases Vishwas’ powerlessness, as the uncertainty in the official visit aggravates his previously breakable state, positioning him further estranged and ambiguous amidst an oppressive system.

The documented data of Vishwas as a competent writer thinking on a totally different line and working off- grid are stored in detail and for a longer period of time in the networked space. Within the power of the network space, the complex analytical methods within the matrix outlines the individual as well as a specific demographic profile based on the assembled data. The enhancing administrative surveillance in the contemporary scenario generates, “new category of relationships between ordinary people and large centralised organisations” (Rule 115). The categorization of Vishwas as a deviant soon brings all his close associates under the state scanner. Vishwas, his wife Dina, and his friend Kamal soon become the targets of severe scrutiny as potential spots of deviants in the statistical chart of the state.

The new regulations enacted by the government to liberate the citizens towards a larger space by introducing them towards the digitization of all formats of conversation, finally comes to infringe the professional freedom of Vishwas. With the remote form of surveillance, not only the written words, but even the abstract thoughts in his mind becomes an area to be investigated by the authority, leaving the writer and his family to succumb to the pressures of the authority (I. 3) The continuous scaling down of Vishwas' “communication graph”, especially to an extreme low of two points while involving in conversation with his wife, increases the department's suspicion over the sudden meetings that he hosts in his house (I. 3). The playwright effectively depicts the sickness of the human spirit completely under surveillance in this post- political age.

The domineering nation- state with the ever- ending metastability, enhanced by the conflicts, try to foster a kind of corporate modulation through its new system of control. As in such a system, what becomes the individual's onus is to be graphed according to the changing standards established every time. In a way the control

societies promote or rather imbibe the corporate model: "... the corporation is a spirit, a gas" (Deleuze, "Postscript" 7). It spreads everywhere. Vishwas' reassertion of the reconnection with the old long-lost friends is convergently associated with the probability of all prospective talents of the nation- state associating to move against the technophile- monopolizing state. The party hosted by Vishwas becomes the concern of the Department with the abrupt re-emergence of Kamal, a long lost associate of Vishwas as well as an ex- member of the Department of Communication.

As stated by Agamben, the modern- day government system works upon the dictum of Quesnay's theory that it is arduous to tame the "causes", and thus it is relatively risk free and more functional to control the aftereffects ("For a Theory" 38). As the character of Vishwas traverses a governance system that retorts only once the interruptions ensue, Vishwas becomes a matter to be subjected under stringent regulations of the state. In the perception of Vishwas, it is the production and consumption of information and facts that keeps the system running. The binary notions of liberty such as "negative" and "positive" put forth by Isaiah Berlin can be engaged with here (122). The alleviation of negative freedom calls for the planned intervention of one more representative, while the reduction of the positive freedom develops out of the need for self- command of citizens. Vishwas is forced to oblige with the rules of the state and make himself available to the technological boosting of the freedom of the citizens in both the above prescribed patterns. The users of these technologies and their activities are sanctioned by the government, as they are hyper- visible. But in reality, the subject's liberty is restricted all- together. Thus, the technologically controlled regulations of present society, raises the uncertainty over the notion of consent.

In the new system of control, everything is numerically coded, including the individuals too. While government officials like Satyajit squeak into all possible slots and cubby holes of an individual's life, Vishwas acknowledges these information extracting practices as forsaken in the name of citizen outreach. The playwright opines that various citizen outreach programmes initiated by the state for ensuring the welfare of its subjects function with the intention of the entire social security to be permeated via a main pointer index by collecting and sorting data in a single file. The logic for implanting this perception arises from the incapability of the systemic to comprehend an all-inclusive sketch of the subject because of the incomplete records kept as separate parts in different government departments, a situation that has placed Vishwas—whose declining graph and determined opposition to docility spot him as defiant—as a pivotal topic of apprehension for the nation-state's Department of Communication. For instance, in the play, Satyajit says, "Here's your usage. Voice, across three apps. ... Data use is slipping. Downward trend for two years. Only a small spike in voice calls made the old-fashioned way. Once or twice a month. You just had two conversations with your own wife last week" (I. 3). In this way, the discontinuous reasoning of bureaucratic surveillance, which relies on partial and disaggregated data, forms Vishwas not as an understandable citizen but as a statistical outlier, in which waning communicative obedience is interpreted as political insubordination, which ultimately justifies the state practice of being anxious and intervening in the name of national security.

This remark by the official Satyajit echoes the tracking and scrutinization of personal data, demonstrating how an individual is gauged against social standards. This reflects Foucault's idea of normation, where the functioning of discipline happens by "measuring individuals against a pre-established norm" (*Discipline and*

Punish 95). The scrutinization of an individual's communication patterns elaborates this process of normation in modern digital life. By shifting focus on to the individual rather than the overall society, the individuals are continuously measured against the norm. In the process, the holder of power becomes less visible, and power structures get relocated and replaced among different institutions in which the individual behaviour is being watched.

Satyajit explains that Kamal was once asked to move out of the department for trying to be secretive and not submitting the required reports on time. This in fact can be viewed as a cautionary statement for Vishwas. The lack of accuracy projected in his investigation about the proper reason for a prolific writer to not publish anything after the effective implementation of the new rules, made the situation intricate for Kamal. Therefore, a person like Kamal, more guarded in his attitude, now all of a sudden re- entering into the societal communication graph within the flip of a second's time, makes the department of the State perceive some stratagem. Such occurrences of unexpected refurbishment into scrutinized grids enhance the persistent anxieties about surveillance and data incorporation, concerns that were evidently existing in various official reactions in earlier periods. "The integrated network approach was regarded with considerable scepticism and hostility by the government committee on data privacy setup in 1978 (The Lindop committee)" (Lyon, *Surveillance Society* 95). The political thrift of surveillance can be recognised in its wide-ranging account, as it exposes the manners in which ingenious governance devices economize control via modes of hyper-visibility as well as selective oversight.

This planned regulation of visibility and covering-up not merely frames official replies but also appraises the analytical agendas through which distinct actions of the individuals, like Vishwas', are adjudged. The unanswered question of why the

party is not being conducted in a public space, when there is a high demand for Vishwas to escalate his social conversation graph, constrains the department from acknowledging Vishwas' innocence and to reckon him to be an insurgent. The pressure of excessive scrutiny, makes Vishwas to temporarily sheathe his stubborn attitude and forcefully make himself talk readily, not to exasperate the state. He makes a blether conversation with Dina, without anything else to convey other than making sure that the conversation exists for a considerable amount of time. Citizens are in a way reduced to mere data- subjects. Dimensions are enlarged in every sense, while civil liberties and lawful rights to self-defence from the possible fallacies and misuses is all that the government provides its data subjects- citizens. Vishwas gets back to his desk hanging the phone, stares at the screen in front of him, assimilating the ineptitude in creating anything productive, he turns the screen away from him.

The play depicts how the allocation of limitless details of citizens including their genetic profile at a power structure, constitutes immense perils which are not difficult to visualize. But what bothers the citizens like Vishwas, who needs to stand intellectually independent, is the modifications of the political identity and relationships, necessitated by the surveillance technologies. The alterations that these technological advancements have brought in, places us to reasonably question whether the society we survive in through, is politically democratic. The department of public communication of the state continuously surveys the acts of Dina and finds it peculiar that her social conversation is almost always limited to her sister Tina. Her falling communication graph, totally eliminates any contribution from her side in moving forward the functioning of the state system. The result would be eviction of her name from the list of ordinary citizens (docile objects) of the State. The softening of social structures and the dividing of power and politics are the two important

derivatives of liquid modernity. Most of the security related matters and the data accumulated are envisaged with the corporates or organizations authorized by the state so that, the state of being in danger or threat, becomes a plotted area for these authorized institutions to implement their game of extensive control.

Though the free-flowing information enhances the new positions possible for the subjects, the networking also permits surveillance and concedes to the mining of meta- data already captured. The communication department's philosophy that, "Move your tongue to move the world", is opposed by Dina by not paying heed to her continuously falling out graph (I. 4). When she says that "My tongue is inside my head... it moves a lot" the department of communication, representing the monopolizing nation- state, seems to be more concerned about these invisible tongues or frantic tongues, which though not cool or civilized, would exercise a measure of restraint, if let out (I. 4). This fear of the unseen or frantic tongue is therefore a masked expression of the deeper anxiety of the nation-state about uncontrolled oracy, in which the very utterance of language starts to become a force of control, surveillance and possible opposition.

The entire operation of the surveillance system gets impaired by the uncivil, unfettered mode of speech once left unrestrained. Indeed the original voice of individuals demand the involvement of surveillance by the nation-state. Even a minimal mode of restriction compelled over the individual's mode of communication, enables the system to regain control, which is eventually labelled as for the benefit of the collective. For instance, in the play, Satyajit remarks, "Precisely. That's the thing. ... Yes, it is not a cool, considered, peaceful tongue. ... not a civilized one. But let it out, it is forced to exercise a measure of restraint. That's obviously better for everyone. No?" (I. 4). This scene foreshadows the way the state puts the surveillance

in the context of a civilizing requirement by demonizing unregulated talk as uncouth and socially perilous. The Foucauldian logic of maximizing minimal restraint as the general good and in effect re-establishing disciplinary control over the individual expression is revealed in the justification that Satyajit offers. The play therefore exposes the ideological disguising of the coercion as social order.

For Satyajit, Vishwa's uncommon choice of his profession as a writer is the result of his genetic mutations. The contemporary nation state retains its hold over its citizens through an arrangement of thoroughly advanced structures. The progressively unified portrayal of individuals that accounts for the data image of the specific person is a sophisticated series of different pieces of information collected in different contexts. The same happens in the case of Vishwas. For Satyajit, the data in his digital files reveals that the essential interest of Vishwas in showing the necessity of studying and making art, is a pattern of professional interest inherited from the previous generation. The state is in the expedition to approach perfection, to attain a state wherein the efforts of constructing entities superior to the existing ones will stop as further intrusion with the existing configuration of the advanced human world is impossible to happen (creates only a substandard one).

Dina is perplexed by Satyajit's statements, as it contradicts what his own name tries to state of him- The truth Wins:

Dina : Your name. I like its meaning.

Dina : That's a nice thought. But in the end... The end is almost always
upsetting.

The truth is also upsetting. (1. 4.)

Her perplexity arises out of the moral and existential reply to the irony that she recognises in the worldview of Satyajit. Thereby the playwright challenges the

supposition that truth is constantly triumphant or calming. Instead Zaidi proclaims that truth, though honourable, is recurrently hurting or even disastrous, by sabotaging the inherent meaning of Satyajit's name. Major negotiations and decisions are pulled out and the discernments and resolutions are constructed from this data image, instead of examining the particulars with the specific person under scrutiny. In the process the data subjects are made to believe that they own their own private information. The government officials confide that their role is "morally neutral" and their evaluations and differentiations are "rational", just as in the case of Vishwas (Gandy 58). Such amplified capabilities within the bounds of the government directives have an unequal after effect on the most impoverished.

The liquid modernity helps us to grasp the context in which the watching, pursuing, tracking down, categorizing, confirming and the methodical manner of verifying executed by surveillance happens in a global space. The advancing league of technology is steadily seizing increased realms of life and pulling out untouched, very less indigenous realms of life as personal space. Dina being forced to use any of the security measures listed by the state is not out of mere concern over coming in her aid, when needed. The utility of a wristwatch with a QR is a necessary attachment, as it works over voice instructions. This mode of working pulls out an entire series of data stored in various page formats. Thus, an individual's second self is that of a Human "Hyperlink" (Nelson 93). This change emphasises the unbreakable amalgamation of the corporeal and coded selves, where identity is unceasingly settled through algorithmically directed connectivity.

The state safeguards its domination by proficiently manipulating psychological prospects through a coordinated organisation of visible environment, while at the same time delimiting the incapable and unfitting as obstructions to the

preferred method of exploitation, thus establishing a specific societal order. Vishwas is completely assessed for the works he had done before the modification of rules and regulations by the state as well as for the irresponsibility in not submitting the written work which he should have been completing on time after claiming the grant from the state. This additional self of the individual marked in the data records of the state is immensely depended by the state more than the specific individual. Subjects are treated more according to the data gained over them. In the play, for instance, Satyajit says, “Yes. Talk to him. Point him towards the right sort of people. It will help if you can... push his ideas in the direction of progress. Interpret him, clarify him. ... start by bringing a few more people home. ... he himself moves in very tight circles, doesn’t he? (I. 4). Satyajit makes a psychological advancement towards Dina by stating that it’s so inconsiderate from the side of her husband to keep her aloof.

Totally agitated at the loss of all rights over every minute details of her personal space, Dina tries to cease the conversation with the official. Satyajit lays down a manifold alternative for Dina. The simulated show of care by Satyajit serves as a manipulative psychological tactic that uses the vulnerability of Dina, as it shows how power of the surveillance ideal is embedded in the intimacy by redefining coercive intervention into a sympathetic aid. He persuades her saying that it’s better to be safe than sorry. The chief notion backing the process of tagging is that an electronic device like an armlet, transfers signals to the control room. With the advent of new gadgets, life is in reality relished in cyberspace. Though Dina neglects to be part of this type of “social surveillance”, she feels being caught up in a shatterproof web (Marwick 382). This can be discerned from the conversation between Satyajit and Dina. Satyajit says, “..., at least wear a digital watch. It is not mandatory for adults but we highly recommend it. Better safe than sorry. You know what the elders

said, jaan hai to jahaan hai. If you don't exist, the world doesn't exist. Correct?" (I. 4).

In such a way, even the rejection of overt involvement by Dina does not give her an escape out of the all-embracing logic of social surveillance, which traps people with the help of normalized guidance, caring, and the rhetoric of precaution instead of coercion.

Dina's fear of getting ensnared in this unavoidable system of surveillance through digital devices resembles Federic Jameson's concept of high tech paranoia, a situation "narratively mobilized by labyrinthine conspiracies of autonomous but deadly interlocking information agencies in a complexity beyond the capacity of the normal reading mind" (Jameson 38) is evident here. The subject of examination is, how much the electronic scrutiny restricts the scope to which the individuals can retort back against their valuation based on the data image. With the two record players in Vishwas' room and Dina answering the phone call, the readers find the mere pressure of assuring the state that they too were behaving in the same manner, as desired by the State. At least they were pretending that they too were trying to come out of their shell and socializing with a larger circle of the society. These totalitarian possibilities however affect the existence of all the subjects, and especially the political nonconformists, the side-lined sections of the society, and the impoverished. Satyajit's conversation with Dina discloses how involvement in digital tracing gets not only normalized but also justly outlined as a mode for self-protection. For Dina, the pressure to obey the system or the techno-surveillance stratagem is much beyond her control.

In Dina's conversation over the phone with her sister Tina, about her as well as her husband's likes and dislikes, enquiring Tina the reason for decline in her personal graph to twelve percent, and her advice to Tina that a like and a comment

under the best photo of the album that she is watching now would readily help in moving up her graph, proves the desperate attempt from her side to act as the typical citizen of the state and thus, move away from the surveilling eye. The monitoring of individual profiles in the networked databases for assessing the quality of the person according to the preferred details already stored, is a self-propelling process. In order to control the quality of the population of its subjects, the nation- state has to rely on the methods of tracking the individual's transactions on a daily basis, which is better understood in a productive context.

To live under the complete surveillance of the nation- state is too detrimental, even for the generations to come as they too would face an intellectual death, trained to think alike the absolute power. In the current scenario, a like and comment becomes necessary for establishing oneself socialized. The revolutionary implementation of the like button, authorizes the users to sanction and evaluate the unknown subscriptions, to involve in the impact administration and identity establishment, and at the same time, though not much stressed, it also allows the social media platforms to trace its end users throughout their movement across different locations. This ensuing of furthermore data makes Dina to be more precautions.

Controlling the quality of the population by making them exhibit only the desired attributes in their public profiles, which is no more distinct from the personal realm of the individual, intensifies the monopolizing attitude of the state and makes their authority prevail easily. Vishwas constantly becomes the prey for this. The value of the social medium is generated by the public interaction through it. The objective is not only prophesying, but also framing the individuals as well as their behaviour and habits. The contemporary Nation state thereby employs a chief part in exploiting the

context where the individual's actions happen and they do manipulate the "timing and spacing" (Bryant and Jary 190). The play projects that it is not the individual Vishwas who is a constant trouble maker for the state but the data released by him over various surveillance devices that bother the state. The data- double becomes the entity to be nourished and upheld by the state. This data becomes the profit making commodity for the state in collaboration with the corporate organisations, who commoditize over these data. In fact, Vishwas feels detested by those interruptions, when one really gets lured into making a product of indispensable quality.

The condition of modern man under the surveillance state is depicted through the metaphor of poison. The interfering of toxins at the juncture of your system, jam the signals sent to- and- fro through it. Thus, through surveillance the ability of man to think out of the box or to perceive the various affairs in different manners is chained. This invokes a sense of complete eruption/ seizure of man's ability to think independently. The intensity of this eruption will depend on the duration and dosage of these eradicating toxins. Here, toxicity is implemented by the governing authority through its policies. The creative mind, becoming infertile, "fail to produce or the seed growing within you gets damaged" (I. 7). Thus, the creative vision of the future becomes still born. The increased technology administers to escalate the lucidity of the individuals data images. The violence capacity relies on the quantifiable entities such as the speed of transfer and the lucidity in its outreach and also on the type of surveillance system at issue. Zaidi illustrates through the play that, in the contemporary scenario this is more distant and also often regularly thorough in its operation.

Violence is accessible to an extensive range of people and sometimes a violent act is considered rational if its end defends that peculiar act of Violence.

However, violence is an inescapable fact of human existence. Violence can be complicated in nature and is inseparably linked to the concept of power. Generally, violence has been categorized into visible or overt violence- something visibly happening in the physical world, recognized; and invisible or covert Violence- less spectacular, but more dangerous with deep mental/ intellectual and emotional impact. The play cautions its spectators against the self-propagating nature of Violence.

For instance, the official is much concerned about Vishwas right now, as what his personal graph shows, he is making an immense progress in his writing these days; and being one of the efficient writers capable of putting in a copious amount of words at an accelerated pace, he once again becomes an object to be put at constant investigation. Having not generated even a single book for the last two years, in compliance with the norms of the state, disappoints the authority and puts him on the top of their close scrutiny list. It is the consistency of the citizens, especially with regard to their output, that is being demanded and rewarded the most, by the authority. The mode of recognition through the recorded data has increased. "The question of surveillance capacity is affected progressively by system proliferation, which in turn is enabled by new uses of data and new ways of handling data"(Lyon, *Surveillance Society* 93). This increasing dependence on surveillance capability frames the conduct of both the individuals as well as community, entrenching unfathomable strata of control within the system.

Within this setting, Satyajit's character replicates the friction between social order and individual discernment, where his compliance to the superficial norms illustrates the penalties of a progressively surveilled world. Satyajit being part of the authoritative system of the Nation- state, maintains a normal temper towards everything in life. For him, to move beyond the surface level is something

unnecessary, to perceive things beyond what is to be discerned is illegal. Satyajit says, “Don’t get sucked into things that are not, what’s the word I’m looking for?... Relevant. It is important to protect one’s head” (I. 8). To be concentrated into oneself and to be concerned about the internal peace of the self, by not indulging into the matters concerning any other individual, is expected to be the chief purpose of any ideal citizen, under the control of total surveillance of the State.

It is the anticipation of violence that induces more fear in the protagonist. In Act I, Scene 10, Dina opens the door to let the two unknown women in uniform enter their house and begin their search. Dina questions Satyajit's authority to search their personal spaces. The unusual escalation in the graphs of communication of Vishwas and his wife Dina, within a short period of time, puts them under the suspect list of deviants of the state. This in fact produces a large number of red flags in their graph of communication, leading to an urgent raid. Satyajit answers Dina that they are in search of something extraordinary, which may cause any obstruction to the movement or flow within the public communication channels. Dina, unable to point out any particular reason for such an abrupt search, asks Satyajit whether it’s something concerned with the writers, letting open a plot for Satyajit to play a game of guess:

Satyajit: What does your husband have in common with other writers?

..... I’m like the common cold. I go around indiscriminately. Look for
Something more specific to writers. Come on. Play along.

Dina : They write. They read. They go to libraries and schools.

Satyajit: ... writers of a generation.... older, maybe. (I. 10)

This conversation between Dina and Satyajit points out that the classification of writers can be linked with Didier Bigo's concept of “ban- opticon” (“Security, Exception, Ban” 28). The surveillance technology monitoring the entire population of

the nation-state, instead of differentiating, categorizes the individuals on the grounds of apparent commonalities. The technologies describing the individuals are accustomed to control and decide who should undergo the particular kind of surveillance. It points out how a globalized insecurity arises out of the progressively coordinated pursuits of the global level producers of unease like the officials in charge of the maintenance of law and order. This in fact reveals the one who is Wanted and not. Deleuze and Guattari recognize control society as, one reeled on the capitalistic stratagem which “arrests desire within a utilitarian assemblage composed of heterogeneous elements such as bodies, institutions, and experiences,” and thereby, restructures the same (*Anti- Oedipus* 159). The power of the subject's desire in a control society is totally different as it is governed by the data itself. The state questions the writer and his family not using modern devices, as, the human entities (like how the humans are treated now), in the control societies take part in the procedures of control all by themselves, by continuously focusing on the structures of self- governance and self- regulation, divulging in the “administered de- territorialization and re- territorialisation” of one’s own urges (*Thousand Plateaus* 159). This eventually demonstrates that the functioning of power happens not through visible coercion, but more through co-opted tools of restrictions that individuals levy on themselves.

Dina, like Vishwas refuses to become the newly liberated transmuted citizen of the digitized space, and thereby become an essential constituent of the new system, which functions by “abstracting the human bodies from their territorial settings and separating them into a series of discrete flows. These flows are then “reassembled into distinct ‘data doubles’ which can be scrutinized and targeted for intervention” (Haggerty & Ericson 606). Though Satyajit defines his job similar to that of a class

monitor, Dina summons up that, each School has their own rules: “New schools imply the breaking or bending of norms” (I. 10). In the contemporary Control Society, normation and internalization of doing good are achieved through cameras, and citizens in any particular space can thus be moulded into behaving, according to the norm. Here, the de- individualization process evolves into a de- humanized one. The system of power is seen to lie less with the fundamental and formal institutions, and more with the ad hoc and informal networks; it works via representations that communicate and decide internally. Therefore, defining the written statements, even if it’s the law of the state, beyond the level of the words visible, becomes impossible here. Wading away themselves from the clutches of being controlled by the state as a mere data-double, categorises both Dina and Vishwas as deviants.

Act Two, Scene one, begins with the trailing of Vishwas. Vishwas is accused of committing various offences that affront the Public Safety Act, the Indecent Representation of Women and Children’s Act, the Conspiracy to create Disaffection Act, and the Public Communication Act. To rely completely on technology is not only questioning, but also shows the totalitarian inclination of the government. Though it is difficult to discover any unwanted link existing between the high tech surveillance systems and the totalitarian mode of working of the government, it can be claimed that the provisions of democratic participation are changing to a pro- government pattern partly because of the over dependence on the advanced surveillance technologies.

The lawsuit against one of the notable writers of the nation-state, Vishwas N. Vishwas, charges him at the outset for inscribing off the grid and not communicating about the same to any concerned Public agency and word creating software- “Infinite Monkey” (II. 1) was used as a source for pretending to be working on- grid. This is

marked as “Exhibit- A” (II. 1). By compiling, disguising, guarding, describing, and profiling, all citizens in due course will be expected to convey the kind of conduct expected to elevate their data stored in computer databases. “The Exhibit-B” is allegation of assembling who are not part of his family and deluding the officials of the department by playing the cassettes containing the pre- recorded conversations within the close vicinity of their telephone, so as not to reveal the existent communication within the closely defined groups, happening at different places, at frequent intervals (II. 1). For Vishwas the contemporary execution of Surveillance process produces different types of insecurity as a derivative- an uncertainty is sensed avidly by precisely the same People, whom the legislation of security were to defend from any dangers. “Exhibit- C” is an accusation of publishing fifty bundled sheets of paper containing off- grid material in handwritten format before the court (II. 1). The major part of surveillance is preoccupied with patterns of control and power is forever inculcated. The cutting edge of the tool of surveillance is always pushed in opposition to the still existing actualities whereby, Vishwas and his resistance becomes the culprit at the hands of the state. The “Exhibit –D” presented by the Department of Communication contains that the electronic documents of the same thing were synched on the World Wide Web, without any cost or recognition of the internal grid. Screenshots of the same digital records were exhibited as evidence before the court (II. 1). The final charge made by the department against Vishwas is for the celebration of abstruse bewildering content, intentionally propagated to devise communal unrest, and to question the validity of the State. “Velvet gloves may hide Iron Fist” signifies that the totalitarian inclination of at least a very faint nature is masked by the existing democratic procedures (Lyon, *Surveillance Society* 100). This expression makes an

important point that weakens the ostensibly democratic structure by highlighting how authoritarian instincts may be transferred into the guise of accepted governance.

In this control society, code seems to be more vital. The individuals, different institutions, contexts and even language used becomes coded, ensuring definite boundaries for each and every citizen to move about. Moving beyond these demarcations to ensure anything creatively, causes the individual to be treated as a deviant just like Vishwas. In contemporary society, the entry into the realm of information is possible only through the predefined numerical codes, which either admits or discards. The system of control steadily satchets Vishwas, inch-by-inch. Vishwas refutes all allegations raised against him. However, the representation of the judge in an abstract form symbolizes how the compact, portable, and swift is detected as good in the modern state occupied with surveillance. The framework of electronic innovations, by way of which power is declared in today's world imbibed by the mutable and transferable institutions, conveys that the structures of physical outlets to a large extent are unessential. This imparts authority to the systems of control that exhibit distinct faces, allocating the characteristics of flexibility and pleasure as observed in the entertainment as well as in expenditure and utilization. The contemporary control state makes the subjects comply with the new regulations by continuously confusing the citizens about the welfare activities of the state as completely advantageous, and thus, willingly transforming them into the lines expected by the authoritative state. Satyajit wanted to eliminate the non-conformist stance of Vishwas. In modern societies, the breach amongst the ones positioned within the socio economic structure and those removed from it, termed as "underclass or Social Junk", is dependent on the technological definition (Nellis 18-19). The urge for objectivity in fact eliminates diversity. The breach amongst the individuals

incorporated into the socioeconomic structure and the ones omitted, is framed by the manner in which definition of social values are determined by technology. The ruthless move in the name of objectivity regularly overlooks individual variances, and resists any such modifications.

Satyajit, presenting before the court the prints of the communication graph of “writers” of the nation within the “age group of 20- 60” declares that, though the statistical analysis over the data given clearly states that, the general average in the communication graph of the writers of the nation- state is below the national average, a few amongst them impend disaster as they neither communicate effectively according to the specified criterion of the Nation- state nor walk out with friends; making it incumbent on the department of Public Communication to get into the depth of the issue to keep vigilant of the inner security as well as make the department of Public Health au fait over the mental status of the citizens (I. 3). The limited thrust of social sorting in surveillance is magnified amidst the people who have been hitherto powerless and victimized on various grounds in the society. According to Lyon “Vulnerable populations may find their life- chances further restricted by big- data practices, at the same time, gaps in data ... might be used to empower or assist groups rendered invisible by targeted data collection. Surveillance practices are manifold” (*The Culture Surveillance* 8). The consequence of increase in the assistance is that specific fundamental rights are destroyed.

The persistent questioning on who installed the automatic writing software Infinite Monkey into his laptop, Vishwas opines that being a digitalized medium working on the commands of coded algorithms, there are infinite chances for the software itself to begin correspondingly compose on its own capability. This extracts and allows completely undetectable modes of exploiting. The revelation made on

Vishwas in front of the court showcases that there is a regular and usually unseen scrutiny of various types of individuals for numerous reasons by those agencies whose conducts are generally less restricted by the existing laws. The database becomes the main mode of straining or refining out the undesired from the desired. The networks are in charge of authorising information- “doing things at a distance (or action -in-absentia)” (Lyon, *The Culture Surveillance* 79). These networks conduct data and at the same time actively involve in governance by empowering decisions as well as activities to occur from a remote point.

The state- recognised electronic profile of Vishwas capitulates a conclusive set of data details pertaining to him as an individual, while his only objective was to maintain his diversity as a distinct individual. The matters of obscurity, privacy and discretion cannot be brushed aside. The trial process of Vishwas showcases the negative interference in the objectiveness and justification processes, as well as in matters of civilian freedom and rights to live as human. This is the result of Social Sorting what essentially contemporary surveillance attains “for better or for worse” (Lyon, *The Culture Surveillance* 12). The mode of surveillance and the resultant trial of Vishwas in the court as narrated in the play has powerful suggestions both for social demarcation and for the individual dignity. But, Vishwas denying the utilization of the same either at his house or in office, prefers to stay in the zone of availing no benefit of the state, by being the non-consumers of any product or service.

Similar to Vishwas, Dina purposefully calls to a halt in front of a street camera and stares hard into it. She speaks into the “Electronic Eye” (II. 2):

Dina: I’m out for a walk. Hello.... You must be bored? Or do you feel like the almighty?...You think you’re the only one watching? I’m watching you too.

The difference between you and me is that I can go away. I can shut my eyes.

You're trapped. You think you've trapped me? No, you've just trapped yourself. (II. 2)

This act of Dina is to ascertain that all forms of surveillance works for the similar motives of identifying the targets, positioning them and moving forward with a close scrutiny of it- every utilitarian distinction begins with this commonality. Not only Vishwas, but all his close associates and their activities come under the thorough scrutiny of the state. The function of surveillance itself is the target's debilitation and eviction beyond any limits. She moves quickly to stop herself in front of each state-established electronic- eye or the camera, to satisfy her urge to utilize her right as a citizen to question the injustice exercised over each and every individual in the name of assuring security- national as well as personal.

In deliberations about the types of power and control, it is essential to see beyond conventional, visible constructs of authority. It is not always necessary for power to be exhibited and exercised through overt structures or well-demarcated hierarchies. There are also other modes of power like “shadowy powers” described by Franz Kafka, “which makes one stay unpredictable of every entity” (15). This is more equivalent to the surveillance when placed in the contemporary context of the “database world” (Daniel Solove et al. 28). This is because, here, the primary agents of action are still the state apparatuses. The altering association of police with society is definitely visible. “‘Modern’, ‘contemporary’, or progressive’ policing in the name of maintenance of law and order is regularly portrayed as ‘community policing’, and calls for “proactive approach to crime and disorder problems” and focus on ‘information management’” (Leighton 493-94). Anyhow, this structuring continuously hides the development of surveillance and control machinery, obscuring the demarcation between public security and societal rules.

The shreds of evidence from the text states that the devastating and profuse power of the surveillant state gets hold of Vishwas' wife. Dina reluctantly states, "Watch me... watch! I'm well within my rights to do this. Yes? You want to see this? And this too?" (II. 2). Dina's performance cautions the public how the control through codes rather than being a mere analytical notion, is turning into an authoritative and systemic one, that positions the concept or image, confined within the technological approximation of life. She reminds that the digitized media, taken in as a means of enhancing the prospects of liberation and thus regarded as a rehabilitator, is also both a toxin and a brand-new form of suppression. According to Gertrud Koch, "the computer- generated hybrid images interplay with the actor's performance... [the] 'performance capture', a further development of 'motion capture', where she argues the transference of gestures, facial expressions, and body movements of the actor to machines as material reference [...] creates a morphological shaping of computer-generated images" (5). The individual's bodily actions define the structure, and communicative capability of the coded figure. Thus, the digital image of the individual gets co-constituted during the interaction with the individual's bodily performance, concealing the difference between the living and artificial forms. Thus, a harmony is established between technological plasticity and corporeal carnality. But this establishment of harmony creates an adverse effect in the lives of the individual citizens when it intrudes into every sphere of individual's lives without any demarcation between personal and public.

As the particulars of everyday lives set off more obvious to the institutions or agencies surveilling us, the activities of the institutions become unable to distinguish. As power relocates itself in the pace of electronic signals within the unpredictability of liquid modernity, lucidity gets enlarged for a few and reduced for the rest.

Relatively, the ambiguity of new surveillance can be attributed to the complex high-tech features and with the composite emanation of data inside and amidst the institutions. This fluid landscape being unevenly distributed provides few, an increased visibility, while the common citizens befall in complete obscurity. The coinciding infrastructures of data production and distribution happening both within and outside the official bodies heightens ambiguity, making the system of surveillance becomes an impenetrable web.

Satyajit and Vishwas reflect the ideological oppositions within the thoughts of the two citizens. The warning note of any physical pressure is rapidly supplanted by organizational power, here represented through the character of Satyajit- keeping tabs- as well as by new networks of very structured laws and norms. The structures of power enforced by the state hold on to the pursuit of who will agree and who will diverge from the modified rules and regulations. Distinction is carried out by the computers and the powerful Association between the bureaucratic functions and the maintaining of law and order within the state. The “Categorical Suspicion”, is a crucial device of surveillance by the government departments (Marx 219). It’s working via keeping a watch of daily violations of rules and regulations is a matter of distress. The societal control appears to be made strong by the intensified facility of personal matching and pointing out the violations via technical software, whereby the rights conferred to an individual on the basis of citizenship is endangered. Thus, there arises a situation, where the data images of the individuals are “guilty until proved innocent” (Gordon 28). This shift creates a huge change in the relationship between individual and the nation-state as digital profiling destabilizes and reformulates citizenship as a situation persistently exposed to substantiation and doubt.

For instance, Satyajit recounts an event of elocution competition from their school days, in which both of them participated. He states that though Vishwas failed to remember anything beyond the first line, he instantly cooked up his own version of the speech. “Satyajit: ... on the spot. You started. Friends, Enemies, and Lovers. Lend me your tiffins. I come before you not as a thief but as a gourmand” (II. 3). Though everything Vishwas then produced on the stage was faulty, he bagged the first place. Satyajit always manifested Vishwas to be derogatory towards the Structure- whether it be the artistic structure or the functional structure of the nation. The authoritative power to direct and modulate each and every individual is seen enhanced. With his expertise in intergenerational study, instils Vishwas to be imaginative, flaunting away from reality, disparaging, and fraudulent towards the authoritative structure by concealing the actual truth. Vishwas hints Satyajit that his victory in the elocution competition was for bringing in sudden difference in the monotonous pattern of the competition, indirectly cueing at the fact that, in the same manner, the crushing of the routine patterns of the government too would be merited, though may not be in the near future.

Satyajit tries to make a deal with Vishwas, a reward of his freedom in exchange of the information about Kamal, the copier of his book. Within the system, the individuals, actions, profits, and consequences, all have a new way to pass through, to make their survival possible for each. That means the current crisis in which Vishwas is totally immersed, is of continuous and diffused establishments of the novel system of tyranny. “The coils of a serpent are even more complex than the burrows of a molehill” (Deleuze, “Postscript” 7). The most deteriorating systems of control are the ones designed to trap and escape from being discovered. This shows the enhanced authoritative power. The consolidated assembling of criminal records

happens in a daily manner in an expanded scale and in a more synchronised manner.

Majority of the data profiles are unfolded for further detentions, bail and trial purposes within the bounds of the criminal justice system, in case a necessary circumstance arises in future. The state department tries to upgrade their involvement to cope with the contemporary social issues while at the same time to keep in good condition their reputation.

Some important outcomes source out of "techno- policing" in particular social context allowing for evolved and customised social relations, as can be seen in the potential liberty promised to be awarded to Vishwas in exchange of witnessing himself against Kamal and saving the face of the department (Manwaring-Wright 99). Vishwas in a way becomes a commodity to be modified and used in a profitable manner by the state. Nancy Reichman comments that "focusing the responsibility for budget deficits on a few relatively powerless individuals who may be defrauding Federal programs diverts questions about the structure of those programs and the actions of those who administer them" (Reichman 393). Federal privacy commissioners, John Grace "refers to stopping such programs because in his view the invasive, indiscriminate use of the computer in gathering storing and comparing personal data for purposes either benign or malign produces individuals to commodities, subjugate human values to Mere efficiency" (qtd. in Lyon, *Privacy Commissioner* 109). Vishwas, thus, becomes the raw hit to be blamed until proved otherwise.

The citizen Vishwas, sway continuously, within the spiral ever- ending network of power structure. The society is fast relying on the network and the act of surfing, leaving behind all the physical contacts it had with the rest of the beings in existence. When the already existing data subjects become the raw hits, they are powerless to question the authorities prior to the making of any resolutions and that

misplace the right for equal protection. While Vishwas' all arguments in defense goes in vain, he doubts what would be his status during the post- redemption period.

Vishwas is denied the right to pursue his profession of a writer in the post- redemption period. And also informs that he soon will have to move into another career. Here, the data- subject of Vishwas is utilized for the further purposes of "licensing, employment, and other financial purposes" (Laudon, "Markets and Privacy" 99). The contemporary technologies of surveillance like the digital files carried by the official Satyajit containing the profiles of the individuals, advances mainly on to entirely different phases: assisting captivity on one side and banning (debarring) on the other side.

Vishwas' existence within the surveilling state demarks the modern man's existence bifurcated into two different macro cosmos- virtual and non- virtual, and is without any doubt centralized. Both with respective authentic measures and institutional directives contribute to employ the same linguistic substance while relocating from one space to another. The virtual platform is maintained and regulated by the authorities whereas the non- virtual too gets to be tamed in the state desired manner, by provoking the instinct of the individual subjects to not get into a conflict and get oneself immersed in trouble. The moderate life done in one universe cannot be fully comprehended in its accurate sense, reasoning and liveliness, unescorted by a proper delineation of the same according to the constituents of meaning generation in the second platform. In the virtual platform, all concepts of the contemporary life systems have to necessarily withstand this two-phased existence.

For Vishwas, the only explanation of existing as a member in the targeted zone is to be a stranger, an isolated entity, and invader in the remaining part of the globe. In brief, befitting one as a member of the target group signifies expulsion from

the entire world. This redundant part of the society shares the determining characteristics of being wasteful. This designates the practical usage of suction items in the society- sully and bestrewing up the space, which orals could have been beneficially engaged in. Thus, the main cause of ban- opticon is effectively engaging the waste segregated from the dependable sections of the society and confirms that the garbage is moved to the dumb place itself. This is evidence of the “political economy of personal information” (Gandy 152). The differentiation and categorisation procedure here concentrates on those entities who, even though have been marginalized, are taking advantage of the already offered services of the state. This refers to the “bourgeois form of monitored mobility” (Andrejevic 125). This is the sole replication of the reprovingly biased practices of the panoptic sort.

Vishwas represent those citizens who fall into an intermediary zone in the middle of which, not a single entity is in fact predetermined and none actually realizes beforehand what actually is to come about. That means surveillance creates an expanse wherein anything might take place, still nothing can be concluded in certainty, confidence, and self- faith. Visibility evolves into a kind of confinement, which every individual succours to erect individually. Satyajit remarks that all the printed copies of *Untitled 1* was impounded by the authority, and all the digitized copies of the same were obliterated. Vishwa’s feeble hope that the readers would have made individual copies, was shattered by Satyajit’s stating that the trend seen among the people, by the statistical analysis of the constantly interrogating department is that, the citizens prefer the invented truths or illusionary spaces in order to decamp their existing realities. All in all, the model of tyranny, its concepts and the application of administrative principles, becomes the agents of societal jurisdiction, the notions of power.

Realising that Vishwas is trying to make a gambling- fun with him, Satyajit rebukes him for his attitude and castigates that he will be fixed by the court, if he continues the same arrogance towards all favour done to him. Vishwas shocks Satyajit as he accepts to be debarred by the court from writing anything in future. Though agitated at the knowledge of Dina surrendering herself to the surveillant state and never successful in winning over the authority of the monopolizing nation-state, Vishwa's opposition towards it is never less in strength. For instance,

Vishwas: You will read me, especially when I write about you. ... but it is out of your grasp. You keep reaching into other people's head to try and grab it. To make it tangible. Squeeze it in your fist. ... To feel whole by consuming the wholeness of other minds. ..., to hear in your own heart the echo of my truth. I could be covering the walls of my prison cell with my own shit, even if I write in my own excreta, you would still read me.... I know why you dislike me. It's none of the usual reasons. ... (II. 3)

The individual truths ingested and controlled through surveillance, fails in understanding the self, as it's never ready to lose itself even while completely exposed. Dina completely succumbs in front of the nation- state, unable to withstand the pressures of surveillance imposed by the nation-state. The strained face trying to reproduce a laugh for the comic events happening on television replicate the stress retained by the authority on her life. The vexation increases as she is interrupted by the phone call from Tina, amidst the hours assigned to her for watching the comedy show. Tina warns Dina of an arrogant behaviour towards the official enquiry. Dina, restrained from every side, finds it unable to place her anywhere and obediently follows the telephonic directions given to her by Tina, another representative of the authority. The scrutiny escalated in specific areas, in fact destroys the essence of

citizenship. One of the important attributes of the current surveillance initiated by the government departments is the widening of the “spectrum of suspicion” (Lyon, *The Electronic Eye* 117). Therefore, by normalizing the patterned scrutiny, the surveillance initiated by the government enhances the chances of whom to be included within its boundary.

Dina stays motionless when the agent of the State, Satyajit, informs her of the nation-state’s delight in her displaying the righteous conduct like any other ordinary citizens. Devoid of freedom and her own little space, Satyajit informs her of the sudden upraise of two red flags in her communication graph by prolonging the actual time of thirty seconds to seven minutes for reading an article posted by the women’ group (indicating an element of violence) and by exposing the children of ten years to above age material. In the play, Satyajit points out, “a post that reads: I never understood why women don’t do what is done to them. Why do they not rip out someone’s insides? Why do they not endanger men’s lives and make them bleed to death? Why do they not simply torture a bit more?” (II. 4). The text is a blunt display of the severity of misogyny inherent in social language, which plays out violent desires towards women. The expression of such brutality makes the play confront the acceptability of gendered violence and its mental effects.

The official is also concerned about Dina not expressing her opinion towards the posts in social media- neither a thumbs up, or a disagreement, nor any written remarks over the post. In the present scenario, while the purpose of the judiciary is limpid, it has become impractical to clearly state the function and position of the police. As the play puts it, the investigative procedures and the process of watching over the everyday walks of ordinary citizens who tend to choose a path of having an ability to think for oneself, is meant to stay undecidable. Satyajit demands Dina to be

realistic and reasonable. She desperately falls for the offer put forth by Satyajit by agreeing to help him in finding out Kamal. Satyajit wants Dina to affirm the fact that the work “Untitled 1” by Vishwas is really disoriented, without any proper connection within the narratives and senseless (II. 3). He in fact indoctrinates her to stress on the argument that the entire work is senseless for its creator itself lacks clarity in his own thoughts. He is determined to establish the truth in front of the court that Vishwas is insane. Soon, Dina and Vishwas become two individuals who have lost all control of their thoughts to the authoritative state.

Vishwas claims that the intervention of the state into individual’s private spaces in the name of Surveillance, torments the intellect of the subjects to destroy their own inner vision by forcing them not to think out of the box, not to think other than what is stated. Thus, the state hinders the power of the human mind or the ‘third eye’ by denying the right to think for one’s own. He infers that, sometimes too much light too blinds, “... If a light is turned on too high, you don’t see any better. Too much light does not illuminate. ... Every eye is the third eye now. Or it can be. Its powers must be contained. The third eye must remain shut” (II. 5). The reflection of Vishwas condemns the form of state surveillance that stifles intellectual freedom, restricting individual vision and blinding the so-called third eye in order to retain control.

Dina is happy for not being part of the e-state mission in producing compliant children. She is in fact relieved that on a much wider perspective, they have reduced the burden of this planet in carrying docile bodies. Without showcasing any improvements in the graph, even after getting released from the prison, Vishwas is visited again by Satyajit. Unable to apprehend the laws and regulations of the nation-state, Vishwas is asked to make an appointment with the health facility. The statement

of Agamben becomes relevant here, “The new identity [placed on a citizen] is an identity without the person, in which the space of politics and ethics loses its sense. ... the modern citizen seems rather to move in a zone of indifference between the private and the public, or, ..., the physical and the political body” (*Homo Sacer* 4). This situation highlights the dehumanizing impact of bureaucracy and state authority where the agency of the person is replaced by the impersonal rules. Agamben points out that there is a degradation of citizens to abstract identities, and how the citizens live on a marginal territory that undermines political and moral subjectivity.

The making of the difference between the personal and the political as indistinct, resembles the manner in which Vishwas’ identity as well as Professional skills are read and categorised. Satyajit terms Vishwas’ work as “Philosophical Ruminations” though Vishwas tends to call it a book (II. 5). Vishwas winds up his struggle, understanding that a new political facet or status of the nation- state is possible only by taking hold of, and discharging the chaos and its regulation within the society. Vishwas therefore, terminates his struggle and complies with the state for the time being, though it is not an easy task. Agamben’s statement is of ample significance here: “... It means first of all the rediscovery of a form of life, the access to a new figure of that political life whose memory the security state tries at any price to cancel” (*Homo Sacer* 6). The stance of power is not only oppressive and negative as Foucault had opined, but also productive as its narration of incidents, events, community, or individual produces the intended knowledge, subject, truth, identity, and even reality.

For Didier Bigo, surveillance interconnects the two separate entities coined by Foucault - discipline and security, “in the manner that security in the form of surveillance is always developing and is getting enlarged with its ability to move in a

risky world” (“Security, Exception, Ban” 12). Thus, it can be said that innovations of in/security are part of an advanced socio-political composition analogous to the imperils and unpredictability. The concern here is regarding the risk of politics wherein democracy and freedom conceivably become the centre of bout at regional levels. Thus the modern world is more rigid in its functioning. The technological factors are the exclusive agents visible here.

It can be concluded that, the liquid Modern society refers to “contraption attempting to make life with fear Liveable” (Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* 6). The liquid modernity proclaims that fighting the fears is a persisting action: "surveillance focus on external visible and recordable objects, new survival lance systems were also bound to be oblivious to the individual motives and choices behind the recorded images, and so must lead eventually to the substitution of the idea of" suspicious categories" in place of individual Evildoers" (Lyon, *Surveillance Society* 12). According to Torin Monahan's point of view, "a unifying thread is fear of the other" (150). In the perspective of Anna Minton, "the need for security can become addictive, with people finding that however much they have it can never be enough and that rather like an addictive drug, once they have got used to it they can't do without it. ... Fear breeds fear" (171). Thus, it can be inferred that in liquid modern society, the pervasive fear of ambiguity and the apparent danger of the deviant function as essential drivers after the persistent search for security. Here, fear becomes both the logic for and the concern of escalating machineries of control.

The Death of Autonomy and the Deterioration of Privacy

The liquid modern world opts for putting together private and confidential details for processing in contrasting methods. It boded and presaged the closure of invisibility as well as self- determination / autonomy, which are the two determining

attributes of privacy, though both entities were constituted separately and deprived of the other's subsistence. The death of autonomy occurs when we give up our right of privacy to be exterminated at our own choice. Anyhow, the compulsion to entrust the individual autonomy to the butchery is immense. With a single entry into it, we remain captive to fate. Brian Stelter remarks,

The collective intelligence of the internet's two billion users, and the digital fingerprints that so many users leave on Websites, combine to make it more and more likely that every embarrassing video, every intimate photo, and every indelicate e-mail is attributed to its source, whether that source wants it to be or not. (2)

Knowing that a single activity of his writing even if done in an open space of his own house would be scrutinized by the by the technologically competent state and thereby he would fall into the captivity of technologically determined fate of being treated as a mere data- double, forces him to confine himself to the most silent corners of his private space, which he himself is struggling to define and protect. The utter violation of privacy is depicted in the very first scene of the play where the protagonist Vishwas writing in his bedroom shuts his book in suspicion by hearing the noise of someone walking in. Though he is well aware of the fact that he is an artist and it is his function to dig his nose into the matters affecting the modern man's life along with mining into the self, he cautions Dina, his wife to, "keep your voice down... Them. You. Down" (I. 1). This scene shows how deeply surveillance has been internalized, with even the artist censoring him/herself to manoeuvre the demands of state and social questioning.

Vishwas firmly understands that any entity or data claimed to be personal ends up certainly in open space and is undoubtedly accessible for the collective utilization,

it endures accessible until the end, as the data in the networked storage can't be wiped off and whatever once documented ends in countless servers. The most distinguishing characteristics of surveillance in the current scenario is that it is capable to a large extent in compelling and coaxing the rivals to put in efforts simultaneously and to force them function together in benefiting the self- same actuality. The panic of divulgence has been suffocated by the blissfulness of existing spotted. The sudden break in his writing bothers Vishwas a lot. The kind of privacy that he was yearning for a long time to make an essential progress in his writing vanish in a second. Dina, his wife tries to caution Vishwas about the content of the matter that he was planning to write in secrecy. Anxiously he tells Dina that this sudden breach in his writing can be something that she can simply walk off, but for him this sudden stoppage of the flow of ideas in his head makes him sterile from doing anything more, other than leaving him agitated. Not letting Dina give an appropriate clarification on the matter, he stops her outright with the fear of every single minute of their life being monitored and tapped.

Though we are living in a world of Digital- Panopticon and liquefied surveillance, where the data-double gives a normative power over the real individual, the view of Bentham too holds true:

It is obvious that in all these instances, the more constantly the person to be inspected are under the eyes of the persons who should inspect them, the more perfectly will the purpose of the establishment have been attained. The ideal perfection, if that were the object, would require that each person should actually be in that predicament, during every instant of time. (Bentham 45)

This is the exact reason that the state places to justify its action of scrutiny. The secrecy with which Vishwas tries to operate, makes him a potential threat in the

perception of the nation- state, which wants its citizens to be wide open to any form of scrutiny, in order to be coded and recorded as data. The elimination as a mode instead of captivity or confinement is creating an incredible peril on the existential security of the individual as well as a main inception of anxiety. The state wants its subject Vishwas to be a “Surveillant Assemblage” (Haggerty and Ericson 606) - to work in a way by detaching himself from the people and their surroundings and thus, break the entity of Vishwas into separate sets of information. These fragmented data streams are then reconstructed in other settings as separate and digital counterparts of the original individual by the state. Thus the privacy of the individual as well as his identity gets questioned.

The opening for increased visibility, the outlook of being open for one and all to discern and each and every one to detect, strikes decently with the eagerly pursued confirmation of social identification, and thereby attaining the most esteemed and significant way of existence. Possessing one’s solo existence and truths recorded in open access files of the authority appears to be the finest precautionary measure in opposition to the evil of rejection and a powerful method to retain the danger of banishment away. In fact, it is an urge that hardly any exponents of absolutely any dangerous social existence will find sufficient enough to withstand or resist.

Nowadays, as can be seen in the case of Vishwas, this scrutiny exists not only in the socio- political realm, but even in each facet of everyday life. It coexists with the normal routines of life and thus becomes an instrument for the authoritative intrusion. Therefore, the state goes on with its uninterrupted scrutiny over Vishwas, lacking competence to make an immediate and conclusive decision over the type of work that Vishwas is trying to come up with. Foucault includes power and its application over the panoptic structure:

He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. (*Discipline and Punish* 203- 04)

Anyhow, while living in a liquid modernity, the frontiers of power, politics and its execution completely faded away. The realm of privacy gets converted to the locale of imprisonment. The possessor of the personal space is denounced and ruined to overwrought in their own extract. Vishwas enquired with Dina whether she could sit at home and spend time reading something if it's not necessary to walk out late at night. She denies his request to maintain her individual space. At the same time, Dina reminds him that her sister Tina, an official at the department of communication has informed that she is fed up of watching his writing activities which are evaluated as an impending threat to the State. The citizens are pressurized to persist in a state distinguished by the inadequacy of keen gatherings, avid to dehydrate and pull apart the enigma at the bottom of the embankments of privacy, to situate them to be exhibited in front of the public, and to coerce everyone's allocated possessions to be something desired by every other person, to have a stake in the other.

The State department is highly concerned about his writing as his ideas collected together, seems to make the mass cognitive against the state rules or the functions of the authority. Vishwas taking the individual right to express thoughts in action, makes it clear to Dina that if watching others is the job assigned to Tina being part of the particular department of the state, discussing the issues of social importance is the matter of prime concern for him as an artist. The integration of different processes of surveillance into one system has resulted in a slow and gradual

disappearance of personal privacy – a state of affairs that makes it progressively difficult for individuals to hide from society or from the observing eyes of social organizations. It needs to be noted that efforts made to avoid certain system's surveillance result in the forfeit of equal shares of social privileges and opportunities. Privacy advocates highlight this aspect by sarcastically informing aspiring anonymous citizens that, if they wish to be anonymous, then they should stop using credit, employment, voting, the Internet among other things.

The customization of an individual's socio- cultural practices through various forms of digitized mediums can be witnessed in the play. Taking into consideration how the digitized mediums confiscate, the computerized automation, and the pervasiveness of the implanted, almost itinerant devices, it can be observed that the social media has an evident role in the arbitration of corporeal incidents. It can be seen in the case of Vishwas, that the conversion to digital representations has both enveloped and intertwined the intellectual existence, or rather the creative mind of the nation. This expansion of the mediated realms in the control society is invincible to be described by the operative power of Foucault alone. The “Digital Enclosure” is an ever intensifying element (Andrejevic 45). The citizens of the state are expected to function in the easiest mode through the services provided by the state. Carrying a smart phone or a smart watch means regulating your daily chores, status, and location. Through their digital activities, the individuals are categorised into various groups and are identified whether to be targeted or not. This data stored in networked spaces are often categorised and sold by the state for the third parties. According to Mark Andrejevic, a digital enclosure is:

...creation of an interactive realm wherein every action and transaction generates information about itself. Although the term implies a physical space,

the same characteristics can apply to virtual spaces. When we purchase items online, we leave detailed record of our transactions. Even our search requests are logged and preserved in the database memories of search engines. (45)

Out of the fear of being monitored unknowingly, Vishwas sits in a dark place, reading aloud from his notebook what he has written till now. The writers who pen everything within and over the earth, find it troublesome to document about their own deaths in the current scenario. The visibility becomes the point of focus here as everyone is in an urge to deplore the personal spaces and generate docile bodies. While Vishwas sits in his office with his laptop open, gazing at its screen, he feels somewhat safe ensuring even the minute outlets are covered with blinds. Vishwas, feeling the officer probing too much into his privacy, tries to protect his personal space, cautioning him: “The muses are tricky creatures. Slippery. You think you have tamed them. But no.”

(I. 3). In the perception of Vishwas, it is the production and consumption of information and facts that keeps the system running. Personal privacy has become a luxury. Even Turrow, Hennessy and Daper comments in their work *The Trade-off Fallacy: How Marketers are Misrepresenting American Consumers and Opening Them to Exploitation*:

Our findings, instead, support a new explanation: a majority of Americans are resigned to giving up their data... Resignation occurs when a person believes an undesirable outcome is inevitable and feels powerless to stop it. Americans believe it is futile to manage what companies can learn about them. (Turrow et. al. 12)

Vishwas becomes aware that, though he tries to isolate himself from the Surveillance of the dominant state, he too is consciously getting monitored, when Satyajit says it outright that he too reads his work. Not only the writer, but his family

too becomes subject of close scrutiny. In fact, the intruding of the official into each and every one of her personal choices irritates Dina. She prefers to demarcate a personal space to make her own independent decisions. If the individuals are diligently accustomed in using social media with their own inherent motives, then what occurs when these referred to causes are against the companies or government departments, who might have conceptualized the utilisation of these resources is not at all a question anymore. Here the power comes to the forefront to curb these activities as unwarranted. For instance, the disputes between Facebook and its consumers have time and again been the manner in which Private data is made use of.

A mindful attempt from her side to stop the unwanted intrusion of the state and surveillant activities into her space of seclusion. While walking in an open space at night, Dina, Vishwa's wife is followed by the same officer, offering her a few choices to prefer instead of walking. Satyajit comments, "wouldn't it be better to just join a gym? You could also get one of these fully automated... It's got a tracker... in a crisis ... there is someone who knows how to reach you" (I. 4). The idea of regular surveillance as proposed by Satyajit is normalized by the notion of personal protection, and this is how the technology mediates control in intimate space. The informal nature of framing conceals the fact that surveillance is being imposed on ordinary life, and it makes coercion look voluntary. This is indicative of a wider criticism of the way in which contemporary apparatuses manipulate consent to enhance state surveillance.

Dina, understanding the restraints that these choices would place on her freedom denies them vehemently, and gives preference to her choice of walking. Though she points out that it's better to walk at night with much less trouble of traffic in the current urban spaces, Satyajit follows her throughout her walk and persistently

questions her the need for such long night walks. Dina and Vishwas again become a potential threat as they deviate from the societal setup addicted to its hunt for entertainment, is more in favour of thrill and is focused on the latest and more intensive outrage. The socially issued implements and schemes used to meet the requirements, necessarily showcase the demand for freedom. Dina, in conversation with Satyajit finds an urge in the authoritative structure to encroach her privacy. This interplay unveils a contradiction at the crux of surveillance: while subjects are coerced or habituated to reveal personal data in the name of collective involvement or aid, this assists to emphasise the modes of control and weaken personal sovereignty.

Sharing of personal details in the form of mere writings or through photographs or by creating individual profiles in the social sites or in networked platforms by each individual projects the escalating trend of overlapping identity with social visibility. As stated by Kevin Lewis et. al, “At the heart of social networking is an exchange of personal information... [users] reveal intimate details of their personal lives,... to post accurate information,... to share photographs,... have a personal profile on a networking site,... socializing online” (331). The supervision of an individual's personal image develops as a substantial aspect in traversing public and professional backgrounds.

Satyajit's unease on Dina's hesitancy to involve in television and his persistence that Vishwas must project his public image in a further planned mode, reflects the subtleties of personal profile and networking. Satyajit, the official from the Department of Communication, anxiously questions Dina's lack of interest in watching television whereas she seems to be more comfortable in going for a movie. He reminds her that the department has nothing against her husband Vishwas. But, the kind of appeal that Vishwas has in his own public circles, however small it might be,

should be utilized in an appropriate way in order for him to have a long career ahead. Vishwas, as pointed out by Satyajit is not only the concern of the department of communications but also many others like culture. All are deeply concerned about the immense reach that Vishwas has as an individual, though not his popularity. The culture of existing in a 'confessional society' is really trained. A societal set up framed for making the margins that once disconnected the personal from the realm of public appear insignificant, in order to construct the subjugation of the personal matters in the public domain as upright and an individual's responsibility.

The Surveillance Society intends to carry forth only those subjects who can cope up with the updated regulations of the State. The department's strategy of putting forth schemes to provide citizens with free digital gadgets, dramatizes how the State colludes to assure its security and functioning. Understanding the conspiracy, Dina rejects the scheme outright. The authoritative influence also makes a look-see into the interspace between Dina and Vishwas, while Dina is cautioned by the power structure that the world exists only for those who exist.

It is a clear exhibition of one's social life via electronically mediated platforms that is no longer under any circumstance an option, but inevitable. Social death is in store for the citizens who have been futile in relinquishing the cyber world. As Eugene Enriquez stated:

Provided it is not forgotten that what had previously been invisible... is now required to be exposed on the public stage, it can be understood that those who care about their invisibility are bound to be rejected, pushed aside, or suspected of a crime. Physical, social, and psychical nudity is the order of the day (qtd. in Bauman and Lyon, *Liquid Surveillance* 49).

Dina's advice to Tina that a like and a comment for a post that she is watching now would readily help in moving up her graph, shows an attempt from her side to act as the normal citizen due to the immense pressure of the state and evade from the surveillant eye. She even reminds Tina that it is highly important to express the thoughts and make a public account of the same. "The internet doesn't steal our humanity, it reflects it. The internet doesn't get inside us, it shows what's inside us" (Rose). In the contemporary scenario, the examination of privacy is in flux and is a lot more compound. Now, on the agenda is what is to be discerned as public and private.

Currently, many extraterritorial methods of staying in touch are available, free from the prevalence of physical closeness. The features available on the virtual platform called for the contemporary urge for easiness, comfort, and enjoyment to ultimately gain, subdue and establish a colony over the enthusiastically freethinking arena of human alliance and attachments. This has also made the hanging of the undesirable community impossible. Bauman says "they removed the ugly fly of unbreakability that used to blight the sweet ointment of human togetherness" (*Liquid Love* 42). Like Dina, the users of various virtual platforms are choice less and are the victims of cultural deception. It shows that the trails of data let out by the users of virtual platforms during the moments of their enjoyment are more than enough for deploying the modes of trapping and tracking them. There is an extensive distinction between the premodern comprehensions of confession with its modern counterpart. The difference is in the demonstration, manifestation, exteriorization, and declaration of the inner truth; in the originality of the self; the basis of individuality and in the individual's privacy. Now the public domain is occupied, overwhelmed, hegemonized, and subjugated by privacy.

The sudden silence caused by the winding up of the records, completely frightens Dina. In the very next scene, we find Dina opening the door to let the two unknown women in uniform enter their house. Dina questions Satyajit's authority to search in their personal spaces. But, Satyajit, the official from the Department of Communication, representing the state confirms that the search is to assure whether Vishwas is writing on the grid or going off in his writing. The authority is keenly interested in looking into what its objects of scrutiny are into. The house is completely taken in charge by the officials in the name of a routine check, supported by the official document of a search warrant; and make Dina comply with the same. Privacy thus, sacrifices its power and right over confidentiality which is its determining characteristics as well as the most adored and vehemently safeguarded benefit. Secrecy pulls out and targets the frontiers of privacy – a domain expected to be the self-contained area, the enclave of an individual's complete sovereignty. The officials fish about even in personal areas of the bedroom and even bathroom, which according to the protocol is permitted during the day time. As a way of averting unnecessary tantrums because of the consternation from the side of the holders of property, the officials shut the doors into the spaces they enter in the name of search. This utter denial of the fundamental rights of the individual is given a legal cover of keeping away the individuals from any kind of perturbation.

In the realm of privacy, the specific individual experiences an all- inclusive and an intact power to determine who they are and what they want. This is denied for Dina and Vishwas, like any other individual living in the contemporary scenario. The current scenario is deprived of the courage, the endurance, and moreover the resolve to persevere in the justification of those rights- the very fundamental structural unit of a citizen's autonomy. Dina, like Vishwas denies to become the newly liberated

transmuted citizen of the digitalized space, and thereby become an essential constituent of the new system, which functions by “abstracting the human bodies from their territorial settings and separating them into a series of discrete flows. These flows are then reassembled into distinct ‘data doubles’ which can be scrutinized and targeted for intervention” (Haggerty & Ericson 606). However, the resistance put forth by both Dina and Vishwas never turns out successful in front of the State.

Eagerly and enthusiastically, laying out the standards for display, with the intention of seizing recognition and perhaps, obtaining the acceptance and consent required to put up with the match of social interaction, the potential customers are compelled to turn up their disbursed documents and solvency limitations to obtain a superior assistance, to make their entreaties accepted by the authority. The users are compelled to put themselves on sale in the material market and search to lend oneself to the top most bidder. They are tempted, prompted or propelled to encourage an adorable and attractive commodity, utilizing the better methods in their reserve to strengthen the price tag of the merchandise put on sale. The conclusive irony is that the items cued to exhibit, popularize, and trade off are the citizens/ individuals themselves. “They are simultaneously promoters of commodities and the commodities they promote” (Bauman, *Consuming Life* 32). Thus, the very same entity becomes the market and the agent involved in the marketing of the same. If the individual needs to be admitted into the non- prohibited space, then they “need to recast themselves as commodities attracting demand and customers” (Bauman, *Work, Consumerism* 33). Dina and Vishwas’ resistance in falling on-grid as per the terms and conditions exhibited by the state, makes them get tagged as the prohibited.

Vishwas hereby, indirectly points at the situation of contemporary nation-states, wherein a great deal of population is framed by technologies issuing an open

space, which seems to strengthen the liberty of the citizens. Anyhow, it can be insisted that each citizen, by their automated inclination to the terms and policies of various platforms put forth by the technologies, in effect reduce the personal liberty of what to be revealed and what not to. This unconventional process to which Deleuze and Guattari pull out our awareness is described to be the aftereffect of de-territorialization and re-territorialization of the urges/ desires, modulated by the operation and execution of power structures within the control societies. This action gets concealed under the general term of choices built out of the self-conscious citizen's giving their hundred percent permission. Therefore, Vishwas becomes an aberrant within the system.

Satyajit, executing the power of the authoritative state, claims that Vishwa's work can only be termed "either lunacy or sedition" (II. 3). The quality of a user in making the private space accessible to the authority brands them as the bona fide members of the society. Existing as a member of this society is an intimidating chore and an unceasing arduous strive. For Vishwas it's better either way. Because whatever he says would be inconsequential if he is treated as a maniac by the State and thus, his statements can never be produced as a proof in front of any authority. Also, if his ideas seem to be rather provocative or seditious, then again Vishwas finds it very much reliving, as his Statements would only be treated with wariness, being disloyal towards the nation. However, for Vishwas the objects exhibited as devices for particular individual's utilization in coming to an accord are actually verdicts previously made. The devices of networking were already designed much prior to the individual's encounter with the same for decision making. These instruments are the physical designs of enticing prerequisites, which are to be deciphered by humans in order to be obeyed.

The officials try to place Vishwas in a difficult situation, by informing him that his self- obsessed, inconsiderate, unsuitable action has placed his wife to be an accused for joining hands with him in suppressing his activities. Unable to withstand the excessive pressure of interrogation, Satyajit informs Vishwas that his wife is slowly coming into terms with the directions of the State departments- like engaging herself in seeing television, willingly shifting into the job of baking at a bakery or hotel, instead of being a teacher. Surveillance by obtaining an admittance into the day- to- day life of individuals in the current scenario lets off nobody, especially in a society contingent on digital underpinnings. What happens at every level is the unswerving extortion of data, and the distribution of the same only between the power structures, so that each and every department of the state comes to scrutinize atop the individual citizen. Technological advancements in the current scenario are enhancing the helplessness of human beings. The technology expects us to reveal more and much less to depend on one another as social beings. Nowadays, specific forms of scrutiny are often concerned with the virtual negotiation of relationships. Thus the surveillance effectuated by the nation- state is creeping up into the social platforms.

According to Vishwas the omnipresent third eye is thoroughly destructive as whatever comes into its sight turns into ash. The only mission of Vishwas is to rescue the entire earth from being caught up with the things that are only meant to see and hear. He declares that the mythical character of Shiva had to secure the poison in his throat, not to avoid death which is inevitable, but to evade destruction. Vishwas claims that the intervention of the State into the individual's private spaces in the name of Surveillance, torments the intellect of the subjects to destroy their own inner vision. What we have attained is a network, instead of a collective society. Unlike a society, the network lacks the keen instinct of scrutiny and compliance to the

standards. The networks mainly impart entertainment and commercialization. But in case of any trouble, the only option put forward is a choice between security and liberty. Both are quintessential, but it is impossible to access one of these, without neglecting the other in the networked platforms. The distinction is between the real world and the virtual variety of its illustration. However, the latter is most likely chosen by the individuals and thus, has become inevitable. Thus, for Vishwas the services assisted by the state without ensuring liberty along with the security becomes a major concern to questions and resist the state interventions to his personal space.

Satyajit, with a legal standing between the two departments of health and public communications, provides help to Vishwas after his trial. Satyajit, claiming that he places himself off- the- grid on Sundays and on special as well as private visits, justifies himself as being accepted by the State. Assuring the intimate privacy, Satyajit himself asserts that certain activities like sex, and childbirth; and certain spaces like toilets and hospitals, can't be revealed for general scrutiny. This reinforces that to be devoid of any personal disturbances is to comply with the definitions of the state. The selective application of privacy by Satyajit depicts the way the state sets reasonable limits to personal life and presumes that obedience is a condition of freedom. This confirms the contradiction that the utmost privacy is only possible within the boundaries that are authorized by the institutional authority.

Identity of the Individual under Crisis

If the non- identical spaces of confinement in the previous power structure treated the citizens as “independent variables”, as even though all institutions were correlated, the objects had to begin from point Zero, every other time; the techniques of control institute the citizens and the context of their operations to be “inseparable Variants” (Deleuze, “Postscript” 4). This transition is the departure of disciplinary

power to control societies, where people are not anymore seen as discrete subjects, but as constantly manipulated points. Power does not act at periodic intervals, but through continuous monitoring, by making citizens and their contexts indistinguishable versions of the same. The insight by Deleuze reveals the degradation of autonomy through the installation of control that is fluid and endless.

The day to day modification of rules, updating, and the mandatory entry of details into various documents in the virtual platform validates the individual as an authentic subject virtually. This makes the existence of creative beings like Vishwas impossible in the actual world. The entered data of Vishwas involved in off- grid writings; his old schoolmate Kamal entering into publishing such materials as well as Dina, Vishwas' wife supporting the same without making the authorities aware of the same like a responsible citizen marks their identity in front of the authority. They become the deviants of the law. The marking of all deeds in the virtual platform makes possible for the government departments in the scheme of universalising the identification of each individual via cards- the Unique Identity Card, abruptly interprets the under structure, the explanation, as well as the deck on which any entity repose or exists.

In the new system of control, everything is numerically coded, including the individuals too. According to Deleuze, “controls are a modulation, like a self-deforming cast that will continuously change from one moment to the other, or like a sieve whose mesh will transmute from point to point” (Deleuze, “Postscript” 4). Vishwas becomes aware that, though he tries to isolate himself from the Surveillance of the dominant state, he too is consciously getting monitored, when Satyajit. B., an official from the Department of Communications of the state says it outright that he too reads his work.

The contemporary scheme of identification with the use of unique identity cards by each individual, recognises, distinguishes and discerns each and every entity by making them hold on to a Remarkable figure connected with the statistical facts and biometric details besides the identity of the individual. This too is connected with collective data of the population, which is deposited and kept in reserve in the networked spaces. Relevant here is the command over economization:" as a hegemonic figure of aggregate life, population is knotted into the perpetuation of global infrastructures that unevenly invest in and abandon life" (Murphy 137). The inhabitant of the nation state is perceived to be changing from a mere physical body of the individual to a digitally signed body, to a vital body of negotiations over which Profit making happens.

The process of establishing the unique ID System is a part of mapping the population. These mappings are irregular or not always reliable as they are continuously changing. As a dictating map, it demands new registrations and therefore the need for perpetuating the influx of physical bodies to validate. As a virtual map, it needs negotiating deals. Hence, the necessity to be coupled with more external implements. It is in fact into this mode of mapping that Vishwas and Dina resists falling into. When the process of mapping happens through the government, there is a compulsion to continuously divert or label any enquiries. Or else the structure of chatting pans out in the proffering of data spheres- created, apportioned, and extended. This leads to an extended undertaking to the manner in which the society is typified- the official structuring of politics and responsibility, of the Government and its subjects. But for the physical body of the individual, it begins to be an interrogation with regard to the flux in the quality and capacity of this physical body to maintain or even match the dimension to take part in the verification process

whenever be in need of. The identification of an individual when shipped into the virtual platform, the anywhere accessible digital system gets lined up with the particular biometric information gathered from the physical body.

The verification authorities operate in a dual mode- in a progressive modern manner as well as in an industrialist format, which fundamentally carry on the nation State's administrative look (gaze) into the daily mode of conduct of the human beings and permit the private corporate Enterprises to be involved in numerous spheres of data, engrossments and affairs of each individual. This too becomes a distinctive juncture of control as the physical body is assisting the nation state replicate a depiction of bits and chunks of the same entity with its essence enhancing to the substantial levels of bureaucratic and administrative as well as commercially profitable assemblage. The government orders its utilization with numerous motives, within the bounds of increasing a bunch of fundamental and progressive assistance provided by both the public and private sections.

In the view of Maya Ganesh, “claim to 'reduce friction' and increase trust- in people, but mostly in big data infrastructures. This process depends on an act called 'linking'" (“Decoding Digital Trust”). The process of linking means to partner an object in the device to a unified number. The government's call for networking the assistances across various platforms is part of the furtherance of constructional re-adaptations of the establishments made between the physical structure of the body, the recorded object of affirmation that demonstrates the body's distinctive identity and assistances, United within the gaze of the nation state. It is systemic as it is the establishment of a completely brand new Administrative structure of governance, having the ability to move beyond the connections of the nation state and community.

Thus, what matters is the increasing of spots and points for the individual within his own map.

The movement of mapping from a dispersed and departmentalized mode of data networks of the government to a comprehensive and amalgamated group of digits referring to the individuals, the unique ID initiate the classification of digits and the confederated annexes of bodies linked to the digits of existence in the virtual files. The biometric authoritarianism as a give in the elucidation of the body amidst the nation state, the concerned person and various assistant suppliers, stipulate the surfacing of brand new maps of human beings and the dimensions to provide the maps with the ability to direct these alliances. Usha Ramanathan points out that, the plan administers with the notion of “the state assuming power over the body and data of every person which it then allows corporate interest to use” (40). This coming together of the control exercised by the state and corporate reach to individual data indicates a disturbing reordering of individual agency, where the body becomes a spot of constant commodification. This restructures the relation between the nation-state, citizens, and market in an invasive mode.

The official from the Department of communication questions Vishwas for not using any security measures in his house or in his office. Dina is continuously persuaded by this official to use an electronic bike for her long night travels, instead of walking. According to him, the option of an electronic bike is much more reliable to ensure the safety for women. Satyajit cautions Dina, “..., at least wear a digital watch. It is not mandatory for adults but we highly recommend it. Better safe than sorry. You know what the elders said, jaan hai to jahaan hai. If you don’t exist, the world doesn’t exist. Correct?” (I. 4). Dina’s denial of these offers in the urge of not reducing oneself into a mere virtual body and to preserve the real essence of oneself,

places these individuals as deviants and puts them under severe scrutiny. The biometric and its virtual storage assembling is very much elemental to the specific descriptions of the community and its advancements. These narratives generate the basic Foundational work for a direct strategy of verifying the identification of the individual and the outcomes in doing so. Shiv Visvanathan comments that the evolving of "triage as a formal concept, modernity has come full circle" (48). In a very diversified and assorted nation like India, it puts together the potential inside the range of governing systems to ultimately depend on a single networked digital system based on sorting. The material here for examination is the nation state and the citizens who reside within it.

This is an enforced setting of accumulation of Information. This medium therefore is a constant form of consultation to substantiate that the dual image of an individual is kept in consistency with one another. The means as frontiers validates human prominence in a more transcendental data aggregation. The dissension peaks of the finger marks and its capacity to stay unchanged during the enlarged intervals of human existence, becomes the foundation against which a compatible Association of the chartered body and the encrypted torso is held to. So, every human strive is intertwined with the works of administrative governance and material structures. Conformed into this connection, the nation state acts on a fixing and to be in charge of the proposed body in an assumed unified action. The vision of evolution and growth, map the immediate instants in a world generated by actions of recording as the major purpose of power.

The technologies easing out the process of keeping records like the audio-visual recording devices, which the authoritative state continuously recommends and of which the subjects with an independent thinking move against, makes the place of

recording a blend of both personal and public. This modification of a penitent political space is a composite situation. As put forth by Agamben, the exposing of the common man's life in modern nation- states and the politicization involved in it, makes the biological identity more important than the political identity. Understanding that the associating of societal identity with the biological elements of an individual started with the using of the same in order to distinguish the criminals from others in the society, the disconnected chronicles in Vishwas' work points at the fact that the type of relation maintained by the state in relation to its subjects, is that of the supposition of a potential crisis which could be triggered by any individual, and its control. "Every citizen is a potential terrorist" is the unstated assumption governing contemporary society (Agamben, *State of Exception* 5). Therefore, surveillance and the associated devices are no more limited to the suspects and criminals alone, instead the focus becomes the general public, calling for a transformation from responsive to preventive governance.

The product or goal of these disciplining methods is to create docile bodies. This counts for more predictive and planned societies in which docile bodies become units of information, and not communication. Docile individuals are just units of information to be moulded at the hands of those in power. Surveillance becomes a key concept here, as this moulding and reshaping is the result of the visibility. The major problem in such a system that frightens an individual like Vishwas is the correctives required for the fundamental defects analysed in various affairs by the democratic authorities from time to time. The updates need electronic networking to be in a sustainable circumstance. Here, the chances of making an error is unavoidable and at the same time this creates a glitch in the infrastructure where the erroneous data stays forever, until rectified. For each individual subject, these defects arising due to

the inaccuracies in their mapping can perhaps turn out to be unfortunate and destructive. This is because in the virtual space the generation of some kind of inaccuracies would be recorded but at the same time it is impossible to rectify or remove that error version of the real individual.

The rapid access to virtual reality is seen to take the regulation of control to a different level. “The societies of control operate with machines of a third type, computers, whose passive danger is jamming and who’s active one is piracy and the introduction of viruses” (Deleuze, “Postscript” 6). It has now gone to the extent that; the types of machines tend to define the societal groups efficient in producing and availing the same. The urge of the dominant, controlling state in forcing its citizens to digitally bound them with the database of the nation- state, is an effective strategy in making the hyperspace that facilitates most of the communication happening nowadays, and which is also an imminent free- flowing, “liquid’ space” to become an all- encompassing space for surveillance (Bauman & Lyon, 2013). The fluidity of the space serves to obscure the frontiers, moving beyond any presumed pursuits and categorizations, hitherto. The surveilling authorities give rise to an exalted trust in the electronic expressway.

In India in 2018, a great part of the population immersed in perilous conditions were refused entry to the very fundamental services provided by the government as well as the personal assistance provided to the citizens on account of their resistance to register themselves in the unique ID system of Aadhar, leading to their “exclusion from basic entitlements” (Khera 62). This sort of mapping resistance is a phenomenal electronic action, like how Vishwas is marked with red flags in his communication graph for not indulging in proper conversations with his wife Dina as her husband.

Dina too gets lists of red flags for not making herself appear in any productive activities as considered so by the nation-state.

The new popping up layers of terms and conditions to which we as an individual agree, imposes upon us certain conditions laid down by the authorities in order to make their function of scrutiny more comprehensive. In fact the current design of the interface is structured around terms and conditions. The interface actually obscures the connection of democracy with the sources of power. This regime discerns life in the situations only if the life remains suitable to be assessed by the biometric modes. Thus it becomes a structure for gauging and quantifying the individual's life.

Dina's revelation shows that, the integrating of technological mediums to upgrade new perceptual interrelations is inciting as far as it stays away from irrevocable merging of existence or being into a new trade line to be taken advantage of. "Machine not only eruditely problematizes the contemporary techno- fetishist impulse, but addresses those existential threats that necessitate immediate attention" (Erkan 3). Again the view of Agamben becomes relevant here:

The new identity [placed on a citizen] is an identity without the person, in which the space of politics and ethics loses its sense. ... the modern citizen seems rather to move in a zone of indifference between the private and the public, or, ..., the physical and the political body. (*Means without End* 4)

This view strongly summarises the disturbing makeover of citizenship in the contemporary scenario. The burden of an innovative identity lacking the person indicates a thoughtful destruction of individuality within the socio-political spheres. According to Benjamin H. Bratton, "software seemed to displace theory as a tool for thought... The state takes on the armature of a machine, because the machine, the

stack, has already taken on roles and registers of the state" (xvii). The digital records of the biometric information constructs a deliberate shift from a conceptualised Indian contemporaneity to a software identity composite.

The Carbon Copy image of the individual stored in the network spaces via the biometric device might be kept and transferred in a very confidential manner, but the digits existing in the plastic cards issued in the name of unique IDs as well as the movable parts of the real human body which has been used for the biometric purposes as well as in the individuals daily chores provide added forms of Ingress into a more spacious world of information. Thus, it can be said that security and integrity is much more than a matter ensured through the machine. Citizens continuously drift in a liminal space without a deep rooting in personal or social spheres. The regular drifting in this region of irrelevance emphasises a serious loss, the withdrawal of individuals from political identity, raising crucial queries over agency and the very fundamentals of democratic life.

The unique ID transforms itself into a platform of action initiated via identity. The process of authentication moves aside the authoritative and judicial demand of who the individual is and who he as a human being asserts to be. Here the systematization of individualities, objects and affairs in form of uniform or a single truth happens. This system serves in the homogenization of Identity. This policy of reasoning has now had surmised in powerful after effects at the operational level convergence of both the virtual platform as well as in the domains of power exerted by the government. While this process encounters the impediments of data certainty, it seasons to lay hold of the danger or responsibility, in any upcoming events of defect, structural or inherent to a specific event. This is mainly because of the glitches

combined inside the plane on which the erection of an individual's map is done.

Democracy is adjusted in a way to work with this unique system.

It comes into being as an authoriser of an individual's identity within the virtual space provided by the supplier and also in the real world. Since this is a centralized platform there is no chance to agree with the localized versions of fact or truth about any entity. Satyajit, a representative official from the Department of Communication questions Vishwas regarding the details of his meetings with friends and even moves to interrogate in his private space. In the current scenario, there is nothing private other than said to be so by the authority in the particular context. The once designed maps of the individuals' are not just maps themselves, but a continuously proliferating and possibly negotiated outline that augments the pile and its convolution. The observable and unobservable terms and conditions describe the individual as a person whom the authority wants the individual to be. The previous works of Vishwas, created both before as well as after the modification of rules by the authorities, makes him a suspect for trying to infringe the laws.

The holding of citizenship as a conclusive factor and the basic yardstick of social identity, has become a major factor for the state institutions to exert themselves more into correcting the deviant factors of the society and establish a monotony within, to ease out the governance process. This irremediable action explains the expanding de- politicization, which has continuously obscured the private and public part of life. The expansion of technological advancements and its reach towards human civilization had a huge impact in this de- politicization process. "The most neutral and private thing becomes the decisive factor of social identity, [therefore, making it lose] its public character." (Agamben, *Homo Sacer* 4). The moment of authorisation is produced when a unique ID is linked with the particular categories of

biometric data. This creates a philosophical and sociological specific signal of tattooing the fact within the image duplication of the physical body. Thus, the process of filing in the information under the unique ID system is a typical establishment. This working over the information store within the glitch -space of networking becoming undeniable when stored over a period of time is very intriguing.

Susan Schuppli comments that, "this guiding principle, which students of forensic science still learn today is called the Locard Exchange Principle. It posits that in any encounter between bodies, objects, materials, and spaces, certain residual traces are deposited and exchanged" (160). This same principle is functioning in a similar manner both in the real and virtual platforms, with the advancement of surveillance Technology. "Every Digital contact continues to leave an electronic trace" (164). Hence, its derivations and utilizations over and beyond the various classifications alters and modifies perspicacity and is also handed on to political levels and is immersed with the new occurring, verb by it sanctions power to lay hold of brand new forms of configurations. The remains of one individual's body generate a single flow within the particular map. The tracking of numerous such bodies generates multiple forms of flows on the map.

The agreement for deduction of glitches is seldom available in this structure. The process of delineating an individual within the frameworks of the Unique ID system creates this process of reduction a very exigent one. It is not only a design but also the means of options for the process of debarring and/ or incorporation. With the notion of terms and conditions, the producer puts together the options of insertion and omission in alliance with the day's intentional or unintentional errors ascending along with them into the system. In these occasions of overlooking we too can suggest as Bratton says," we are inside the stack and the stack is inside of us. All that we can see

and think is abstracted" (xvii). Thus, monopolising the individuals in the virtual files is much more than a mere project of some software level application and a concept of the government. This is regarding complications of the brand new system of maps which moves on between bodies and demands the human, the state, the raw materials, commercialisation, conveyance and consonance of the profit oriented Worlds into the physical framework of human resources and vice versa. The glitches in the system collapse the dignity of the contemporary citizen as an end user, destined to appear in the edges.

Commoditization of the Individual and Surveillance Capitalism

In surveillance capitalism, every minute details of the individuals are stored and made known to various surveillance capitalists, whereas the blueprint of their functioning is completely ambiguous for the individuals residing within the state. They augment vast information "from us but not for us" (Zuboff, *The Age Surveillance* 11). This collecting of information for the benefit of predicting the future is done by the state for itself as well as its allies to prosper financially. "If you use apps on your smartphone you are probably being monitored by over 5000 e trackers per week. Yes, iPhones too. And tracking on your computers as well, of course, and your accounts in the cloud" (Gray, "Big Data" 536). Surveillance capitalism is like a "rogue" (Zuboff, *The Age Surveillance* iv). What to be understood in this market is that if it is free, you are the product. Finally it is not the technology to be questioned here but what is made done through it:

Surveillance capitalism is a market form that is unimaginable outside the digital milieu, but it is not the same as digital... The digital can take many forms depending upon the social and economic logic that bring it to life. It is

capitalism that assigns the price tag of subjugation and helplessness, not the technology. (15)

Surveillance capitalism gets initiated with the knowledge and the Monopoly over it. The knowledge includes all information that the Machines can accumulate as well as analyse- "Big Data" (Mashey and Ramm 50). According to Zuboff, the new mode of gathering is "Defined by extraction and prediction" of individuals behaviour (Zuboff, *Age Surveillance Capitalism* 65). The vast amount of reprocessing of sprouting supply of data based on Vishwas' conduct and usages happen with the utilization of new technologies and devices in the name of security issues. To an independent, rationally visible citizen like Vishwas, naming the process just as "data exhaust" would be to belittle the entire activity of what is being seized from the citizens. The entire data, more than being a mere informational record, is as termed by Zuboff, a "behavioural surplus" ("Big Other" 77). Consequently, being involved in the process, even the basic privileges of being human gets deleted, generating warnings, fundamentally towards both self- esteem and the so-called self- declared socio- politically liberal government.

Dina being another individual entity in the digitalized era, with the proficiency to instantly represent both the individual and collective consciousness (through the technically mediated and shared experiences via social media), besides expediting a brand-new class of knowledge workers, can also be made use as an entity whose memory can be apprehended and commercially mechanized by the nation state. Dina's revelation shows that, the integrating of technological mediums to upgrade new perceptual interrelations is inciting as far as it stays away from irrevocable merging of existence or being into a new trade- line to be taken advantage of. "Machine not only eruditely problematizes the contemporary techno- fetishist

impulse, but addresses those existential threats that necessitate immediate attention” (Erkan 3). This tautness in invention and commodification is further emphasised in the way such platforms, while apparently providing inoffensive and alluring relations amidst individuals, all together assist as channels to the invisible forces behind the points of interaction. With a sheathing of the theme of connecting the individuals that resonates to be harmless and enticing, these platforms also links the users with the invisible, who commercialize these platforms by paying the medium for profitable contacts- “the data brokers, developers, advertisers, political campaigners, and snake-oil vendors that pay [the social medias] for data about these valuable connections.” (Lyon, “Surveillance Capitalism” 4). Dina and Vishwas, both valuing the individual privacy, deny to digitally code and commoditize themselves.

The surveillance capitalism creates a free market with no regulators in their domain of creating a digital cultural life, where the maximum investment is made with a more effective mode of social colonization. Here we can find the nation state creeping into this kind of capitalism in order to expand their coherence in social control and colonisation. The state endlessly asserts that the detailed and extensive accumulation of the entire information of the individual is for the welfare of the public. And in the due course of an action intended for such a purpose, they become powerful and rich with regard to the amount of information about each subject. Thus, it becomes predominant in all socio- economic aspects of life. Zuboff points out that “it is important to understand that surveillance capitalists are impelled to pursue lawlessness by the logic of their own creation. ... Limit regulation, weaken or block privacy- enhancing legislation, and thwart every attempt to circumscribe their practices because such laws are existential threats today frictionless flow of behavioural surplus” (*The Age Surveillance* 105). In essence, the unrestrained growth

of surveillance capitalism positions an intense danger over the autonomy of the individual and over democratic mode of governance, as it flourishes on the commodification of human involvements, deprived of any ethical restriction.

The corporate assumptions are active and cleanly penetrating. The individuals are placed into a system of precisely predetermined varieties of services to be consumed, so that once into it, we continue to the same like a zombie follower, unable to determine what else could be done without another software program to assist them. The real world becomes the mere data to be exploited to gain access to maximum power. In fact, Vishwas feels detested by those interruptions, when one really gets lured into making a product of indispensable quality. Here, not only the products, but even the producers are commoditized and are made to traverse at a pre-decided and fixed pace through the conveyor belt, designed especially for the purpose. Though Vishwas looks for intriguing subjects to write, Satyajit, the median to the power structure, is never ready to outgrow the normal temperature and shock the system. While Vishwas thinks about Mars going to be a habitable location in future and extends the same idea towards people in search of a new land, wanting to build a new order, Satyajit cautions him to avoid unwanted influence and retain his own voice: “No jokes. No plots for future adventures. Save yourself. For the important stuff” (I. 8). This emphasizes the seriousness of protecting the individual’s subjective opinion amongst imagined futures and signals in the direction of the superior edifices of control that direct the narrative as well as identity.

The systemic enhancement towards the pattern of control, have also elevated the production and capitalism. The authority here tries to claim that it is the finished product that is looked for and brought by the readers. Therefore, the few pages putting together many unfinished narratives without any logical connection, according to the

standards set forth by the authority, cannot be taken in as any kind of work, let alone to be called a book. To upgrade or improve the national graph is the only concern of the authority in buying the stocks. Thus, the authority defines the work of Vishwas to be of any market value. To Deleuze, “This is no longer a capitalism for production but, for the product ... Thus it is essentially dispersive... The operation of markets is now the instrument of social control...” (Deleuze and Guttari, *Thousand Plateaus* 6). Therefore, individuals like Vishwas who write to satisfy their conscience and publishers like Kamal, who come out with works not meeting the benchmark set by the authoritative structure are treated as deviant. This is because the type of people themselves as well as their productions never meet up the standards and take part in strengthening networks of control.

The writer through the precariousness of Vishwas shows how the modern day citizens are placed in an unstable and insecure atmosphere through surveillance capitalism, that is in fact moving on to control their private spaces as well as the mental realm of the individuals, after conquering the physical world and quantifying it. Mapping is just a part of documenting the terrains that were conquered and captured by the colonizer. But now it has ended into the digital realm to satisfy the consumer oriented monopolies. More mechanisation of human life and loss of privacy as well as autonomy under the state surveillance feared Vishwas. He never desired to be a docile entity.

Vishwas resisted use of devices and the services listed by the state as he never wanted to be bossed around by any entities. These engineered items have generated an entirely new mode of operationalised manipulation, something installed via algorithms, for conditioning. The destination to reach, aimed by the implementation of such devices and services is control. In a way, for the state, the activities of

Vishwas severely question the uninterrupted gut of the state to intervene in the life of all the citizens, in order to collect the raw data to be consumed by the state as well as its corporate allies and market out this data pellets to manipulate the same citizens themselves. Though these activities of the state are far beyond any justification. Marketing is the soul of control society and it has a terrifying soul of networks. What matters here is the product value, predetermined exchange rate, and the modification of the product accordingly. By not conforming to these set standards, Vishwas, kamal, Dina, and all their associates get to be indexed at the lower grades as per the index list of the nation state. Resisting to modulate according to the needs of the nation state places all in a much more vulnerable state.

The performing of surveillance on the unknown by way of various digitalized platforms, or on ourselves, taking place through self- monitoring, tale in a large part of surveillance capitalism, in each and every individual's quotidian life. The prepotent surveillance capitalism tempts the umpteen into its fascinating force- field. Though the beguiling warning bells of consumerism existed for a long time, the only difference now is in its modified digital get up. With the kind of excellently profitable evolution of capitalism, it isn't difficult to obediently submit to the same. The new logic of accretion and over- reliance on data is evolving. And the governments and other structures included in the process and the indemnity in their functioning is bewildering. Surveillance capitalism is enhancing its boundaries of accession. And the notion of liberty itself is getting pathetically degraded with it.

The impuissant position of Vishwas makes him surrender to the state to be used as a commodity to increase the stock value of the nation- state's exchange. The power structure meticulously adds up to itself, through the incorporation as well as abduction of insurrection and personal state of isolation and anxiety, resulting from

lack of social governance and regulation. Since it is hard to make an instant approach to all these. The pandemonium and anomie arrested within the surveillance technologies of the nation- state can only be brought out within this manner.

The official, without waiting for any reply from Vishwas, enlists him for the psychotherapy, including the writing process, wherein the individual is allowed the liberty to write their own thoughts within the enclosed space, in the presence of advised monitor, though the written material would be customarily wiped off once the individual pull out of the therapy session. The only available provision is to display the same to the immediate family members and friends, before destroying it. Satyajit cautions of another visit. As the play ends, both exists the scene, failing the fundamental freedoms of speech and expression. Surveillance by obtaining an admittance into the day- to- day life of individuals in the current scenario lets off nobody, especially in a society contingent on digital underpinnings. What happens at every level is the unswerving extortion of data, and the distribution of the same only between the power structures, so that each and every department of the state comes to scrutinize atop the individual citizen. For instance, Vishwas and his family are not only a matter of concern for the Department of Public Communication of the State, but also that of Culture. This amounts to the new logic of capital accretion: “It is characterized, ..., by a combination of digital dependence, indifference, and neo-liberalism. It uses prediction to eliminate uncertainty that may produce anxiety if not other emotions” (Lyon, *Surveillance Capitalism* 5). Thus, resulting in the wearing away of social credence, public trust, unity, innate bonding, binding contracts, and promises.

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power structure meticulously adds up to itself, through the incorporation as well as abduction of insurrection and personal state of isolation and anxiety, resulting from lack of social governance and regulation. Since it is hard to make an instant approach to all these. The pandemonium and anomie arrested within the surveillance technologies of the nation- state can only be brought out in this manner. The official, without waiting for any reply from Vishwas, enlists him for the psychotherapy, including the writing process, wherein the individual is allowed the liberty to write their own thoughts within the enclosed space, in the presence of advised monitor, though the written material would be customarily wiped off once the individual pull out of the therapy session. The only available provision is to display the same to the immediate family members and friends, before destroying it. Satyajit cautions of another visit. As the play ends, both exists the scene, failing the fundamental freedoms of speech and expression.

Vishwas winds up his struggle, understanding that a new political facet or status of the nation- state is possible only by taking hold of, and discharging the chaos and its regulation within the society. He therefore, terminates his struggle and complies with the state for the time being, though it is not an easy task. Agamben's statement is of ample significance here: "... It means first of all the rediscovery of a form of life, the access to a new figure of that political life whose memory the security state tries at any price to cancel." (*Homo Sacer* 6). When viewed through this lens, the intrusion of surveillance capitalism denotes not only a techno-centric transformation but also a specific mode of political silencing, a form that methodically erodes the specific form of life that Agamben invokes.

The danger of surveillance capitalism is more empirical than any sort of enslavement. "The commoditization of behaviour under the conditions of surveillance

capitalism pivots us toward a societal future in which an exclusive division of learning is protected by secrecy, in decipher ability, and expertise. Even the knowledge derived from your behaviour is fed back to you in the first text as a Quid Pro quo for participation, the parallel secret operations of the shadow text capture surplus for crafting into prediction products destined for other market places that are about you rather than for you. These markets do not depend upon you except as a source of raw material from which derived, and then as a targeted for guaranteed outcomes "(Zuboff, *The Age Surveillance* 328). The criticism offered by Zuboff applies to the fact that surveillance capitalism turns human behaviour into commodified data, making the autonomy of individuals subject to market demands. The scraping of personal data in the pretext of participation discloses an invisible asymmetry between users who are both a resource and an object. This reveals a manipulative system where information regarding people is used to predict and make profits instead of serving the individual interest.

The individual citizens have no authoritative control here, as they are often crucially placed on sale purpose in the socio-political charting of the nation-state. The individuals are treated as "human natural resources", for retaining the knowledge and command over power, which is a prerequisite for surveillance capitalism (Gray 549). In the future, where the control will be based on human behaviour, the individual's bio, deport from their actions or performances, declining them with any ingress into the information retained out of their own experience.

The surveillance capitalism's quest for complete control, generates monopoly as well as a feeling of necessity amongst the citizens to tag themselves in the digital zone, in order to ensure their security. The authoritative power structure expands the market, catering to the diverse needs of the population and simultaneously group each

individual to neatly defined categories as per the algorithmic detection of the consumer behaviour. Thus, the monopolistic government gets absolute control over the customer. The customer is manipulated. The individual subject residing in the nation state is provided with no option, other than consuming the services and products initiated by the state, for upgrading one's own life. The needs are necessitated by the authority to retain their monopolies.

The diminution of the individuals like Vishwas, Dina, Kamal and all those acquainted with the writer Vishwas into mere input-yielding factors signifies a reframing of citizenship altogether. Displaced from rights, accountability, or engagement in a democratic socio-political realm, the citizen is reconfigured as a usable connector within the behavioural grid, an entity whose merit is retrieved programmatically. In this composition, agency is subverted more not by coercive power but by the plan of execution, as involvement or making oneself present in the digital sphere becomes both inevitable and mandatory. The trick of choice hides a profounder pressure, within which even performances of resistance are served back into devices of expectation and control. This plotted reliance switches impeccably into the reason where surveillance capitalism supervises as well as dynamically moulds the conduct, confirming that individuals fall in line with the predetermined market and objectives of the nation-state.

In the select Play, *Untitled 1* by Annie Zaidi projects that Surveillance establishes as well as functions through visible and invisible modes of violence. The direct apparatuses of control, overtly spot individuals as entities to be scrutinised. Covert violence happens through the understated, more deceptive processes that wear away autonomy through programmed data-mining. The very instance of amassing, assessing, and anticipating behavioural patterns reduces agency by the way of

exploitation of preferences itself. With regard to the varieties of power employed by the state, the delicate, enticing stimulus rooted in surveillance capitalism denotes its high gripping soft power. The nation-state, exploiting technology, profiles needs and conducts without visible compulsion. Hard power, conversely, is visible in the straightforward encroachment of control by means of legal frameworks and disciplinary methods. The amalgamation of both the powers, guarantees that individuals conform to the requirements of both the market place and the nation-state, providing them minimal chances for resistance which is not currently justified for and reoriented inside the system.

Chapter Three

Burning Identity and the Politics of Assimilation: Cultural Erasure, Chinese

Imperial Strategies and Tibetan Resistance through Self- immolations

Introduction

The play *Pah-La* by Abhishek Majumdar is set on the background of the uprising that took place in Lhasa in 2008. The incident that causes Deshar to commit her act of self-immolation, a Tibetan nun who was still in her formation stage, sums up the nature of the Tibetan crisis and its struggle with China. In a cross-cultural setting, the play shows how people who are pushed to the point of confrontation, resort to desperate measures as survival tactics. It also presupposes in advance, the manner in which, and with regard to which, such intimate and apparently personal disputes are symptomatic and reflective of the larger socio-political hostilities that organize late twentieth-century society. In spite of the fact that such a cycle has a tendency to understand violence in the form of its “physical” expression, the widened identification of “psychological and affective registers” reveals the sufferings of loss, the continuity of regrets, and the negotiated disputes of identity (Scarry 27). This knowledge anticipates the excess of violence beyond the immediacy of corporeal injury, its implication in memory, affect and in the socio-political circumstances that constitute subjectivity. These fuses push the subjects into some types of desperation where violence is “not only tolerated” but also instead “welcomed as a means of communication” (Fanon, *The Wretched* 35). In this regard, violence is not only seen as an act of resistance or survival, but as a discursive phenomenon “creating and governing power relations” in a community (Girard 14). Reconceptualising violence as expressive and regulatory, the play dramatizes the way in which the intimate scales of pain and identity are always already subjects within larger systems of domination

which are typical of late modernity. Nonetheless, violence and cultural genesis are closely related in the continuing process of actualisation, particularly, in the situation of geopolitical confrontation, with everyone, individual and state, acting on the basis of historical oppression or the need to be liberated and thus, the current-day world narrative of resistance and oppression.

The Tibetan people who were forced into displacement have been turned into inexorable sources of revolt where the memory of forced displacement creates an unwilled but a lasting process of liberation as a nation. The first-generation exiles as well as the refugee-born Tibetans are still highly invested in the political identity struggle, and their precarious condition continues to keep them engaged in the Tibetan liberation movement. With chronic insecurities and displaced life, the Tibetans feel even more expatriated in their own country. The ambiguous relations between individuality and collective identity have cast a shade of uncertainty on the Tibetan subject and the playwright situates the drama as a cultural vessel through which the scattered Tibetan people, not only in the country but also in the diaspora, can express and seek the freedom of the nation.

Pha-La is written by Abhishek Majumdar, after being staged at the Royal Court Jerwood Theatre Upstairs in London on April 3, 2019. It was made possible with the help of Re-imagine India and Arts Council England. The playwright was awarded a grant by the Foundation for Universal Responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The major characters in the play are Tsering, a Tibetan male in his early sixties; Deshar, a Tibetan nun in her formation period in her early twenties and Tserings' daughter; Rinpoche, Head of the Tibetan monastery in his late sixties; Dorjee, Tibetan nun and Deshar's companion in her early twenties; Pema, a twelve year old Tibetan student of Tsering; Deng, a Han commander in his early fifties;

Constable Gaphel, a Tibetan in his late sixties working in the Chinese military force; Ling, a female commanding officer in her early thirties; Jia, commander Deng's wife.

The play *Pha-La* expresses the long history of atrocities that Tibetans have endured over the past fifty years, and it depicts the ways in which these actions were resisted or turned against their perpetrators. It places deeply disturbed people in a process of identity development that has both personal and political aspects. The self-conscious expression and straightforward language used in the play squarely portray the situation in Tibet that resulted in the 2008 Lhasa riot and the subsequent events. Its revelation of daily life brings out the great suffering and existential insecurity within the Chinese colonies. The play by Majumdar is an acute statement of protest, renunciation and the refusal to accept any claims made by the invaders on Tibetan land. It importantly analyses the state of exile in the homeland and the delicate, transient status of Tibetan ethnic groups.

Cultural Genocide: Reforms in Culture, Religion, Education, and Infrastructures

The Chinese Cultural Revolution was a systematic campaign of annihilating Tibetan civilization and Buddhist culture and gross human rights violations were rendered in the interests of the colonizer in terms of economic and commercial gain. These organized policies and propaganda can be regarded as both forms of cultural and physical genocide, as well as the mechanisms of “colonial domination” (Said *Orientalism* 9), “epistemic violence” (Bartolomeo 42) and as the creation of “imagined communities”, used to legitimize imperial domination (Anderson 5). According to the convention for the prevention and punishment of Genocide, genocide means: “any... act committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” . It is a “systematic effort over time to

liquidate a national population, usually a minority” (United Nations, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, art. 2). It is the “structural and systematic destruction of innocent people by a state bureaucratic apparatus” (Horowitz 16). The “government or its agents” are the carriers of genocide (Wallimann et. al 56). Indeed, given the calculated extermination of the native Tibetan people, such as the targeted suppression of Tibetan Buddhism, gross human rights abuse, and financial goals, one would be justified to analyse it using internationally established standards of genocide. This cultural re-engineering that has been forced onto Tibet by the Chinese colonial apparatus thereby constitutes an orderly form of ethnocide that is an outward display of cultural and physical genocide.

Deshar, the Tibetan nun in her formation period, affirms her identity as an autonomous person by enduring the bond with her homeland, deriving an understated joy in standing as a symbol of resistance towards the Chinese soldier who calls her “...you Tibetan bitch... I will bite your ears off...” (Majumdar, 1. 1. 5). The pivotal parts of the narrative underscores the forceful invasion of the dominating Chinese force violating the spiritual and cultural realms of native Tibetan population. Deshar confronts Dorjee regarding the unfair expulsion of nuns, saying “They cannot expel me. ... best in class” (1. 1. 2) and how it violates academic merit and is a tool of institutional control. Dorjee recognizes that such actions are directed at independent minds and not against underperformers, which shows how the system suppresses the right to individuality in the monastic hierarchy. The communication between Deshar and Dorjee reveals how disciplinary action, in the monastery, is not so much an assessment of merit, but rather a tool of ideological domination by the Chinese. Their discussion unveils the system, which fines intellectual autonomy, expulsion being one of the instruments to subjugate and seal the individual agency.

In addition to her involvement in violence, Deshar defends her actions by stating that she intervenes with the wounded soldier in a compassionate way showing that her actions were not inconsistent with her spiritual values. She clarifies with the wounded soldier that, "...I'll just take your clothes away and follow the path of liberation" (1. 1. 5). The act of Deshar is the example of non-violent resistance, a way to reclaim personal agency and face the structural violence that the character is placed under due to her identity as a Buddhist nun. The gesture by Deshar can be interpreted as the rejection of the process of violence and the soldier's uniform becomes a tool of asserting their moral autonomy. Her unarmed struggle reveals how oppression within the system can be fought with resistance in the form of ethical disobedience and not retaliation. Through empathy and action, she brokered some kind of ethical disobedience that turns oppression into a place of disputed authority and moral strength.

The play offers a subtle examination of how the culture of the Tibetan people has been displaced, and re-engineered, leaving individuals disconnected with their cultural roots, their "collective memory" (Bartolome 45), their "identity" (Said *Orientalism* 72), and their sense of belonging. This creates the environment of "exile" (Bartolome 45) and their dislocation as "diasporic" (Said, *Orientalism* 72). This alienation brings about the "psychological distress" (Fanon, *The Wretched* 35) and undermines the emotional capacity, which is the "postcolonial trauma" (35) of being oppressed by the system. Through the themes of displacement, alienation and loss, the play demonstrates how the identity is at once co-opted and divided in the face of cultural and territorial pressure. As part of her monastic training, Deshar finds it hard to make sense of the Buddhist teachings of non-violence and the general state of complicity that support the systemic oppression and marginalization of Tibet in both

political and cultural arenas. Dorjee informs her that “... their commander will be here in 2 days” (1. 1. 4). Knowing that the Chinese commander has visited to enforce the re-education program on the nuns, Deshar takes the visit to be a wider agenda of imposing foreign ideologies in the name of development and modernization. She views the re-education program as propaganda that seeks to destroy the Tibetan identity, install Han values at the expense of Tibetan values, and diminish Tibet as a sub-political unit in the Chinese system.

The younger generation of Tibetans confronts cognitive dissonance and a feeling of estrangement upon witnessing the imposition of a non- native language and culturally distinct colonial power of the Chinese state within the territory of Tibet. When Deshar says that, “The Buddha is for sarcasm”, Dorjee responds “yes... sarcasm is non- violent (*Laughing.*)” (1. 1. 4). The exchange by Dorjee puts sarcasm as a non-violent resistance that is strategic and thus, putting wit within ethical restraint in response to oppression. This scene underlines how the creative expression may be subversive without breaking the rules of non-violence which are one of the key ideas of Buddhist practice. This recognition of cultural divergence underpins the conviction of the Chinese presence in Tibet as developmental and has revealed it to be a neo-colonial incursion that hides the alienation of culture and territorial identity of Tibet. Therefore, the fabricated representation of the Tibetan population by the imperial power embodies a purposeful discourse shaped through the lens of Chinese propaganda to justify its expansionist policies. This mediated framework of truth, upholds the authority of Chinese imperial power over the land, while erasing the Tibetan dissent as well as suppressing the visibility of counter- narratives.

In the play, Commander Deng proclaims, “Your Knowledge is of no use to the common man”. The characterisation of China as a humanitarian and constructive

power conveying development, obfuscates the ongoing cultural obliteration and forced assimilation of Tibetans to the mainland of China. While Rinpoche questions “What does the police force protect?”, Commander Deng responds “... common people” from “Other people”. Upon more queries from Rinpoche, Commander concludes that the real protection of people is of “Their happiness, their well being, their way of life”. However, Rinpoche, the head of the monastery proclaims that “... seems like you and I have the same job (*Pause*)” (1. 5. 23). The discussion reveals the ideological shoddiness of state rhetoric of protection, and that such rhetoric conceals the processes of domination. The meaning of safeguarding "happiness" and "way of life" as conveyed by the commander Deng is ironic when an agent of repression utters the words. Rinpoche ironically criticizes this paradox by implying that spiritual leadership and not state power by force is the best way to protect the well-being of people. This discussion projects certain essential questions of political legitimacy, as well as reveals the fragility of the state-monitored discourses, and promotes the systematic degradation of Tibetan culture and enforced adherence to Chinese communism. As Anand writes, “Tibet matters not only because of strategic, military, nationalist and economic factors, but it also raises the question of political legitimacy. If the Chinese state compromises, it might be interpreted as a sign of weakness and recognition that, contrary to government propaganda, all is not well in China's Tibet” (33). In this milieu, the dominant discourse operates not merely to legitimize Chinese control, but also to simultaneously suppress the dissenting perspectives of the Tibetans, portraying domination as a benevolent act, while concurrently obliterating the cultural and political fabric of the entire Tibetan population.

By means of this propaganda the Chinese government wants to own not only the physical space of Tibet, but also the minds of its people, using the provocative and

politicized approach. After a thorough scrutiny of the Chinese authorities, only a handful of monasteries stand in Tibet, with military training groups imposing subjugation to Chinese ideology of expansion and using state defence principles as a part of the Buddhist teachings. Commander Deng wants the “five pillars” of Chinese propaganda of re- education to be included in the morning assembly of nun’s everyday (1. 4. 25). Constable Gaphel, assisting Commander Deng in the monastery reads tentatively, the five pillars of re- education:

GAPHEL: One. Opposition to Separatism.

Two. Unity of Tibet and China.

Three. Recognition of Chinese government appointed Panchen Lama as the true Panchen Lama.

Four. Agreement that Dalai Lama is a political Terrorist... and... destroying the unity of the motherland.

Five. To agree that Tibet was never and shall never be a separate country... an integral part of our beloved motherland. (1. 5. 25)

The conversation lists politically charged entities that are meant to promote Chinese sovereignty in Tibet, presenting opposition as separatism and invalidating the leadership of the indigenous. It encroaches on the territory and the psychological space of a Tibetan identity by insisting on the acknowledgment of state-appointed religious representatives and stating the Dalai Lama as a political terrorist. This intervention is typical of the exercise of ideological control over the reconstruction of collective memory, loyalty, and cultural consciousness, in the name of national unity. The text suggests that the re-education policies of China are types of cultural genocide since they have had aggressive effects of rewriting Tibetan history, discrediting religious authorities and other types of dissent. By imposing ideological conformity

and by officially approved accounts and narration, Tibetans are deprived of their historic memory, spiritual practices, and cultural identity. Finally, the conversation points to the control over territory being combined with systematic reengineering of belief systems and language to substitute Tibetan consciousness with a homogenized state-constructed identity. The Chinese officials defended their attack on the monastic community in Tibet by arguing that a country in poverty could not afford nuns and monks on alms, and lamented that their increasing numbers could encourage political action. Other policies further weakened the cultural practices of Buddhism, such as swearing the oaths of loyalty to Chinese socialism by the clergy.

The text shows how the spirit of revolution sought to destroy traditional institutions. The monasteries, which were at the centre of Tibetan life, were most affected by these destructive movements. Scene seven unfolds in the same chamber space within the monastery, where the scholars, monks, and trainee nuns, mentally and physically exhausted under the sustained psychological coercion imposed by the authorities, are gathered in a secluded corner. Deng is completely disappointed at the re-education campaign in the monastery. He says, “There isn’t one who has marked anything in green. ... For three days and three nights we are here. In other nunneries, we have done this in two days and moved on. You have to mark everything you believe in green... and good for motherland” (1. 7. 30). Through the conversation, we discover the desperate effort by Commander Deng to stamp his authority on Tibetan nuns by imposing their arbitrary rituals as a sign of allegiance to the state. It indicates the wider panic of the Chinese government in justifying their control over Tibet by using forced cultural and ideological assimilation.

This absence of compliance exposes the collective dissent to the colonial regime’s ideological imposition, masquerading as patriotic initiative. Deng becomes

increasingly frustrated by the severe contrast seen in the apparently unsuccessful re-education process in this particular monastery, underscoring the profound influence of Rinpoche's resolute guidance over his followers. Deshar's analytical appraisal, of the origin of the newspaper itself calls into question the legitimacy of the information given, delivers a significant challenge to the core principles of the re-education programme. It is also indicative of the exertion of disciplinary power in which Commander Deng imposes arbitrary rituals to control thought and behaviour, a characteristic that Foucault describes as a form of "non-repressive" control over subjects in a society referred to as surveillance (*Discipline* 138). Therefore, the conversation and the context reveal that the forceful application of rituals is not only a symbolic stake in the assertion of authority, but a tool of systematized psychological control, which shows how surveillance is used to control and normalize subjectivity in an oppressed group. For instance, Near Jokhang temple, "approximately 30 monks surrounded them, calling out "Tibet is not free! Tibet is not free!" As some broke into tears, others told foreign press that the Dalai Lama was not behind the protest or violence that had shaken the city" (Roberts and Jane 5). In this way, the demonstration outside of the Jokhang temple emphasizes the claim of the monks to Tibetan self-determination and dissociates the movement with any outside leadership, which exposes the resistance as a spontaneous outburst of shared grief and political protest against the Chinese occupation.

The Chinese government asserts that Tibet is a union of China, but the legal status of this union is one of the most controversial and ambiguous ones, which Said characterizes as the unresolved issue of self-determination under "imperial narratives" (Said, *Orientalism* 132) and to which Hannum relates the phrase of unresolved question of "self-determination under international law" (Hannum 49). This finally

makes vulnerable state-controlled claims to both postcolonial criticism and judicial inquiry. The Sinicization of Tibet is the process carried out by Chinese policies, which destroys the cultural identity by prioritizing the Han values in education over Tibetan customs, exemplifying what Bourdieu describes as the “cultural reproduction” of dominant ideologies (Bourdieu 71). Thus, schematically excluding indigenous Tibetan identity and knowledge. “The instruction provided on the history and culture of minority nationalities in the curricula is not adequate as compared to the education provided concerning the history and culture of the Han nationality...Everything Tibetan was destroyed; everything Chinese and Communist adopted. The practice of religion was officially outlawed” (The Tibet Justice Center’s 36). The Patriotic Education campaign as well as Strike Hard campaigns in Tibet are for controlling the monasteries, monks and the Tibetan populace. These campaigns also reaffirm the supremacy and the truth of the CCP on the Tibet issue.

This disparity in educational access uncovers a deliberate initiative to undermine the Tibetan identity, displacing the local epistemologies through the implementation of dominant Han narratives. Thus, reinforcing the processes of cultural homogenization and political overrule. These Government sponsored initiatives amplify the Communist Party of China’s existing discourse on Tibet, characterising the region’s historical ties with China as an imperialist expansion, masked in enforced integration. This exemplifies that, “history of the West’s domination... [as] also a history of the production of knowledge” (Said, *Orientalism* 132). By framing the Dalai Lama as a political adversary and the prohibition in display of his image, the imperialist domination of China endeavours to erode his dual influence as a spiritual and political figurehead of the Tibetan population. The consequential erosion of culture and spiritual life, indicates the implementation of a

calculated strategy of sinicization policy, engineered to suppress the Tibetan identity and secure Chinese dominance.

The Chinese authorities have deemed independent acts of devotion as signs of a solidarity movement. In conversation with Rinpoche, Deng remarks, "... you have taught them to disbelieve. In Sera, Drepung, Ganden monasteries we have had many who we have been able to save... Your influence is complete. Total". However, the unwillingness of his nunnery to comply makes him proud in "its quest for truth" (1. 7. 30). Anyhow, the revelation of the picture in Dorjee's hand to be that of "His Holiness Dalai Lama" (1. 7. 31), escalates the tension present there. The revelation about Dorjee being in possession of a photo of the Dalai Lama is a direct challenge to the assertion of the state of total ideological control, as evidenced in other monasteries, revealing the extent to which forced re-education can go and how a banned spiritual loyalty is maintained. Unlike the coercion, torture and forced acculturation mentioned above, this mere keeping of the image of Dalai Lama turns out to be a strong statement of truth, recollection, and cultural defiance. This moment intensifies the situation since it demonstrates that even systematic psychological domination, the Tibetan identity remains silent and personal, intimate, and cannot be completely erased by the state through its acts of loyalty. The Tibetan resistance to Chinese domination is fundamentally associated with the assertion of cultural autonomy, religious freedom, and collective identity, which again gets routinely equated with political defiance by the Chinese authorities. This spiritual re-emergence with revival of Buddhism and reverence for Lama, embraces an affirmation of Tibetan spiritual, cultural as well as national consciousness.

For instance, Deshar has a narrative of an imposter who takes clothes of a "blacksmith" and defrauds villages under the guise of a genuine blacksmith. She

describes how the fake kills houses, takes everything as his possession and expects people to be “loyal” to him, yet he does not have a legal claim to any of them. Deshar proceeds that the “imposter” later breaks into the house of the true “blacksmith” and kicks “out” his “family”, demolishes their sacrificial altar, and makes them demonstrate their devotion to him. She inquires what the proper blacksmith is supposed to do under such circumstances, but Rinpoche cuts her off soon and instructs her to enter. Deng goes up to her, saying that “Do I sense a streak of violence? Did you get it from your father or is it part of monastic education nowadays?” (1. 5. 28). The dialogue is an allegory, where the parable of Deshar is used as a metaphor, for depicting the Chinese authority as a foreign body that takes power in Tibet. The fake blacksmith is the symbol of China that demands its right to be recognized as a legitimate entity even without any real cultural or historical connection to Tibet. His burning of houses and his demand of homogenization is a symbol of the efforts of China to erase Tibetan uniqueness by homogenizing its culture. The invasion of the home of the blacksmith and the breaking of the altar symbolize the oppression of Tibetan Buddhism and the interference of the state in the life of the religion. His insistence on obedience is similar to political indoctrination and pressure over the Tibetans to embrace Chinese sovereignty. The fact that Rinpoche hastily interrupted demonstrates the fear the Tibetans are exposed to and that one will be punished in case he criticizes. The comment of Deng, referring to the words of Deshar as violent, shows how the Tibetan identity and opposition is wrongly perceived as extremism, and how the authority of the Chinese is seen as an intrusion and oppression.

Historically, Tibet’s social and political fabric have been intertwined with Buddhist ideology and its functioning aspects as a governing authority as well as a

focal point of Tibetan self- definition. The Tibetan identity is deeply entrenched in the Buddhist spiritual practices, which basically define their daily existence and the essence of their cultural identity. Being a theocratic society, Tibetan community maintain enduring reverence for their religious practices, which forms the bedrock of their social hierarchy and political organization. The prolonged traditions were disturbed by the invasion of the Chinese since 1959, resulting in the cultural repression, extending constraints on religious observance even within the monastic environments. Stating the activity of holding the picture of Dalai Lama as illegal, Commander Deng expels Dorjee and declares the “nunnery” to be “shut” (1. 7. 31). Once more this is an indication of coercive control to attain ideological conformity and oppression of Tibetan religious identity. Unable to find a proper direction, Dorjee, the trainee nun too approaches Rinpoche for a proper solution, which again reaffirms the cultural perseverance of the Tibetan people during the systemic oppression. Rinpoche advises her, “Take that train. It’s a vessel, ... It won’t make you less Tibetan or less Buddhist. ... go somewhere far. Search for the Buddha in you (*Smiles*)” (1. 7. 31). According to the advice of Rinpoche, displacement is repackaged as something that enables one to look inwardly since being “forcibly removed” does not make one any “less cultural or spiritual” (Said, *Culture and Imperialism* 132). The discussion shows that the Tibetan Buddhist values still prevail as the form of resistance, rather weak, yet still present, which is what Bourdieu refers to as “imposition and internalization of the symbolic power” in the process of “subjectivity formation” (Bourdieu 164). It predicts “individual agency and spiritual stamina” as ways to continue culture and religion in the face of repressive administration by encouraging Dorjee to seek the Buddha within you (Anderson 58). Accordingly, the teachings of Rinpoche emphasize the fact that personal agency and spiritual strength

are important processes to preserve the cultural and religious identity of Tibet in a system with oppression. The Chinese infusion of revolution has thus brought in a closure instead of any expansion of their lives and self, obstructing their identity to a large extent.

Both Deshar, the Buddhist nun as well as Tsering, her biological father are astonished as well as annoyed at the same time to view Chinese all over the place and imposing its own intrinsic edition of Tibetan history over the native population. The nuns are constantly summoned, shoved to write, read newspapers, and study, as well as stand up to sing the National Anthem as part of the forceful implementation of re-education. “They get exhausted but are being brought in over and over again” (1. 6. 29). This scene reveals the forceful character of the re-education system introduced by the Chinese state upon Tibetan monastics. The drilling routines: writing, reading of the state-approved newspapers and singing the National Anthem are metaphorical representations of the control of ideology and the destruction of culture. Any act of nuns to compel them to do so belittles their spiritual independence and substitutes religious and spiritual discipline with political indoctrination. The fact that they are exhausted lends to the physical and mental pressure to wear down resistance and make them obey. On the whole, the passage can be regarded as an expression of how re-education can be used as a means of control, with the purpose of rebranding the Tibetan identity according to the ideology of the state. Similarly, Pema informs Deshar that her father “... has not stepped out since they started the demolition of the monastery” and also that “... he did the Kora... has the picture of his holiness hidden” (1. 8. 35). The words of Pema show the older generation sitting back in silence and fear as the state policies attack their religious world. The fact that Tsering did not want to go outside and he decided not to go outside after the destruction of the

monastery is a sign of severe psychological trauma and a feeling of extensive loss. His concealed Kora and the secret snapshot of the Dalai Lama shows how religion has to be practiced by being under surveillance. The reason for such concealment is that re-education compels elders to conceal lifelong spiritual identities because of their safety. His soul in due course of his struggle in maintaining the identity of a pure Tibetan waned, unable to comprehend the alterations induced by the Chinese intruders into their land. Reticent displays of piety by Tsering such as concealing the picture of Dalai Lama and reciting the Kora are a source of faith-based resistance which helps the individual to withstand oppression as he holds on to untainted Tibetan principles. In general, the scene shows the effects of re-education as it breaks the chain of generations, forcing the seniors into their secluded world of fear and silent protest.

The once flourished monasteries inhabited by legions of nuns and distinguished Lamas, are kept in tight scrutiny by the Chinese imperial powers, in terms of both Buddhist teachings as well as in demographic size, in order to avert the risks of political resistance. Only a limited number of monks are given the permission to stay with many being expelled due to inadequate educational performance or on the basis of alleged ties with Tibetan counterparts. Tsering Wangmo Dhompa, evokes the depiction of monastic life with poignant clarity stating that, “the monastery feels like a fortress inhabited by sad ghosts” marked by visible signs of physical damage like ruined Buddha sculptures, deteriorated paintings, and bullet scars, bearing witness to the damaging aftereffects of cultural revolution, implemented by the Chinese imperial power (*Poetic License* 13). In the play *Deng Remarks*, “... this is your education... We will break it and build a hospital... The demolition on the east side should begin any moment” (1. 7. 32). Deng, in his comment, makes the destruction appear in the context of education, showing how the state has been using the discourse of progress

to justify the use of violence. He hides the act of cultural erasure through rhetoric of development and modernization by vowing to substitute the monastery with a hospital. This replacement is a symbol of the state in trying to override the Tibetan spiritual life with secular institutions that are acceptable by the state. Referring to demolition as a required measure reveals the authoritarian thinking that the cultural identity should be demolished in order that the citizens can be rebuilt. The line "should start any moment" demonstrates how urgent and inevitable is the state enforcement of its agenda, and there is no chance of disagreement. All in all, the statement explains in what ways re-education is not only ideological but also architectural, which is to deconstruct the physical representations of the Tibetan identity in order to enforce complete control. This dramatic transformation of the nunneries, signifies not merely the material damage, but equally, the methodical repression of Tibetan spiritual and cultural expression, under the mask of political regulation.

For instance, The Act One, Scene five, happens in the prayer chamber of the monastery and the adjoining classroom, featuring an enlarged Buddha statue encircled amidst Buddhist sacred texts and ritual objects. The scene marks the entry of the character Constable Gaphel, a Tibetan man in his sixties and Commander Deng, a Han man as well as official in the Chinese force, who is in the prime of his late forties or early fifties, generating an intense atmosphere reflective of the Tibetan cultural displacement under the Chinese colonization of the territory. Deng initiates the conversation, questioning "the cost of Buddha statue", in reply to which Rinpoche, the religious head of the monastery highlights the deep seated cultural, religious and societal significance of the statue which transcends any material and monetary worth (1. 5. 19). These assertions by Rinpoche claim that the Buddha statue encapsulated a

legacy of collective Tibetan memory for over the past fourteen hundred years.

Commander Deng rejects this claim as an exaggerated empty rhetoric. This illuminates the opposing forces of economic or commercial valuation and spiritual significance.

Instead of finding a cultural revolution that happened in Tibet, for Deng, Buddha seems to be a notable banner of “fundraising” for many activities by the monastery (1. 5. 20). Not comprehending the Buddhist way of life, while examining the trunk of Rinpoche, Deng enquires about the entities which might have been enclosed in the trunk at once. But for Rinpoche, all materialistic luxuries outside his physical body were traded over the course of his lifetime. The inquisitive questioning of Deng concerning the way the relics survived the Cultural Revolution shows how the state was suspicious of the Tibetan religious objects and treated them as a threat to the state instead of as symbols of the religion. The fact that he says that they must have been liked by Chairman Mao is demeaning the violent history of cultural destruction by providing it with the cover of irony. The answer of Rinpoche, which is nothing more than within the individual, reiterates the inward, non-political nature of Buddhism, where Deng tries to bring out the Tibetan religion as separatist. Through highlighting the fact that Buddhism is about “Mind” (1. 5. 21), Rinpoche refutes the state discourse that Buddhist religion is synonymous with rebellion. The implication of cultural identity misinterpreted as political subversion by the Chinese state is evident in the fact that Deng emphasizes the demand to separate China. The fact that Rinpoche says that Tibetans have not yet discovered their political teeth is an agreement of their inability to have political power in the past despite their spiritual richness. The exchange highlights the tension that exists between the authoritarian

state whose identity turns political and the religious culture whose meaning, dignity and autonomy tries to evade surveillance.

Act one, Scene three of the play depicts Deshar and Pema gazing at the sky via “telescope”, a symbolic juncture that encapsulates the result of entanglement of Tibetan cultural heritage with the Chinese state’s modern technology and innovation (12). The dialogic interaction between the two characters serves to emphasise Deshar’s unworldly disposition and estrangement from modern technological progress, in sharp contrast to Pema’s ambition of becoming the first Tibetan to reach space, a vision that Deshar had not anticipated. Pema’s visionary depiction of the spacecraft as a “yak”, demonstrates the influence of her traditional cultural background and the constraints of her formal scientific knowledge, highlighting the distinction between Tibetan cultural heritage and state- driven modernity (1. 3. 12). The fact that Buddha would have never gotten enlightened by using material tools, as reminded by Deshar, shatters the increasing fascination of Pema with the material tools of modernity, such as the telescope. The comment of Pema that Buddha never owned a telescope is indicative of the fact that young Tibetans are becoming more and more impressed by the Chinese technological achievement. This reaction indicates a generational approach where technology is starting to seem more dominating over customary spiritual wisdom. The fears of imposition of cultural assimilation by imposing material development is evident in the fact when Deshar says that “They want all of us to be like them” (1. 3. 14). The discussion shows that modernity that is promoted by the state is encouraging the Tibetans to embrace a more outward looking and consumerist world view. Moderate Tibetans such as Deshar consider this technological wonder as an interference with their religious beliefs and culture. Therefore, the interaction entraps an increasing tension between adopting modern

technology and opposing the loss of Tibetan spiritual culture in the hands of Chinese influence. The image absorbed from the telescope evokes in Pema, a complex recognition of the Chinese state's power and effective reach as an occupying force, indicating her absorption of the dominant ideological narrative subconsciously, even as Deshar reminds her that her perceptions are still framed through the narrow lens of her limited exposure. Deshar sorrowfully concedes that Pema's transformation does not directly stem from Tsering's guidance, but instead from the irresistible attraction of the Chinese blueprint of progress and development. The effect of this influence is apparent when Pema rejects Deshar's spiritual perspective, implying that the perspective of Buddha could have been evolved, if he too had the opportunity to view through a telescope, demonstrating the profound impact of the colonial ideology and its influence on the sense of reality of Pema.

Through the very refined dialogic exchange, "Did Buddha become a star?/ He became everything and nothing at once", the play symbolically examines the interconnected themes of remembrance, mortality, conflict, aggression, violence and the quest for self-hood, engaging in a broader contemplative lens to reflect on the framing of Tibetan experience (1. 3. 15). It juxtaposes the image of Tibet as it is noticed by Tsering before the Chinese occupation, renowned for spiritual depth and cultural self-determination against modern Tibet with assimilationist policies of Chinese colonizers eroding its unique heritage. This shift reinforces the critical responsibility of Tibetans at home as well as abroad to reclaim and safeguard their distinct cultural identity, and resist the assimilatory forces to prevent the total disappearance. The Dialogue between Pema and Deshar underscores the cultural discord, resulting from modernisation as well as frames the platform for extensive

interpretation of infrastructural and ecological reshaping of Tibet under the control of People's Republic of China.

The production based manner of living style followed by the Tibetans are gradually digressing as their lands are seized and supplanted by the state- led urbanization programmes through infrastructural development, contributing to the deterioration of Tibet's ecological balance and erosion of its cultural fabric. The process of urbanization accelerated the disruption as well as displacement of deeply rooted cultural norms. Meanwhile, the younger generation like Pema actively appreciate the imposing dominance of the Chinese occupiers, signalling a perceptual change resulting from cultural fragmentation. In view of the present situation of the Tibetan's being submissive and lacking courage, little Pema finds the Chinese intruders as courageous enough to tackle the limits. For instance,

PEMA : Look at the train (*DESHAR* looks)

DESHAR: Beautiful. I have never seen it this closely. Is that a place to eat?

I think I want to be a waiter. Look at his uniform.

DESHAR : ... have you seen the engine driver's uniform. Here.

PEMA : Yes... on second thoughts/

DESHAR : Yes, I think you will be a good engine driver. (1. 3. 13)

The diminishing presence of historical and cultural legacy of the Tibetan region, along with the alluring demonstration of modernity by the colonizer, increases the vulnerability of the younger generation Tibetans to subtle mechanisms of cultural absorption and political conditioning. The train is used as a metaphor to show technological advancement in China in modern times and the gap between Tibetan monastic existence and the material world around it. The interest of Deshar towards the uniform of a waiter and an engine driver points at her youthfulness and the charm

of the new career. The way the admiration of uniforms is demonstrated by the characters signifies the visual construction of identity and hierarchy in the contemporary systems. The word on second thoughts is used hesitantly by Pema and speaks volumes about the implicit knowledge of Tibetans about the limited opportunities they have in any structures controlled by the states. The distance between the aspiration and the political-social reality is highlighted with the way in which Deshar teases Pema and reminds her that she would make a good engine driver. The scene is a reflection of the conflict between the old spiritual ways and the alluring nature of the modern world to young Tibetans. On the whole, it can be seen that the exchange turns into silent commentary about the marginalization of the culture, demonstrating how the very act of innocent curiosity can expose the hidden battles of identity, belonging, and possibilities. The initiative of the co-optive method of inducing violence has become successful by making it imprinted in the Tibetan Psyche the superiority of Chinese culture and severe pivotal means of establishing the same. In the case of Pema, what excites him is the bravery of the Chinese to take a dangerous journey through a strange path, persistently, for years, and while even deprived of knowing what the culmination would be.

The Chinese presence in Tibet is justified as a mission to modernize the region, framing the Tibetan traditions as underdeveloped, outdated and requiring improvement via state-directed schooling, social integration, and cultural alignment. The relocation of populations as part of the settlement policies implemented by the colonizer have targeted Tibet's major economic and administrative areas, enabling the Chinese settlers to take over the dominant positions within Tibet's economy. Pema informs Deshar of the demolition of the monastery, "It took a month. Was a big nunnery" (1. 8. 35). This discloses how state violence against Tibetan spaces of

worship has been internalized to the young generation, being devoid of any sense of shock or protest. The phrase reveals the cultural annihilation that takes place with the veil of modernization, in which such a spiritual organization is brought down to a superficial, almost casual notice of devastation. The project establishment of high-speed rail to Tibet embodies the pursuit of these strategic objectives, enabling economic exploitation in the pretext of regional development (1. 4. 19). The newly introduced “Go West” policy of China in Tibet, in the name of modernization, still continues to marginalize the Tibetans and intensifies disparities demographically as well as economically, contributing to the enduring complexity in case of Tibetan issue (Mathou 7). Ultimately, it can be discerned that, modernization and development policies implemented by Chinese colonizers in the Tibetan territory, systematically undermines the cultural and political autonomy of the region.

The play through the character of Deshar symbolically delineates a Tibetan woman's voyage of one's identity while striving to restore her ancestral legacy, roots and individual identity during such cultural displacement. It emphasises the hidden hardships endured by Tibetans after the imposition of Chinese imperialism, uncovering the significant repercussions of external- force driven modernization. Dhompaa additionally notes that, decades of imposed Chinese rule has redefined, both “spatial and cultural fabric of Tibet”, with younger generation Tibetans showing increased inclination to mainstream Chinese cultural practices, thereby facing challenges to disengage themselves from comforts of modern conveniences as well as progressively disengaging from long- held cultural norms (*Poetic License* 112). Chinese modernity, though appealing in a materialistic sense, therefore, becomes a subliminal tool of cultural erosion, which silently cuts younger Tibetans off their own traditions that previously served to define them.

The prioritization of memory and language as central pillars of identity, contrasts sharply with the official state- sanctioned narrative as familiarized in the subsequent scene, wherein the Chinese re- education programme makes a deliberate systematic effort to interrupt cultural continuity. Tsering, recognizing his daughter Deshar's quest for redemption, says that "If you don't know who you are, living in Tibet, you will never know who you are Deshar. It is much easier to be a Buddha than to be an ordinary Tibetan in this world" (1. 3. 18). The statement made by Tsering reveals the high existential cost that Tibetans had to bear, indicating that even the simplest elements in their self-identity have turned into a struggle in the politically oppressed and culturally eroded world. The suggestion that being a Buddha is easier to do only defines how miserable existence in Tibet became under the conditions of constant surveillance, cultural repression, and absence of freedom. It also implies that spiritual liberation, which has always been viewed as the most elusive and hard to attain, now seems attainable compared to living freely as a Tibetan under the oppressed circumstances. He maintains that her difficulties are not rooted in her familial loss, but rather in navigating herself through a progressively consumer-driven society. He maintains that collective memory is essential for preserving inner harmony as well as in safeguarding indigenous Tibetan language, which has long served as central force to community cohesion. This diverges from the viewpoints of "Five pillars of Chinese Re- education" as mechanically listed by Constable Gaphel, which emphasises the imperialist ideological machinery's powerful efforts to reconfigure Tibetan cultural identity, presented as ensuring "education for those who were denied it when they were young", again signalling the government's initiative to reconfigure the traditional epistemologies (1. 5. 23). Through Tsering, the playwright

investigates the pain of exile and critical improvement of preserving culture amid the threats of obliteration.

When provided the opportunity to deliver the monastery's unified position, Rinpoche embraces peaceful resistance and symbolically states their disagreements by underscoring that the nature of Tibetan identity is affirmed through active expression and action, - verbs, instead of the Mandarin's emphasis on noun, bringing focus on to the profound cultural separation. He contends that the opposition to the five principles of re- education cannot be set in the bounds of philosophical interpretation, differentiating itself from the commoditized, profit- driven interactions of Beijing's market culture. As a response, Deshar's emotional resistance is viewed by Commander Deng as an emerging insurrectionary force that needs to be extinguished promptly. Commander Deng proclaims loudly that, "Re- education starts tomorrow at 4 am. Constable. Let us show the master and his nuns, who is here and who exists only in their minds" (1. 5. 29). During the subsequent three days and nights, the nuns are driven to sustained bodily and psychological torment, while being forced to continuously write and rewrite, engage with state- sanctioned Chinese- language press, like newspapers and internalize official texts- "They get exhausted but are being brought in over and over again" (1.6. 29). The statement made by Commander Deng is an assertion of dominance, which shows how the state is using ideology against Tibetans to deny even the very existence of Tibetan spiritual identity. The exhausting physical and mental torture of the nuns, forced writing, literature in Chinese, and constant subjecting to the official texts give us an idea of how the resistance is systematically destroyed; how the internalization of state discourses is forced. They are obliged to sing the Chinese National Anthem recurrently, which highlights the forceful acculturation efforts levied on the native Tibetan population.

This type of forced singing of the Chinese National Anthem is an example of an explicit form of forced allegiance and cultural assimilation wherein we can see the way in which the regime seeks to erase Tibetan identity through the use of ritualistic obedience and control of language.

Here, the natives are thrown back into further dilemma, plunged into the deeper questions of existence, meaning and identity, amid the conflicting belief systems. Rinpoche, reflects on contemplative awareness and the mental cultivation thereby, promoting the perspective of reality as a cognitive construct whereas Deng, unable to completely apprehend this spiritual framework of the knowledge system, advocates a materialist perspective, centered on control and economic efficiency. He argues that the occupation is warranted by the access to Chinese resources, unveiling an expression of cultural conflict in the name of societal advancement. The propaganda implemented by re- education reveals the monastery's organised effort to erode the Tibetan identity, in the name of national advancement. The Tibetan social fabric stresses more on monastic education, societal harmony, and the principles of Buddhism, which sharply contrasts with that of the Chinese imperial power, trying to uphold and enhance state- sponsored atheism, economic centralization and modern infrastructure expansion, often undermining native cultural traditions. While Tibetans promote safeguarding cultural heritage, the Chinese model mandates ideological compliance as a means of maintaining centralized control. For instance,

RINPOCHE: In the way that I first have to perceive of myself in my mind
and then perceive of this chair through, my sense of 'I'. That
if 'I am here' then there is a chair. Surely.

DENG : If you are here, then it is here. But it costs money. It costs tax
payer's money to get this Chair here. Or is the money too in our

mind?

RINPOCHE: In a way, it is actually. (1. 5. 22)

The exchange also represents the fact that Buddhist education is all about introspection and how reality is initially shaped by the consciousness of the mind and not material wealth. The fact that Rinpoche focuses on seeing the self and then seeing the chair depicts the Buddhist doctrine that external objects can only find meaning in the presence of consciousness. The reaction of Deng makes this philosophy material and economical and shows the pragmatic, control-centered worldview of the Chinese state which marginalizes the spiritual epistemology. The conflict reveals the antagonism between a reflective, intellectually oriented Buddhist ontology and a state ideology based on bureaucracy, taxation and material responsibility. The peaceful, casual assertion of Rinpoche, in a form actually, reiterates the Buddhist doctrines on impermanence and the illusionary nature of ownership, against literalism as practised by Deng. This excerpt reveals that monastic education breeds a global mind-set that challenges the firmness of authority, property and the institutions of the state. In the end, Buddhist education comes out as a religious model as well as a philosophical opposition to the authoritarian system which requires ideological conformity.

Unlike the culture established by the Chinese authorities, the focus of the monks, monastery and their teachings are to protect the individuality of each person, in a different but non-violent manner where the valuing of an individual's personality happens while accepting another's. Tibetan culture and its teachings never try to establish itself as exclusive, rather all inclusive. Rinpoche adds that the Tibetan monk's knowledge has never led anyone to starve in Tibet, while the Chinese had to, in their mainland. Rinpoche's statement is an affirmation that they are never looking down upon any positive reforms, if its impact can be positive. He reassures that re-

education is not what the Tibetan's are in need of. It should be supplied according to the necessity and demands, in order for it to be valued.

Even at the verge of complete loss, Rinpoche tries to reaffirm the basic philosophy of life that vehemence and abhorrence will lead to utter desolation. He gets permission from commander Deng to preach his last lesson in the monastery to his disciples. Without any proper reply Deng moves away, leaving an undefined space for Rinpoche:

RINPOCHE; ... (*Looks at his students, hands folded.*) The sermon of fire.

Everything Burns. Everything always burns, and the world is never the same. We never see the same mountain twice, or the same forest, for in our minds we are burning.

Have patience, let the fire of knowledge burn and the fire of hatred douse itself. Understand that everything changes and this too shall pass. Don't hate. Don't hate. I complete my teachings now. I hope what you are about to see, does not make you hate this man and rather you can be compassionate towards his Suffering that has led him here.

May the Buddha be with you. (1. 7. 34)

The speech by Rinpoche serves as a philosophical bridge, a way of framing the suffering and judgement in a Buddhist context. His allusion to the sermon of fire shows impermanence, the unsteadiness of human perception. The metaphor of burning is used to differentiate the fire of knowledge which is purifying and the fire of hatred which is destructive. He discourages easy judgement of morality by exhorting the students not to hate, but to think more deeply about morality. The fact that he warned them warns the audience of an impending revelation that is influenced by

suffering and not by malice. In the discussion, compassion is stressed as a solution to the punitive instincts and social demonization. Finally, the text by Rinpoche can be considered an ethical challenge, helping the audience to address suffering in a wise and moderate way. Even prior to 2008, Tibetan population in China has gradually vented their dissatisfaction with the government through violent protests inclusive of the Lhasa riots and further through acts of setting themselves on fire in the Tibetan autonomous areas. This can be attributed to the cases of economic and cultural exclusion that the Tibetans are bound to endure.

Imperial Insecurity and the Cultural Politics of Tibetan Dissent: Soft Power and Censorship in China's Domination over Tibet

The assimilation and securitization of the various ethno-national groups in Central Asia, including the Tibetans who have their own history, are a sort of contemporary colonialism by China. This relationship demonstrates that the state uses the language of security to justify force and increase domination. China's increased status as "hegemon" is principally a result of the "market transformation" (Gries 58; Zhao 87). The white papers published by the State Council remain quite unambiguous about the necessity to protect "national unity" and "social stability" from the "internal threats" which are purportedly deemed dangerous by the country (Information Office of the PRC 12). China presents Tibet as one of its security threats, and it develops such an idea as a pressing and indisputable one. The state presents Tibetans as being a source of instability and anxiety through majoritarian nationalism, which advocates its securitizing agenda. Securitization work has been "central to the Chinese state's strategies regarding Tibet" (Cui and Li 144). The fact that securitization is the focal point in the Tibet policy of China indicates a planned approach to make the claims of cultural dissent and autonomy appear as existential

threats that have to be controlled in a highly unnatural manner. Besides rationalizing escalated surveillance and coercion, this framing also cloaks political domination as a disinterested practice of security management.

In the play, Deshar dons the soldier's uniform, regardless of the consequences, demonstrating her unyielding dissent against the Chinese oppressive authorities. Her conduct emphasises her inner turmoil between submission and defiance amid cultural extinction. This dissonance gets underscored in her declaration, "He said once they expel us all, he will make me sing "for the motherland", in a soldier's uniform" (1. 1. 1). Deshar's resistance to the temptative words of the intruder is projected in her counterattack on the soldier. However, Dorjee, her companion is more bothered about their actuality of being part of a nunnery.

For Dorjee, the dignity of being alive as a human being, and as a citizen of the independent Tibet, is not much an affair of importance, rather than protecting the principles of Buddhism that they are taught to follow. Dorjee states that, "DESHAR... YOU STOLE HIS CLOTHES, YOU LEFT HIM STRANDED IN THE COLD IN A COLD TOWEL AND YOU BROKE HIS JAW." (1. 1. 2). The indignation of Dorjee highlights the fragility of the Chinese soldier and shows the chinks in the armour of the imperial power and the insecurity behind occupation. The defiance of Deshar is placed in the context of this litany of injuries, and it is a cry of Tibetan protest which shakes the balance of power in the moment. The Chinese relationship with Tibet is characterized by colonialism in nature with Tibetans being the weaker Other who require Chinese to undergo modernization, thus leveraging on development as a way of control. The Chinese state boasts of the power to transform backward Tibetan subjects on its vision of development without taking into account their local identity and subjecting those who resist to "political rectification", forced labour, re-education

and arbitrary detention (Zenz 7-8). In the end, the practices expose a long-term colonialism process that has been aimed at naturalizing domination by systematically eliminating Tibetan independence and identity.

These modes of control echo the logic of colonialism, which Wolfe elaborates on as “invasion is a structure not an event”, which operates by the constant erosion of the Indigenous cultural and political life (*Traces History* 388). The focus of Wolfe on territoriality helps to understand why strategic and economic interests of China in Tibet are the causes of the development of settler-colonial practices that marginalize the Indigenous communities. Taking advantage of the geopolitical position and the natural resources of Tibet has led to the increase of environmental degradation and rivalry in the region. By marketing, China makes the Han hegemonic and generates economic marginalization and restricted integration among the native Tibetans.

Deshar is sure that her assault on the Chinese soldier would not be reported, as the officials could not confess even a slight defeat with a Tibetan nun in front of a population already longing to see the Chinese out of the country and regain its independence. The play emphasizes the acute impermanence that characterizes Tibetan life in their native land, their reaction to displacement, cultural shock and dissolution of a spiritually based day to day life. The perpetual displacement has detached the Tibetans not only to the land but also to the culture, and the practices that once established them. Such an omnipresent uncertainty has still been influencing the realities lived by Tibetans the world over. The process of muted opposition indicates a consistent trend of intentional erasure, whereby Tibetan protests are marginalized to maintain the construct of dominance and the frozen peace established by Chinese authority.

Identity is quite deliberately manufactured. “Thus, within the context of complex dialogism, certain voices can be monumentalized while other voices remain silenced” (Jacobs 94). The concept by Jacobs highlights the manner in which the Chinese state promotes its own myth of unification and progress and silences the voices of Tibetans who declare autonomy or cultural uniqueness. In Tibet, this active silencing and selection actively forms an identity in accordance with state interests, excluding self-representation by Indigenous people. China interprets political assertions and revolts of Tibet as a danger to national stability, and with the help of geographic and demographic aspects, justifies its colonialist practices instead of considering their political validity. The securitization approach “creates more grievances” and does not fulfil “human security or stability requirements” (Purbrick 236). This observation by Purbrick brings to the fore the fact that the securitization of Tibet by China only contributes to the local bitterness instead of addressing the conflicts. The perception of Tibetan political opposition to the state as a security threat justifies the use of force without considering the fundamental needs of the population. In turn, these policies threaten the human security and the stability, in both the short and the long-term, in the region. The shattered identities as well as contrasting generational viewpoints arise from state-enforced displacement, whereby the basic framework of Tibetan identity is perpetually undermined by cultural annihilation and political authority.

The impressions of invalidation and nullification are displayed once the young displaced Tibetans of the land are challenged about their concept of a nation and being in it. Belonging and deterritorialization are the ideas that undergo different experience within generations: Deshar cannot reconcile her own identity of a nun with her Tibetan roots; Tsering (*Pha-La*) is not ready to admit any foreign influences and is

eager to preserve the pure Tibetan image; Pema, although being fascinated by the Chinese dominance of cultures, wonders why the grand culture of the colonizer cannot absorb the Tibetan people. It is absolutely accurate that displacement is impossible to avoid and every uprooted Tibetan endure through a shattered and brittle life, where the only persisting entity is impermanence. Assimilation and hybridity are the only features that hide the already exploded self. That is the reason why the characters belonging to the different generations of the Tibetan community resisted the Cultural Revolution initiated to be established by the Chinese intruder.

Living under the brutal Chinese domination has become more disordered and excruciating. For instance, Tsering in his conversation with Rinpoche proclaims that, “Re- education... what the Chinese are calling it?/... They want to save resources. That’s what we are for them. Costs. (pause.)... And... the village, gearing upto celebrate... the train will stop” (1. 2. 9). The conversation between Tsering and the logic of Chinese dehumanization of the Tibetans by subjecting them to re-educational programs turns them into replaceable assets instead of considering them as persons. He emphasizes the utilitarianism of Tibetan lives by pointing out the economic calculation of state policies. The reference to broken village feasts indicates how this domination invades both the social and cultural beats. His rhetoric questioning expresses disillusionment and righteous indignation, the absurdity of the exploitation of the system. In general, the dialogue is critical in the terms of the human toll of colonial and securitizing policies on Tibet.

The conception of being displaced creates a turbulent overflow and distress. The displacement causes profound anxiety and is a reformulation of personal experience, making it clear that the development projects of China in Tibet, which are being applied without considering the needs of the minorities, are still an ethically and

politically questionable idea. The steps through which some people and their differences are constructed and responded to as “minorities” require the exercise of institutional and definitional authority (Blum 23; Dikötter 78; Jacobs 94; Leibold 102; Mackerras 115; Oakes 113). In the case of Tibetans, this problem is acute. Neoliberal development in China focuses national development rather than local autonomy, and takes advantage of Tibetan resources but limits access to Tibetan resources unless they can become a part of the mainstream Chinese society which is a calculated move to ensure that the Tibetan identity becomes a part of the state. Deshar is ready to trail in the path of real liberation that the Chinese intruders have put forth. But, she assertively establishes her unwillingness to compromise her authentic self for the same, which the intruded authorities are expecting to enforce. Thus, Deshar hereby establishes the stand of the entire Tibetans by abandoning the soldier in the bathroom, via offending him in a non-violent, but assertive manner. In opposition to the subordination of Tibetan culture and political autonomy, Deshar makes a steady and firm response, as she declares to the Chinese soldier, “My brother, I am sorry you will not bite me. ... you will not bite anyone, anymore” (1. 1. 5). By affirming individual autonomy, despite the imposed mechanisms of control, she reveals the ineffectiveness of brutal, repressive governance.

The centralization of power suppresses the development of ethnic identity. The nationalist settler-state of China aims at eliminating Tibetan cultural uniqueness by means of socialist policies and stricter control, which faces opposition by the Tibetans. The religious nature of the region is presented as a challenge to socialist principles, which warrants political interference, cultural intimidation and silencing of opposition. This deliberate systemic silencing of political and cultural identity, paves the ground for Deshar’s inner struggle, as she confronts with the disintegration of

identity, spiritual conviction, and the sense of connection to the land, culturally re-engineered through imperial control. Therefore, Chinese political intervention pressures the population into a certain belief, with intimidation as one of the tools of cultural change remaining to suppress freedom of speech and control the oppressed Tibetans.

Deshar is caught red handed, wearing the soldier's shirt by Rinpoche (1. 1. 6). Deshar's embodying of herself in the soldier's shirt symbolises the fragmented struggle for a coherent construction of identity in the middle of colonial obliteration of indigenous identity and cultural elimination. To her the Chinese Colonisation of the Tibetan territory is a structured refusal of rights, shrouded in the discourse of peace and progress. With the colonial occupation dismantling the native's relation to both their territory and beliefs, Tibetans are left excluded from the spatial and cultural landscape. Deshar as the Buddhist nun unfolds the narrative of profound pain, abuse, and ill- treatment that nuns during the course of their existence suffer as a subject to be monitored by the Chinese system, besides the years of incarceration in the Chinese boot camps in the process of Cultural Revolution. Deshar's response to the soldier, is in fact a narrative of Tibet's attempts to exist under constant scrutiny, subjugation and emotional as well as cultural sufferings inflicted by enforced assimilation under Chinese domination.

Though the setting of Act I, Scene 4 is an idealized, nature-filled spiritual landscape, a disruption by the Chinese usurper is extreme, presupposing the future patterns of hybridity, uncertainty, memory, and the uncertain future of Tibet.

"Rinpoche and the nuns alternately light and blow out butter lamps. ... As the trains arrive at a high speed , the lamps go off. Darkness" (1. 4. 19). The opposition between the calmness of the act of setting up butter lamps and the sudden disappearance of

their light by the coming train underlines the brutal invading nature of colonial modernity to a Tibetan sacred realm. The dark which ensues represents the annihilation of continuity of culture and the instability of life in a spiritual world of occupation. This incident predicts a future where forced hybridity, instability, and the endangered existence of Tibetan identity will occur. The shot emphasizes the existential conflicts created by homogenization through the state, which can be seen in the way Chinese encroachment interferes with Tibetan culture and identity in the global context. This imposed assimilation and negates any ambition to self-determination, and reveals the tension between forced acculturation and retention of a unique political and spiritual awareness. Finally, Tibetan cultural identity and belonging is shaken by external domination.

The modern Tibetans are confronted by systemic issues of nationality, citizenship, and authorization, and the Buddhist nature of their identity does not provide much security to counter systematic vulnerabilities. These restrictions are restricting the movement and civil rights which forces Deshar to physically confront the Chinese soldier in protest of this deprivation. Her reaction also points to the fact that Tibetan identity based on Buddhist philosophy has internalized a moral strength that even perceives the depth of hardship as a component of a greater sense of destiny. Deshar feels that this over-reliance on the concept of destiny instead of strategically moving forth at the times of a political crisis has shoved their native land into the hands of the intruder and has converted it into something unbearable for the natives. Her actions are the representation of the needs to be satisfied for the entire Tibetan youth to bring an end to their trauma and re-access their identity as a Tibetan. She is unable to perceive each and every injustice happening to the Tibetans as part of nemesis.

In the consequent scene, the sacred observance of Rinpoche, the head of the monastery and the other occupants chanting their prayers while continuously igniting and dousing scores of butter lamps, emphasises the impermanence of mundane existence and religious acts. “Torture is used by China as a weapon against dissent, creating a climate of fear” (Anand 73). The dynamic relation between light and darkness (the visible and the veiled), flame and stillness (vitality and emptiness), effectively conveys struggle between cultural continuity and imposed change as well as the instability of cultural continuity in the wake of irreversible change. According to Dibyesh Anand, “the focus within post colonialism is on micro political concerns, on the politics of everyday life” (96). These actions that have a neutral impact on the individual’s inherent dignity are part of a multi-pronged strategy aimed at eradicating the institution of Tibetan culture.

Completely deterritorialized, there is an inevitable predicament and unreliability that hangs over any Tibetan’s life. For instance, when Commander Deng questions Rinpoche “How much is this Buddha statue for? What is the damage to the common tax payer, such as myself?”, Rinpoche answers him, “1400 years,... The tax payers of this country have got a really good bargain”. But for Deng, this answer has no value, other than a “Buddhist Monks” play with “rhetoric” (1. 5. 19). This response by Rinpoche places the Buddha statue into a 1400-year history of the Tibetan cultural presence and makes a claim of historicity, which is the target of the deterritorialization. The rejection of this lineage by Deng as a form of rhetoric is an indication of the incapacity of the settler-state to accept the Tibetan temporal and spatial claims and make heritage an economic expense. It is thus in this exchange that the devaluation of the Indigenous memory is shown by the colonial power that

reinforces the instability and dispossession that characterizes the life of the Tibetan under occupation. They yearn for acceptance and to be part of their territory.

The Tibetans become place-less as the Chinese invaders destroy the main pillars of identity including history, memory and cultural heritage. Although the occupiers have taken away the basic needs of the people, they still require Tibetans to demonstrate Buddhist virtues of calmness and restraint, and express a hypocritical and authoritative request of spiritual submission. “The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and their ordained mandate to rule” (Osterhammel 16-17). Thus, negating all compromises, the Chinese colonizer propagandises to affirm their ethical and cultural pre-eminence and thereby justify a colonially imposed control, reinforcing their perceived right to rule by suppressing an entire population. Deshar and Pema represent a generation that is defined by the memories about the land they never actually knew, which makes them incapable of operating within the boundaries that define them as an Other in Tibet and in exile. Colonial power works by the assertion of legitimacy and the moves made by China since the invasion assume that it owns Tibet yet reinterprets Tibetan political and cultural demands as threats to national integrity.

In Act one, Scene five, Deshar, presented before Rinpoche at the nunnery, is compelled to substantiate the necessity of proper education by Deng. In the perspective of Commander Deng, the monastery has become a breeding site for “separatists”, incapable of seeing each other’s views (1. 5. 25). Though the lines in the play by Rinpoche appeal to a Buddhist ethic of mutual understanding, about dialogue,

empathy and coexistence, the response of Deng, uses the same religious rhetoric to undermine the Tibetan aspirations to legitimize them as separatists and thereby, locate the discourse of spirituality in the rationale of state security. The juxtaposition reveals the depth of ideological rift between a colonized nation that wants to be heard and a colonial nation that wants to curb the opposition by employing a rhetoric of togetherness and domination. The successful conquest of Tibet by the Chinese can be explained through the settler-colonial policies that control, assimilate, and suppress the Tibetan culture to demolish the Indigenous self-government and form Tibetans as subjects of the state. The state interferes with the production of knowledge and culture by limiting the ways of thinking and expression, making Tibetans unique and depriving them of being part of the mainstream Chinese history.

The militarized colonial logic of Deng undermines the authority of Rinpoche by defining educated Tibetans such as Deshar as security threats that deserve to be excluded. However, when Rinpoche exercises moral sovereignty in his marginalized status, he appeals to the doctrines of Buddhism on autonomy to demonstrate the conflict between spiritual self-determination and state power. This systemic obscurity validates that the mode of functioning of authoritative systems does not rely on the level of individual agency, but rather through institutions that normalize power and curtail resistance, shrouded in the illusions of stability and development. The language of the nation state becomes prescriptive which operates as a normative code that promotes an ethic of rupture. When a power relation exists such as between the Chinese state and the Tibetans, “colonialism is compromised through the use of words that seek to ease the situation” (Sautman 145). Introducing the element of depriving a personal identity in favour of an imposed name of a city- “Beijing”, the playwright reveals the ways in which the language approved by the state, dehumanizes subjects

and perpetuates colonial violence (2. 1. 41). The fact that Deng orders to burn the remains of Deshar is an indicator of his ideological division, as he now starts to see the shortcomings of the system and remorse his strict adherence to the logic of authoritarianism. His aggressiveness towards Deshar increases as he understands that neither he nor the system could control the riot:

DENG: ... Every Cell is full. No comrade, we can have more. They are
after all criminals. For the motherland (*Keeps the phone.*)
(*Pause.*) Two young Tibetan boys were trying to burn a pregnant
Han woman. Raising slogans, that the Han should be burnt in their
mother's womb. Its as if you have given them a licence to burn.
(2. 2. 53)

The aggression of Deng is the fear of the colonial state as its surveillance and control mechanisms start failing. The fact that he portrays Tibetans as criminal beings, shows that the state creates racialized fear to legitimize oppression. The appeal to the motherland reveals the rhetoric of ideology that hides the violence as a patriotic obligation. In shifting the blame on Deshar as the licensor of the violence, Deng makes the colonized subject shift systemic responsibility. The dialogue eventually demonstrates how colonial authority breaks down into panic and makes its own violence to appear on those they conquer.

The gloomy articulation of Deng adds more weight to the mood of violence and lack of justice. A psychological breakdown caused by forced silence and identity crisis that leads to the breakdown of Deshar shows how institutional power infringes the subjectivity of the individual in favour of the state ideology and against personal truth. In the common area of the prison, Deshar or Ling is not truly able to see the pain of the other one, which reveals the reductive practices of control and monitoring

in the system. Patrick Wolfe's Logic of Elimination defines an ideology as that "strives for the dissolution of native societies" while "erect[ing] a new colonial society on the expropriated land base" "radical intervention of communists...[who] highlighted their desire to impose their policy and reforms on Central Tibet as well"(Settler Colonialism 2). In this collective realm of system- enforced and embedded regimes of control, unvoiced torment of both the characters develops into expressions of colonial dynamics of power which not only forces an admission, but also exterminates the fundamental human dignity it attempts to modify.

The Chinese imperialism in Tibet, justified in the name of democratic empowerment, instead opts for systematic obliteration of cultural identity and political suppression. This systemic events resulted in the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's forced departure, emphasizing Tibet's persistent defiance against imposed Chinese power. The main motif of settler colonialism according to Wolfe is "the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.) but access to territory...settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element" (3). In this case, the body bound with external factors like culture becomes the plot to be exploited. Therefore, the territorial occupation of Tibet demonstrates the invasive colonialism's underlying principle that spatial dominance is implemented by means of annihilation of cultural practices, objectifying individuals and ethno- cultural identities to bio- political weapons of control and epistemic violence. The domination of Tibet by the Chinese shows that it is the violence of the state, securitization, and marginalization of culture without taking into account the specific geostrategic and cultural environment of Tibet. The Tibetan identity and territorial claims break the picture of the internal colonialism, revealing the strategies of China as the neo- colonial control under the veil of the discourses that legitimize domination.

Deshar's gradual revelation "I did not do it on anyone's instructions... I did not receive any orders from His Holiness' office or the monastery. I just lit up. I did not burn" exposes the failure of systemic surveillance and naturalization of violence within the governing forces and the Tibetan population (2. 3. 58). The statement by Deshar emphasizes her independent agency, which rebels against outside power and institutional demands. She claims to have done things on her own and that brings to the light the fact that the surveillance system was ineffective in instilling Tibetan behaviour. Her refusal to accept the deliberate act of violence provides a challenge to the concept of naturalization of aggression by the occupational authority. The conflict between individual ethics and social conventions is highlighted in the conversation. In the end, it shows the way in which the element of individual conscience may interfere with the colonial structures of control and ideological oppression. The symbolic relationship between Deshar and the Dalai Lama prompts the Tibetan resistance, both structural and violent, to the oppression of the system. The Chinese assertions of Tibetan freedom are based on imperialist discourses that deny political and territorial independence. The securitization and repression processes of the post-2008 consolidate the hegemonic status of China, which enables the state to determine geopolitical frames and the limitation of the continuance of Tibetan identity.

More violence is confined on Deshar in her captive confinement, when everyone treats her already half- burnt body as the reason for the outbreak of violence. Deshar confesses to her pha- la in the polygraph room that she had "to burn to make our voice heard. ... To not go quiet when silenced. ... It will make the world worth saving" (2. 7. 88). In the perspective of Deshar, if the yester "generation was fighting for Tibet,... Mine is fighting for the concise of the world" (2. 7. 88). The confession of Deshar makes her act of violence a moral and political necessity, and the action of

an individual into the protest against the systemic silencing. She is not only defiant of oppression and indifference of society; her requirement to not to shut down when they make her silent makes her an agent of world conscience. Her rhetoric connects the Tibetan struggle to a global ethics system, indicating that the local fight has more human implications. The comparison between her generation's struggle and that of the past highlights the change in the aspect of the fight, a struggle of territory into ideological and moral campaigning. The discussion brings out the point of intersection between personal belief, community memory and political activism. In the end, it uses the resistance as a survival tactic as well as a moral obligation beyond the immediate geopolitical issue. Ling re-establish Deshar's comment that the system "cannot read" someone's "silence", because the methodical structuring of the system based on documentation for further references, doesn't approve of silence (2. 3. 59). The commentary by Ling emphasizes the epistemic boundaries of the process of state surveillance, in which silence is indistinct and threatening, which is construed either as resistance or moral power. It highlights the way the subject of the colonization agency interferes with the state in claiming absolute knowledge and control. The suffering and silence of Deshar is an individual protest, as well as a disdain of a system that acknowledges only official documentation, neglecting internalized oppression. Her unwritten truths show how the control system eliminates subjective life, covering affective discontinuities that are not accepted in an approved way.

The play evolves into an interpretation of Chinese colonialism by means of the "Truth Game" (2. 7. 89). This is enforced by the coercive bureaucratic reason that causes Deshar and Tsering to submit to the pressure of the state polygraph test, where their survival is based on producing a state-approved shared truth. Every machine-registered deviation might be perceived as a deception in this high-risk environment

and endanger their lives. Deshar tries to inform Deng that "... you are liberating the outside, we the inside. Our ways do not have to be at war with each other" (2. 7. 89). The statement of Deshar questions the story of liberation told by Deng because it introduces the ideological difference between outward conquest and the inner spiritual liberation. She redefines resistance not as opposition but as parallel search of truth, and says that Tibetan interiority does not necessarily pose a threat to the state power. By so doing, the discussion criticizes the incapacity of the state to tolerate other forms of epistemology and in the process, it shows how political power creates conflict where none should exist. Deng then rejects the wisdom shown by Deshar as empty rhetoric and reimagines her as someone who promotes capitalist values and thus she cannot fit within the Chinese republic. His inconsideration of institutional authority is seen clearly when he sets aside procedural neutrality and uses emotionally suggestive accusations, especially when he refers to the death of his daughter to control the dialogue. Though immersed in the shadow of moral contradiction beyond her control, Deshar counters all the arguments, grounded in a universal insight of wider human significance that "we are all responsible for every injustice that happens in this world" (2. 7. 92). The moral duty of Deshar is universal in that it conflicts with efforts of Deng to confine blame to the political opposites. She also challenges the justifications of violence practiced by the state giving rise to the existence of shared responsibility and redefines justice as a moral duty established by the whole community instead of political partisanship. The polygraph findings confirm her dismissal of the charges, and reveal structural machineries which cannot capture truth- shortcomings which no machine can correct. Commander Deng hosts this predominant Chinese narrative that Tibetans have to be part of the larger national majority. Even though most countries have shed assertive political principles, China still defends its territorial unification as

part of the contemporary statehood, which is no longer a justification to weaken Tibetan sovereignty. Deng does not understand that Tibetans consider freedom as natural and that true development can be achieved only without the Han Chinese occupation.

When Tsering takes up his chance to play the truth game with a polygraph machine in order to protect Deshar, Commander Deng makes a sudden alteration of rules announcing Tsering as free “The game is for prisoners” and therefore, not qualified to take part in the game (2. 7. 92). The truth game is manipulative and the sudden shift in the rule made by Deng shows that it is instead a form of control, not an objective test. Judging Tsering unfit on the grounds that the game is exclusively a prisoner one, he manoeuvres to disarm any attempts to critique the state agenda and retain his power. Commander Deng is also reduced to be no better than the very system of oppression, incapable of seeing the Tibetan fight against identity and justice, and fuels the violence by pointing his gun at Deshar. This is a deep crime against the primary human needs and rights. The statement by Tsering that his daughter was “... the last of her kind”, puts her in the context of a symbolic representation of the dying cultural heritage, and it raises the stakes of his opposition (2. 7. 94). Only by choosing to point the weapon against Deng does he make a break with the passivity of endurance to the violence of resistance, showing that oppression can force the most conservative of people into radical action. Thus, the scene unveils the ethical contradiction of resistance against tyranny whereby violence turns into a tragic need and re-epitomy of agency. The Earth is to be preserved by preserving the significance of life for the future generations. In this sense, the struggle becomes not about power struggle, but about the moral rediscovery of one that puts the tyrant

in a situation of being faced with harsh realities. Yet one that puts aside power at the expense of humanity, compassion and resilience that goes beyond normal limits.

The “Truth Game” (2. 7. 91) functions here as a symbolic narrative of the imperial authority’s enactment of “politics of truth” (Beverley 79), emphasising the mode through which the acts of testimony serve as rhetorical interventions that call into question the systems of power as well as epistemological colonization. By expanding the dimensions of testimonial discourse, to encompass the performative dimensions of witnessing, the play forefronts the intricacies associated with the Tibetan activist’s endeavours to convey a definitively differentiated Tibetan truth. These statements of truth, interpreted within the frame of “Analogical Substantiation” as identified by Scarry, underscores the rhetorical conflicts embedded in depicting trauma, under the colonial subjugation by foreign powers (Scarry 80). Through this strategy of truth game, the playwright makes the readers consider the tools of torture not only as part of the entire assemblage of Chinese nation- state’s cruelty, but also individually pondering how those implements of torture and its impact can be applied on individual bodies, including theirs. Reflected in this light, the given narratives are the most chilling documentation of the regime’s hypocrisy in Tibet.

Inspector Ling’s conversation with Deng reflects how paternalistic rule idolizes the patriarchal rule and stamps out the same families it is said to safeguard. She says “Nun Deshar burns herself to protest without hurting anyone else,... and you father’s are burning each other’s children night and day. The world... needs less fathers” (2.6. 81). Her addition that her mother was working in a factory while her father was seeking forgiveness from his dead father’s portrait in his death bed, showcases opposition to the rhetoric of national progress to the realities of exploitation within such structures, which again demonstrates how the “personal” can

be “political” in those situations where the state encroaches upon the personal domain of life (Hanisch 76). By pointing out the act of self-immolation of Deshar as a form of protest that does no harm to anyone, Ling criticizes states which punish dissent but engage in systematic disastrous policy to their generation repeatedly. The metaphor of burning is used repeatedly to emphasize that governance that is based on the authority of the father-figure creates generational violence, control, and inherited trauma. The way Ling expresses this by stating that the world requires fewer monasteries or Marxists points towards the inability of spiritual as well as political paternalism to solve human suffering. This echoes Hannah Arendt who believes that “violence appears where power is in jeopardy” and that states which do not operate based on coercion expose the failure of true authority (*On Violence* 56). So the critique by Ling is an appeal to a system based on dignity, accountability, and human freedom. Finally, this indicates the ways in which colonial discourses not only legitimize their authority and control, but also penetrate inner consciousness, misrepresenting responsibility to ethical standards and reinforcing the perpetuating system of structural violence.

The Tibetan population is “strategically marginalized”, “narratively depicted as younger brothers”, a patronizing attitude situated within the wider political framework of minority communities in China (Harrell 120; Heberer 78). This paternalistic governance is reflected in the infantilization and exoticization of Tibetans, labelling them as unfit for self-administration, resulting in sanctioning the Chinese state’s political centralization. The essence of these mechanisms is embedded with a drive to efface cultural identity, depriving the individuals of their access to “linguistic, historical, and narrative foundations”, culminating in ideological and structural rupture of civilizational ethos (Thurman 108). This rhetorical practice of

dehumanization in the narrative of the play occupies a pivotal role in the expression of resistance, as the narrative demonstrates an attestation of how dimensions of racialized violence and the imposed suppression are systematically naturalized as necessary within the occupied territories. Thus, this dramatic tactic conforms to Robert Thurman's portrayal of Tibetans as "a people under genocidal duress", emphasising the persisting elimination of Tibetan identity via various modes of systemic violence (109). Hence, the play expresses the modes of cold finality as well as assert a narrative voice by way of symbolic and political subversion, opposing complete extinction.

The discourse of the official communist construction of China portrays itself as a modernizing, civilizing power, which frees a supposedly feudal society of ideological backwardness. However, this narrative of progress tends to override and interfere with the local customs, showing that it is behind the lines of larger imperial authority that demonstrates its ability to absorb territorially contentious areas without the democratic consultation. This kind of rhetoric also justifies the militarization and securitization of ethno- national groups such as Tibetans who are presented as separatist threats and therefore are politically delegitimized in the name of defending state sovereignty. For Tibetans, this is an execution of paternalistic logic of imperialism intertwined with the governance through political and economic hegemony, in which the core- operative role of violence is sustained as an essential element in maintaining "control" (Khetsun 45; Pemba 78; Shokdung 102). The often-publicised military exercises and parades in Tibet are quite clearly intended to remind the state's irresistible pressure over the population in the name of liberation.

The modern colonialism in Tibet undertaken by China is being realized through the imposition of the state-led model of development and linguistic

assimilation that reinforce the stereotypes of Tibetans as being uncivilized and economically dependent. Although the growth of the Tibetan economy has been very high due to Beijing financing most economic activities, systemic discrimination against the Tibetans has persisted, with the local people being termed as unproductive in a market system and thereby marginalizing them. “Tibet has to make great efforts to improve the obstacles of low population quality and inadequate human capital for economic development” (China Tibetology Research Centre 75). Swift economic development intensifies ethnicity issues by bringing in concepts like economic disparity and marginalization, which only worsens Tibetans’ state. An aggressive nation-state with territorial ambitions tends to engage with disadvantaged minorities’ struggle for justice. The rhetoric of key stakeholders influences the discourse of the population on the Tibetan conflict as it determines the relationship of power, human rights issues, and international intervention. China presents Tibet as a pre-modern theocracy requiring socialist liberation that is geopolitically nervous, justifying the assimilation of Tibetan culture by force, and the loss of Tibetan cultural identity.

This colonising discourse produced an “imaginative geography” of Tibet that justified the celebrations of the conquests (Said, *Orientalism* 55). The Chinese claim the Tibetans have been liberated from backwardness through constructions of roads, communication, eating joints and lodgings, classes, celebrations and other forms. This extensive effort to transform nearly every aspect of Tibetan daily life serves as a powerful illustration of “colonial conquest” (Dirks 57). The propaganda of the Chinese colonizer is to showcase the image of “New Tibet” (62). Buddhism has become one of the most significant Tibetan concerns, and forced economic development has reduced the Tibetans to a rather inconspicuous ethnic group in their own country. Resistance to oppression is not an exception to the case of Tibet.

However many counter narratives have raised here pointing to the invasion at the other side of liberation, portraying the colonialists as preserving cultural identity and the whole propaganda of cultural restoration as cultural genocide.

The increase in self-immolations is not the conclusion but rather a move towards even more intense Tibetan activism and the realization of the weaknesses of the Chinese administration. In spite of the substantial destruction already incurred on Tibet, the performative symbolism of self-immolation as well as the systematic denial of human dignity actively defy China's strategically maintained, policy-driven targets and reveal the structural fragilities in administering the regional affairs. The play prefigures realities of everyday Tibetan existence, intergenerational trauma, and the similar anxieties that Chinese citizens are facing within their respective socio-political realms through symbolic strategies, fragmented dialogue and terse communication.

The Need for Reaffirming of the Native Language: A Decolonial Tool for Cultural Resistance and Identity Assertion

The suffering of Deshar lies more in the crisis of identity that is generated by political and cultural erasure than in the physical pain. Her resistance activities show that to her Buddhism means ethical agency and not sheer submission to violence. Lack of both territorial and civic identity makes her life socially invisible as well as ontologically unstable. This situation is what Homi K. Bhabha refers to "the displacement and relocation of identity", wherein subjectivity is created on the basis of a disruption and not continuity (*The Location* 112). Consequently, her desire to origins turns into a fight to re-establish sanity to a historical memory that is in fragments. In such a way, her path reflects the identity crisis which is organized by colonial power and epistemic violence. Upon Pema's questioning of whom she wants

to be, Deshar says that she wants to be someone else other than an imposter and that she really “don’t know” who she really is (1. 3. 15). An ontological break in the performance of identity that does not have a ground and is created through the outside colonial administrative categorizations as well as the internalization of the doubt is revealed in this response. Liminality is manifested through her uncertainty. She swings between the labels that are imposed on her (refugee, nun, other) and an unrealistic and unachievable, true self that has been erased by historical dislocation. Therefore, identity to Deshar is not a fixed nature but a bargaining position that is volatile, politicized, and influenced by loss of memory, anonymity and resistance ethics.

Language serves not only as a medium of communication but also as a cornerstone of cultural identity and political expression. In the case of Tibet, the Tibetan language has become a symbol of resistance against Chinese political and cultural dominance. The People’s Republic of China (PRC) has implemented a range of policies to repress the use of Tibetan, particularly through re-education initiatives and linguistic assimilation, while Tibetans continue to assert their identity and resistance through language preservation efforts. Since the Chinese annexation of Tibet in the 1950s, the PRC has aimed to integrate Tibetan regions into the broader Chinese nation-state. One of the core strategies has been the marginalization of the Tibetan language in favour of Mandarin Chinese. In recent decades, especially following the 2008 Tibetan uprisings, the Chinese government has intensified its control over linguistic expression. The introduction of “bilingual education” policies has led to Mandarin becoming the primary language of instruction, with Tibetan relegated to a secondary or religious function (Tsung and Zhu 61). Although termed

bilingual, this policy effectively side-lines Tibetan in public education and media, diminishing its prestige and utility in daily life.

The young Tibetan generation is more perplexed by seeing a population which appeared distinct and who spoke a language different from that of the natives. Tsering, Deshar's father, explains the sense of alienation among the young Tibetan generation as a result of demographic engineering and culture clash by Chinese settlement policies. This condition causes an augmented crisis of identity in which difference is not only understood as an aspect of social variation but as colonial imposition. The reaction of Tsering has been described as a kind of defensive cultural nationalism, of trying to maintain what is seen to be a legitimate Tibetan self against the danger of cultural suicide. For instance, Tsering declares "you can't", when he questions both Deshar and Pema, "Why is this sentence incorrect?", pointing to a piece of paper (1. 2. 8). Both of them stand completely silent. Tsering's insistence on grammatical accuracy shows that in his case, language serves as a disciplinary location where cultural purity is created and enforced. He relocates the classroom into a separate domain, "Not your family home", where he transforms language into an institutional mechanism of preserving Tibetan identity against colonial pollution (1. 2. 8). His incomplete command "You can't" is an indication of the boundaries of the pedagogical command, revealing the urgency and frailty of the language as a final refuge of preserving an imagined pure Tibetan self.

Repression through the Sinicization agenda is systematic and serves as a driving force that disperses the cultural identity and re-model everyday life of the displaced Tibetans. Incessant abuse of individual rights leads to alienation, psychological stalemate, and a state of constant liminality, in which the subjects find it difficult to find a sense of belonging. The play reflects such conditions by the

interwoven themes of nationality, identity, violence, memory, and assimilation, with a focus on the self of the fragmented self. State institutions, especially boarding schools, are described as a key factor in making this process of cultural assimilation normal and institutional. According to Human Rights Watch, “over a million Tibetan children have been placed in boarding schools where Mandarin is the language of instruction, and Tibetan is often discouraged or outright banned in formal settings” (“China: Vast System of Coerced Labour”). These institutions not only weaken intergenerational language transmission but also attempt to sever children from their cultural and familial roots. Through the characters of Tsering, Pema and Deshar, the playwright accomplishes his task of interweaving the intensely interlaced involvement of the individuals in their self- discovery and analysis, along with the collective history of their land.

The paradox of spiritual reform lies at the very centre in the view of Tsering who states that no ethical or spiritual purity is possible without a steady lived cultural identity. His assertion that Deshar is the impure and the unfinished is a criticism of monastic Buddhism and also state-enforced re-education as it is not a sufficient answer to historical and political trauma. Tsering uses the language as the fundamental aspect of Tibetan selfhood to make the preservation of linguistics not an act of nostalgia but an act of political resistance. His explanation that it is “easier to be a Buddha than an ordinary Tibetan” shows that there is structural violence making the ordinary survival in culture more challenging than spiritual transcendence (1.3. 18). Its insistence on the Tibetan language turns into a material tactic of preserving the memory, continuity and collective dignity. Finally, the search of identity by Tsering does not represent an entirely spiritual category, but rather a linguistic, cultural, and historical rootedness. Language does not just define a medium of communication, but

the preservation of epistemic and cultural knowledge. Identity is reconstituted in this way as an embodied socio-historical construct and no longer as an abstract spirit. The maintenance of the Tibetan language serves as a material policy to preserve collective memory and individuality, because a “real world of a community is mostly built through the language” (Sapir and Whorf). This insight is implemented into action, in Tsering’s own personal endeavours, as he embarks into language education as a vehicle for upholding culture and identity establishment.

Tsering is involved in his process of teaching Tibetan to his twelve-year-old student, Pema. The teaching is strictly circumscribed on the natural, indigenous, and pure Tibetan values. He continuously orders his student to read everything that is being “marked out” (1. 2. 6). Perplexed for a moment, while noticing that everything is encircled, she is more distraught at her teacher’s abrupt questions:

PEMA : Teacher Tsering, but everything is circled! (Pause.)

TSERING: What’s your language Pema?

PEMA : Tibetan, Teacher.

TSERING: What kind of Tibetan? ...

(BEAT.) YES PEMA. WHAT KIND OF TIBETAN?

PEMA : Our kind teacher.

TSERING: Everything circled is Mandarin. (1. 2. 6)

There is a critical foreshadowing of the conflict between preservation of culture and linguistic assimilation by the state in this dialogue. The interrogation of Pema by Tsering is an indication of a very sharp sense of how the Tibetan identity has been eroded with the ascendancy of Mandarin. The stage direction of Pema being at a loss and in distress shows the psychological effects of this linguistic imposition where even the students are left in a state of confusion as to what their own cultural and

linguistic identity is. The dominance of Mandarin over the Tibetan identity is seen in the manner Tsering interrogates Pema, implying the claim by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o that "language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world" (12). This scene demonstrates the cognitive and emotional dissonance between the young Tibetans and Sinicization through the use of dialogue and pacing. The exchange further highlights the pedagogy dilemma in that, not only is teaching a transfer of knowledge but a zone of resistance against cultural erasure. Finally, the scene indicates the functioning of language as an instrument of power as well as the way of claiming identity. Tsering is demonstrated as an inertial cultural protector who connects the maintenance of the Tibetan language to the survival of the collective identity and genuine values. He claims that linguistic erosion amounts to the erosion of self because it hinders the generational transfer of cultural knowledge and emotionality. To him, encouraging the use of native language is a non-violent plan to maintain the cultural uniqueness of Tibet and intergenerational continuation.

The strict advice given by Tsering to Pema is emblematic of the risks of blindly adapting to alien socio-cultural pressures, and that the survival of the Tibetans over the long term relies on the ability to negotiate the process of cultural mixture as a consequence of the Chinese invasion. According to Nguyen and Benet- Martinez, "the process of assimilation can be so powerful that it leads to cultural amnesia, where younger generations grow up ignorant of their heritage" (1229). Tsering Reminds Pema that, "Its used like Mandarin. You cannot use every language the same way Pema. You lose your language, you lose who you are, what you are and most importantly, why... (Looks at Rinpoche.) Why you are... (1. 2. 6). This conversation highlights the inherent connection between language and identity, which implies that

the loss of linguistic heritage poses an immediate danger to the identity and meaning of existence. Tsering makes it clear that the insistence on the preservation of Tibetan identity in the face of colonization should begin with the obstruction of the imposition of alternative history, and the language is a key channel of transferring collective memory and keeping cultural continuity. Thus, the play is in the real world of depicting the complicated challenges of being a Tibetan.

While Rinpoche claims that Deshar “was Violent” (1.2. 7), Tsering clarifies that “Fighting for freedom is not violence. Misleading people is. ...” (1. 2. 8). This discussion differentiates between justifiable resistance and ethical corruption, presenting the war of cultural and political liberation as being justifiable and not necessarily violent. The response of Tsering criticizes manipulative discourses exerted over people by the oppressors and highlights moral clarity in the struggle against autonomy. It represents the overall Tibetan discourse on identity. Similarly, again the question of identity and language wakes up:

TSERING: Because Pema, in Tibetan language Verbs come after objects.

And in Chinese usage it’s the other way around. You get it...

No... you don’t. And neither do you (At Deshar.) and nor will

You (RINPOCHE). Because deep deep inside all of you have become

Chinese. Your mind is in Mandarin and you are just using Tibetan

sounding words. (1. 2. 9)

Tsering emphasizes the deep relationship between the construction of language and the cognitive process and the idea that only verbal fluency does allow to maintain the pure cultural consciousness. The comparison of Tibetan and Chinese syntax shows that language patterns determine perception and identity as demonstrated by the author. His complaint is not limited to Pema but to Deshar and Rinpoche that

assimilation has so profoundly affected even so-called rooted Tibetans. According to Whorf, “language is not merely a reporting device for experience but a defining framework for it” (*Language, Thought* 213), reflecting Tsering’s concern that Tibetan conversationalists too adopted Chinese patterns of thinking. Another aspect highlighted in the dialogue is the risk of internalized colonization when an external application of one language conceals cognitive and cultural supremacy. In general, it is indicative of the problem of vulnerability of the Tibetan identity subjected to the overwhelming foreign power in the play.

One of the issues that Tsering underlines is the fact that Tibetan culture is in the survival stage determined by the purity and fidelity of intergenerational thought. According to Bourdieu, “cultural capital consists of accumulated cultural knowledge, skills, and education that confer social advantages” (Bourdieu 241), which forms the major concern of Tsering about safeguarding the original Tibetan thinking to the next generations. He condemns the existing generation due to its repetition of rituals without comprehending it and that, is a defeat in meaningfully interacting with the heritage. Re-education as he sees it is a strategic move to sustain and equip human resources to carry on with the identity of the coloniser. The anger of Tsering in the celebration of the “Beijing-Lhasa Express” by the village illustrates the clash between forced modernization and cultural wholeness (1. 4. 19). The play changes the subject of the spiritual practices to the experienced effects of the deterritorialization with the emphasis on dislocation, disruption, and the cultural division. Tsering suggests that the alienation by language, memory, and tradition is an exile that deprives people in their own country, jeopardizing the identity and tradition. Finally, the play also demonstrates the repetitive nature of colonial domination, in which even the

oppressors have to face the repercussions of their deeds, which substantiates the reality of the Tibetan resistance.

The fact that Tsering hesitantly admits Deshar to limited refuge and limits her power is a sign of his belief that her moral judgment has been impaired by her life at the monastery that discourages assertiveness in the name of non-violence. Paulo Freire maintains that education should encourage “critical awareness of one’s social reality through reflection and action”, replicating Tsering’s determination on fighting back passive submission with enforced standards (35). His outburst at Rinpoche when he interprets the Express in a neutral way as “just a vessel” brings out the conflict between practical acceptance and moral imperative to examine objectively the external forces that are affecting Tibet (1. 2. 11). He sees a conflict between passive cultural education and moral imperatives of protecting one self. According to Rinpoche the fact that the Express is only “just a vessel” is a pacifist, neutral position based on Buddhist compassion, whereby intention takes precedence over consequence (1.2. 11). This conversation reveals the conflict between spiritual idealism and colonial conditions in Tibet during Chinese rule. This disengagement is criticized by Tsering who demonstrates how the neutral position disguises the material and cultural danger of the colonial authority, reflecting the idea of “cultural hegemony” by Edward Said and “mimicry” by Homi Bhabha (*Culture and Imperialism* 33; *The Location* 86). His sarcasm regarding being left “stuck with... train-worshiping monks” highlights the two-sidedness of the colonized subjects who are able to outwardly adapt but are internally displaced and resistant (1. 2. 11). The dialogue therefore is an indication of the modern day struggle of Tibetans as they bargain on ethical, spiritual and political demands in the face of systemic oppression.

China's Cultural Revolution was aimed at dismantling Tibet's culture by eradicating monks and monasteries which are so paramount to the lives of the Tibetans. In his speech, the Dalai Lama stated that, "To build and prepare for the future is one of our primary responsibilities" (Roberts and Adam 45). "The Dalai Lama had taken the first step toward creating a Buddhist democracy... isolated retreats; rather, they were central to the society. The hub of Tibetan civilization. The monasteries are centres for education and learning, and evolved over the centuries into great universities where subjects as diverse as civil engineering, medicine, and psychology were taught along with philosophy, language and astronomy" (78). By the end of the Cultural Revolution, "Tibet's cultural devastation was immeasurable, but not complete" (102). Tsering Vehemently opposes this middle way approach. It reveals the inability of the spiritual head of the land- His Holiness, to lead its citizens to stand up against the utter violence that is going to be imposed upon them. According to Tsering, being escaped from the political boundaries of Tibet the negligence of violence without understanding the daily turmoil through which every common Tibetan need to go through under the dictatorship of the illegally invaded Chinese authorities, the Dalai Lama, just instructed by residing at the comfort zone of the neighbouring nation of India.

The active silence of Pema and the active cynicism of Deshar towards the cultural imposition of the Chinese is also the way of underlining how the Tibetan identity was systematically repressed. In her questioning, Deshar brings to the fore the obtrusiveness of policies that are meant to weaken linguistic and cultural heritage and the political motive of eroding, instead of integrating, Tibetan descent. It is the conflict between personal independence and assimilation in a colony which prefigures the moral and existential issues of the survival of the culture under Chinese rule. The

cultural tensions between Tibetans such as Pema and Deshar can be explained by the concept of the interstitial space, which offers the discovery of hybridity, as explained by Bhabha. In this expanse, “we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion. For there is a sense of disorientation, a disturbance of direction, in the ‘beyond’: an exploratory, restless movement [...]”emphasizing the fact that the clash of Tibetan and Chinese cultures creates a third space in which the formation of a distinct identity is unstable (*The Location 2*). The strict instruction of the Tibetan language by Tsering aims at helping the young generation to cling to their own culture so that they could contrast it with that of the intruder, and the daily life, the language and philosophy of Buddhism provides great insight into the internal struggle of people in their homeland. This highlights the dilemma to maintain cultural integrity and individual identity in the face of intrusion by the colonizers and cultural hybridity. In a way, this expanse of interposing converts the individual into a muted identity.

Tsering, who is a representative of the older generation is extremely concerned that the younger Tibetans are losing control over their native language which forms an important channel of passing collective memory and pre-invasion cultural identity. His opinion of the influence of Deshar as corrupt to a more culturally grounded Pema, represents fears over the continuation of linguistic and moral purity. In the play, the author also indirectly refers to the Tibetan rebellion of 1959, and he puts individual and generational conflict in a larger framework of historical and political uprooting and erosion. For instance, Tsering says “I fought for this country Deshar. And His Holiness called my movement off by turning non- violent one day. ... I brought you up, with everything I could and you just left”. However when Deshar confronts him

about killing her mother, Tsering replies, “No Deshar, I gave her dignity. ... She was brought back, raped and dying in an army truck. ... They said I could only save one of you Deshar. Your mother asked me to shoot her (Pause.) (1. 3. 16). This discussion is a graphic example of the psychological and social devastation of systemic oppression of Tibetans under the Chinese occupation. In his narration of the impossible moral choices that he was forced to make, Tsering reveals how a violent colonial regime placed individuals under conditions that were extremely harsh and the only way to survive was to do something that would be against personal, cultural and moral principles. The horrific experience of the mother of Deshar, when she was raped and returned dying, is an expression of the gendered and human cost of militarized domination, and how oppression can destabilize family relationships and undermine trust in the social level. The traumas faced by Tsering, including the duty of selecting whom to save, represent the psychological trauma that Tibetans of the subsequent generations had to face, forcing the Tibetan culture, emotional and ethical structures to become the subject of continuous tension. In general, the scene highlights that the oppression of systems is not only focused on physical survival but also makes the identity, moral agency, and social life of colonized subjects unstable.

From the perspective of Tsering, the path chosen by His Holiness Dalai Lama is not that of non- violence, but on a long run, its merely a temporary stand to protect his position as the spiritual head of the land, and a way to boost much incoherence and violence on a particular population, who wish to live as independent citizens. In the current scenario, the Tibetan population tend to accept as true, what they are made to believe in, at the hands of the Chinese influence, detaining the future generation of the land from accessing their real culture and original history, by making them disorganised at distinguishing the original from the almost co- mingled culture

presently available there. Tsering points out that, “You know what the real problem with Tibet is Deshar? (Pause.) It’s not the Chinese. It’s our children. They grow up to be delusional” (1. 3. 17). Deshar’s reply for Tsering’s revelation was mere silence. The silence of Deshar is a symbol of the destruction of Tibetan identity caused by loss of local knowledge, language and culture as well as land which was worsened by the cultural intermingling of the intruders. As an aging person, Tsering aims to warn the Tibetans about the different forms of colonial control and the need to retain pure identity. From his standpoint, he considers the re-education of Deshar on Chinese lines, though tragic, was an inevitable measure to restore her connection with Tibetan reality. Subsequent generations, such as Deshar, Dorjee and Pema are brought up without a hold on the shared memory that forms the foundation of cultural identity, thereby exposing them to alienation. The role of memory is an essential point of connection between the past and the present, as it helps people in their manoeuvring about their position in a territory that has been made alien due to systemic oppression. Thus, once again remarking that “Remembrance alone is static” (Dhopma, *My Rice* 31). Therefore, this adherence to stagnant reminiscence, emerges as particularly evident amongst uprooted later generation Tibetans, nurturing in them an intensified conflict to secure their cultural self and identity amongst the uncertainty of exilic life.

Cultural alienation of second and third generation Tibetans aggravates the fight to preserve identity. According to Benedict Anderson, “It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 6). Deshar and Pema struggle to balance between both the current reality and the past shared memory, which creates an unrealistic benchmark of assimilation. This constant flux disrupts their identity, and it is hard to create a coherent individual identity. Their

lives are disintegrated, influenced by the meeting of the old tradition and the new demands. Tsering also views the escape to monastic life by Deshar as a kind of escapism which not only increases her alienation but also does not help her confront herself or her culture. He prefigures language as the moral and emotive basis of Tibetan identity, saying that it carries along the collective memory, preserves a shared consciousness, and makes a distinction between Tibetans and the repressive state of China. Stuart Hall argues that cultural identity is “a matter of becoming as well as of being” (“Cultural Identity” 225). His love towards Tibet demonstrates how homeland and selfhood are intertwined and that belonging to the territory determines identity; meanwhile, his attachment to Tibetan language and nation only testifies to the fact that identity is constantly constructed in the process of negotiation between collective memory and current displacement circumstances. The flight of a magical homeland into displacement conditions is the expression of the contemporary crisis of borders and belonging, which reveals the frailty of cultural and spatial rootedness.

The conflict between maintaining the Tibetan identity and seeking Buddhist liberation is evident in the struggle of Deshar, resulting in the state of existential and cultural fragmentation. The quest to find roots is an indication of the strong desire to belong to a community or stay ethnic in a disruptive motherland. Deterritorialization processes separate people off land, memory and social relations, leading to lasting psychological and emotional trauma. The fact that she maintains a Buddhist practice, although she does not fully understand it, is a survival tactic and a stabilization of her identity in the face of displacement. The revelation about her father by his student Pema eventually places her on an abrupt internal expedition that her search for her self was the same as that of her father, leading to the reflection of an inner journey of intergenerational loss, violence, and unresolved historical trauma, validating how

trauma continues as “an unassimilated experience” that “returns to disrupt the present” (Caruth 4). The dialogue with the Chinese soldier by Deshar serves as a trigger to critical self-awareness as she is forced to deal with the hidden facts of her Tibetan identity that were formed in the context of colonial violence. Her experience is an indication of the enduring mental stress of displaced Tibetans who cannot find the way to bargain between split identities and unresolved historical trauma. Lacking both the ancestral memory and a cohesive national future, they are left in the condition of the cultural and existential dislocation.

Because the influence of the grandeur of Chinese traditions and culture has affected Tibetan society, Pema who is the representative of the younger generation finds herself viewing the imposed identity as potent without realizing that this in-between space is typified by discontinuity and rupture. This situation is no coincidence and rather a product of a calculated mix of cultural appeal and political pressure whereby allure, surveillance and control are correlated with how “soft power” and “disciplinary power” works (Nye, *Soft Power* 5; Foucault, *Discipline* 27). Although the Tibetan people are becoming conscious of their political powerlessness, they are conscious of territorial and identity negotiations, and this state has been perpetuated by “cultural hegemony that manufactures consent under domination” (Gramsci 12). Devoid entirely of reposed cultural resources and continuity of the past, memory is the sole surviving archive upon which such figures as Deshar are trying to re-establish some sense of belonging to a community. Culture and homeland are presented as crucial points of identity, as the tool with the help of which the self is placed socially and identified. In this regard, the cry of Deshar and Dorjee over the lack of comfort, security, and a normalized history is itself an ode to the results of

sheer hard and soft power, in which systematic cultural oppression leads to long-term existential weakness and displacement.

Deshar feels a powerful sense of uncertainty and existential confusion, displaced Tibetans are torn between preserving identity through cultural imposition. She doubts the imposed compliance with Chinese regulations and views passive compliance as the possibility to be subdued even more. Although there exist generational differences in ideology, all Tibetans, including Deshar, are highly attached to their motherland and worried that cultural assimilation will eventually destroy the Tibetan identity.

Tsering points at the 1959 “guerilla movement” of Tibet in which he himself was part of (2. 4. 66). Tsering’s conversation with Gaphel discloses the reality of Tibetan existence. He remarks, “We have culture because our children watch Tibetan dance... turn the odd prayer wheel, ... His Holiness... popular on cotton T shirts...” (2. 4. 67). Tsering uses the speech to make a potent critique of commodification of Tibetan identity in exile where the cultural practices are whittled down into marketable images and performative gestures. The dialogue, through his ironic allusions to his “momo sales” in Western streets, a ritualized performance of dancing, the commercialized image of His Holiness on “T-shirts”, shows how the lived Tibetan culture is transformed into shallow icons of authenticity (2. 4. 67). Such a state is a symptom of what Guy Debord posits as the “society of the spectacle” where social life is more and more mediated by the representations instead of actual experience (12). This makes Tibetan identity sterile of its ethical, political, and spiritual richness, and survives as a commodity of aesthetics in the global capitalist networks. Tsering demonstrates how generational conflict and experienced violence form a discontinuous but politicized form of subjectivity based on trauma. His unwillingness

to accept systems forced upon him by others turns out to be a response of resistance that is aimed at reinstating individual and communal identity. Through him, the idea of cultural self-determination of Tibet is framed as a battle to maintain memory, solidarity and identity in circumstances of exile and spatial displacement.

The experience of Tsering shows that the extreme violence of the state and compelling observance of loss results in the life that is conditioned by trauma, lack of self-certainty and social alienation. The recollections of sexual violence, displacement and mass death serve as the constant psychological residues that organize his identity and his perception of time. However when he rejects the rules that are imposed on him, his misery is made into a kind of protestant subjectivity instead of passive victimhood. The life of Tsering after the war represents a state of radical dislocation in which the disappearance of political strife disintegrates his meaning and lack of time. The memory turn by Deshar is a critical form of self-enquiry where the forced movement creates long time trauma of abandonment, insecurity and psychic fragmentation. Together, their stories can be described as expressing a collective state of disaggregated subjectivity due to exile, loss, and incessant quests of belonging.

The dilemma of Tsering, “the ordinary Tibetan, bang in the middle... (Looking at the picture of Dalai Lama and Mao)” (2.4. 66) between the Buddhist ethic of nonviolence and the logic of the political struggle, is readable in the context of Frantz Fanon, who describes the “decolonization ... is always a violent phenomenon”, whereby the colonized subjects consider armed resistance as the way to reclaim their agency and become subject to political practices (Fanon, *The Wretched* 27). On the contrary, the theory of *Satyagraha* and nonviolent resistance, developed by Mahatma Gandhi, views “the moral power of nonviolence” as a princely alternative to the struggle by violence and emphasizes the ethical losses and political dangers of the

rejection of nonviolent ways (*Hind Swaraj* 94). Collectively, these structures explain why Tsering feels terrified by the fact that the abruptly terminated guerrilla action caused him to experience anguish not only due to the practical loss of a tool to struggle with but also to the remaining psychic weight of decisions that were made by him under colonial pressure.

The process of displacement exacerbates liminal subjectivity by making people susceptible to prolonged ambiguity, psycho-analytic dislocation, and destabilized self. The disenfranchisement and cultural alienation create the conditions of non-belonging, which puts the subjects swinging in opposite directions of hope and despair as well as illusion and reality, leading to a persistent state of existential deadlock. This recursive destabilization takes place on psychological, social, and cultural planes, and is a multi-layered crisis of displaced existence. Tsering, unable to tolerate the aggressiveness and domination over the native Tibetan's by the Chinese intruders, in the name of policies implemented by their system, elucidates that, without naming who these authorities are, he is neither going to recognize "the Chinese state, the Chinese army, the Chinese government, Chinese products, Chinese flag. Chinese Olympics... [and] Tibetans who did not jump" (2. 4. 64). The refusal of Tsering to recognise the symbols of China, can be seen as a symbolic performance of epistemic and political refusal, which rejects the legitimacy of the apparatuses of the imperial authority through the conscious non-acknowledgement. This linguistic destruction turns into a counter-hegemonic practice where the silence and negation are converted into a protesting method against state sponsored hegemony and cultural assimilation. His position shows how one can maintain identity not only by actively maintaining it but also by being strategic in disavowing the symbolic order of the colonizer.

The internal split in Tsering speaks of the larger Tibetan predicament of being torn between the ethical command of Buddhist nonviolence and the actuality of the military oppression. His involvement in the guerrilla movement of Mustang and the subsequent trauma that was caused by the sudden end of the guerrilla movement under the leadership of the Dalai Lama predetermines this sense of betrayal of politics and historical break in which his consciousness is shaped. The text reveals that neither religious restraint nor state re-education through coercion has allowed real self-determination and rather caused alienation, disillusionment, and unresolved psychic consequences of colonial rule. The notion of government in exile has become a notion to fool the Tibetan Public, just like having “decided the colour of the walls of the imaginary house that we are going to build on a patch of land that we do not own” (2. 4. 68). In response, many Tibetans have turned to language as a tool of cultural preservation and political resistance. This resistance takes both overt and covert forms. Community-led schools, informal tutoring, and digital platforms are increasingly used to teach Tibetan literacy and history outside the state-sanctioned curriculum. Activists such as Tashi Wangchuk have gained international attention for their efforts to advocate for Tibetan language education. Wangchuk was imprisoned for “inciting separatism” after publicly campaigning for greater linguistic rights, even though he explicitly denied separatist intentions (Kuo). The fact that the advocacy of Tibetan language is criminalized proves that cultural expression is redefined as politically dangerous, and language as the means of identification is turned into the source of resistance. Although re-education and assimilation policies by states have led to language preservation, it still plays a role of cultural resistance in a non-obtrusive but effective manner.

Self- Immolation as Resistance and Counter-Securitization

Since 1998, Tibetan self-immolations have served as a form of nonviolent protest, a paradoxical act since, although it is presented as nonviolent and peaceful, it performs a political protest by deliberately destroying the body. This generates an incongruous politics of protest in which passivity and hostility live together-making the suffering body a visible repository of state violence, exile, and not allowing autonomy. This enigma calls for us to reappraise our divisions, as " the self-immolations complicate a troubling model of non-violence and violence as immutable and distinct categories: a model prevalent not only in the framing of 'the Tibet issue's, but also in secular liberal practices of applauding or delegitimizing various social and political struggles" (Terrone par. 12). If self-immolations are peaceful, what triggers their appearance as violent acts targeting the individual? Do they represent suicides and what is being contested in that sense? What connection do they have to the violence that stays at the crux of the sovereign nation? What, finally, we might investigate about our categorisation of violence/ non-violence as we witness such acts? These queries have significance even surpassing the specifically immediate setting of Tibet.

The Chinese securitization of the Tibetan revolt in 2008 made protest a state survival issue, and self-immolation was a counter-securitization measure. Although the discourse of state-security did not yield complete security results, Tibetans played a bodily politics of resistance wherein extreme self-sacrificing served as performative self-affirmation and political performance. The Chinese securitization here is focused on sovereignty and regime safeguarding, and Tibetan counter-securitization is the result of existential insecurity of lived experiences. As per the expert analysis made by Hannah Arendt, violence is a label implemented to the processes utilized to fulfil

specific objectives. "Violence, force, strength, authority and power" she points out that all "are but words to indicate the means by which man rules over man; they are held to be synonyms because they have the same function" (*On Violence* 43). In this study, violence will allude to injury caused by force over the body as a method to achieve specific goals.

Self-immolation makes it more difficult to define violence since it suggests a grey zone between self-inflicted damage and official taboos against harm. Violence is brought into reality through a visual and sensory resonance of war and torture in which the burning body is placed within the frameworks of dominance of extreme suffering. This pre-empts pain as a vital point of analysis where the unharmed body is played out as the standard measure and harm is translated as a transgression of basic corporeal privileges. In Elaine Scarry's significant work *The Body in Pain*, she depicts the manner in which the brutal causation of suffering also functioned as an effort to obliterate the victim's existence. Agony is set against the individual's capacity to sustain their cultural and symbolic realm, as the overwhelming force of the body subdues every relationship. The tormentor attempts to aggressively violate the victim's power to exist as "who they are"(86). The more intense the bodily distress, the more the violation, the stronger the sense of violence. Anyhow, when the victim is simultaneously the actor pertaining to violation, an essential premise of our comprehension is contested: people are inclined to escape suffering. If that assumption is revealed to be flawed, any framework of interpretation based on it will lose stability. Therefore, we encounter a deed that is at the same time permitted and prescribed.

Deshar undergoes a radical sense of identity crisis, not able to entirely occupy a monastic identity such as Dorjee nor a filial role as a product of her father and

therefore a sense of imposture becomes all-encompassing. This is augmented by the fact that she is unsure of her Tibetan identity. This direction of becoming a star is a metaphor of autonomous subject hood, solid but radiant, as a representation of a type of selfhood that is perceived to be self-contained and not bound by social and ideological entrapments. She at an instant's thought feels that what Buddha had highlighted through his teachings, have become nullified in the present scenario of Tibet: "He became everything and nothing at once" (1. 3. 15). The public exhibition of self-immolation is heavily circulated in the religious perspective. The substantial share of the Tibetan population including the monks, nuns, and common man who committed themselves to burning their bodies in conjunction with the tolerant practices ingrained in the decisive insight of Tibetan Buddhism could result in a similar analogous situation here. The remarks and comments from self-immolators illustrate that these public acts are not exclusively religious. This is apparent in the innumerable citations of Tibetan harmony and their continual appeals to endorse Tibetan native language as well as customs indicate an "imagined community" rooted in a prevalent socio-culture, spirituality and language (Anderson 12). Though the Tibetan spiritual as well as political leader Dalai Lama propagates the Middle Way Program, targeting the self-independence of Tibet, those doing and assisting these actions of self- sacrifice perceive that Tibet on its own is at the threat of vanishing from the world's geography. In the International Campaign of Tibet, Tibetan population convey the hope "that His Holiness the Dalai Lama may live long and return to Tibet as soon as possible" (*ICT Storm* 149). For those who support self-immolations, Tibet is not just a geographical terrain, its overall appeal is derived from its people and the way of life. It is a complex and symbolic cultural system that adds significance to the lives of any Tibetan, both politically and spiritually.

The presence of state control over bodies in the Tibetan struggle of autonomy is both imposed and challenged. The tradition of self-immolation, which has Buddhist origins, is a very visible but nonviolent form of protest, which turns self-harm into an effective political and moral gesture. “The self-immolator who dies cannot be ‘re-educated’ into a former protester who disowns [their] prior complaints to avoid torture...Tibetan self-immolation conveys that the person is Tibetan *at all costs*” (Whalen-Bridge 14). The history of Tibetan Buddhism too has a lineage of permissible actions of causing injury and death just like the domestically sanctioned legal penalties targeted at the individuals within the group as well as armed operations notably against external parties. In *Taming the Demons*, Jacob Dalton, utilised the “Vajra myth” to project that violence is suitable, whenever it is proven to fulfil the advancement of all living entities (57). Harmful behaviours undertaken, that defend the Buddhist doctrines and lead to the enlightenment of the victim, are acceptable violations. They continue to function in the world driven by Buddhist advocacy, to avoid causing harm and violence, yet they remain exceptions subject to contextualized review to the rule.

For instance, the final reigning emperor of Tibet during the ninth century, proved as a potential danger to the Buddhist preaching, and to obstruct his authority from entirely obliterating the dharma the monk Lhalung Pelgyo Dorje murdered him. Dorjee was of the opinion that a dark force had manifested in the form of an emperor, nullifying his human essence and thereby transforming him to become a "field of liberation" (Schlieter 67). As it was an altruistic act, thereafter, he is regarded as a bodhisattva, accountable for the revival of Buddhism. In the same way, in *Upayakausalya sutra*, Buddha himself gets incarnated in the form of an empathetic ship captain who saves five hundred bodhisattvas by slaying a looter (Harrison 99-

101). The Buddhist sacrificial context becomes the shaping influence for many Tibetan vocabulary that alludes to self-immolations, like "Chopa, lujin, chome"(Cabezon par. 6). Other expressions employed include "lus me mchod and lus sbyin", each of which conveys the concept of employing the corporeal body as a religious entity (Tsering 99). This framework aids us in comprehending the “problematic nature of violence” employed from the core of ethical constraints of Buddhist doctrines (Barnett 41). Indeed the majority of the claims advanced by Tibetans to implement the essence of such actions, were in fact focused on whether these public exhibitions were in accordance with Buddhist doctrines or not.

After the destruction of the monastery, Deshar takes a pose of self-sacrificing determination, and new information about the secret religious life of Pha-La restructures her idea of opposition and identity. Deshar experiences a more relation-oriented, open epistemology of existence through the ethical reasoning of Pema, who thinks that deception could be good in order to save lives without hurting others. This dialogue represents a change in her mind as the speech of Pema can be considered as the awakening of Deshar’s moral and intellectual life. Self-burnings were a reasonably rare occurrence in Tibet prior 1998. Generally, as pointed out by many scholars, apparently there is “no ample precedent for these actions in Tibet” (Buffetrille 3). Anyhow, since it began, people internationally have adapted to the act as a method to connect their voice to the physical being in striking acts of opposition.

The online interactions made by Dhondup Tashi Rekjong, with Tibetans, establish that not until the “allegations of violence” were stated by the authorities of China, that Tibetan testimonies confirmed their non-violence (Rekjong). Some of the Tibetan’s who self-immolated their bodies explicitly asserted that "in these astonishing times, some people are setting themselves on fire, sacrificing their lives,

going empty-handed in non-violence, and calling out with all the breath in their bodies" for regaining their freedom (ICT, *Storm Grasslands* 157). With China maintaining their path of the notorious pro- country re-education movements, ban on the images of the Dalai Lama and the intrusion into the Tibetan spiritual organisations, Pawo Gudrub portrays the self-immolations as "sharpening [of] our non-violent movement"(165). In a different military reference, he proclaims Tibetans "will win the battle through truth, by shooting the arrows of our lives, by using the bow of our mind"(164-5). He thus confirms that the modes through which they strive for success are literally their lives. This statement reflects the way in which violence and non-violent are being surpassed in the present circumstance within Tibetan territory.

Cultural Revolution legacy is symbolized by fragmented memory and non-linear narration that are an indication of fractured subjectivity. This discussion compares the nationalist and humanitarian values with the theme of helplessness, loneliness, and temporality. In this context, self-immolation can be seen as a kind of paradox of agency: although it involves the destruction of biological self, it still allows symbolic self-assertion by defying the bureaucratic process of erasure. The act maintains the presence of the protester and Tibetan cultural identity as a form of socio-political protest and its mediated circulation disrupts state censorship and shocks sovereign authority.

Karmic economy of human action is found in multiple contexts, where the act is inherently violent, but inevitable and for the benefit of collective well-being. The outcome in this situation "legitimizes the violent actions" though the tactics are still violent (Ardley 11-12). Harmful actions undertaken in the name of Buddhist doctrines carry on a history of celebration, beyond mere approval in the memory of Tibetans. In

his quest to comprehend this ambiguous relation to violence in the doctrines of Buddhism, Stephen Jenkins encountered obstacles in figuring out the seeming inconsistency involving harm, simultaneously forbidden and encouraged. His study showcases that Buddhist teachings recognise the “virtuous and fortunate aspects of Violence”, inspired by compassion (300). Violence and non-violence as divisions appeared to blur the geopolitical situation in Tibet. When confronted with such an apparent paradox like compassionate violence, we are indeed dealing with "a complex matrix of multiple interrelated and competing concerns, including proportionality, intention, virtue, situation, and consequences conceived from a multiple -life perspective"(326). To accurately mark adverse actions as violent or non-violent through the lens of the doer, entails insight into the processes such a pattern is to delineate and accept harm. Self-immolations come under this contradictory narrative of compassionate violence.

The choice of self-immolation made by Deshar is presented as a search for salvific autonomy. Her invitation to Pema to run without facing back is symbolic as a preventive measure of her shared existential crisis. By having Pema express anger as a separation illusion, Deshar faces her loss of attachment with Tibetan Buddhist epistemology. The play ends by stating non-dual ontology where the self, the natural world, and violence are connected to each other and Tibetan identity cannot exist without Buddhist spiritual consciousness. “Anger is to forget that you, me, the mountain, the train and the fire that we would have lit if we had wood, are all one” (1. 8. 39). The conversation is a criticism of ego-based struggle as a spiritual misunderstanding of interdependence.

The Tibetan case explains the way in which Chinese state policies are integrating land appropriation with body control, disclosing a bio- political rationality

that attempts to dominate actual and cultural lives. Self-immolation becomes a corporeal protest that makes a claim to Tibet identity, revealing and disrupting the state process of trying to make its subjects governable. Thus the Chinese nation-states' "relationship with the world is one of appropriation" (Fanon, *The Wretched* 17). The questioning of the death of her mother by Deshar is a retrospective experience of self-realization, wherein recalling the past shows the ruptures of her lived life. It is only by interacting with her own past that her identity as an individual becomes intelligible. Self-immolation asserts the authority over the body and personal agency is in harmony with the world instead of domination. As the embodiment of Tibetan identity, it becomes politicized, confronts the appropriation of China, interferes with the authority of the state, and promotes cultural resistance as well as the overall liberation of Tibet.

The self-immolation of Deshar is an assertion of identity, which is transfigurative, and ritualized through the *Kora* to put the event into the perspective of spiritual and political protest. The unending train horns emphasizes the boundaries of the Chinese over the Tibetan bodies and culture (1. 7. 39). Settler colonialism in Tibet is a process of dynamic occupation of the territory. Furthermore, it is the organization and domestic control of people who imbue the land with value. Self-immolation is a form of resistance to this domination, the body is burnt and at the same time it brings uncontrollable spiritual power that is necessary in the liberation of Tibet.

The Chinese leadership constructs self-immolations not as political demonstration but as challenges to the social order as a part of their biopolitical effort to control life and well-being. As custodians of the Tibet population, the state has a reason to act to regulate unauthorized violence and exercise demographic and social control. Following that logic, anthropologist Didier Fassin describes that self-

immolation might be interpreted as the harsh and aggressive reply to violence specifically as it contravenes the broadly endorsed doctrine of "the sanctity of life" (285). The institutions of the nation-state are established to safeguard life, bringing the Tibetan deaths as an offense to Chinese governance. Though confronted, various validations of China's asserting of sovereignty over Tibet globally hold that it is incumbent upon the PRC to enforce rules regarding damage inflicted on their populace. This corresponds necessarily to the exclusive right to the lawful use of violence claimed by the nation-state. Violence, thus, acts as the "deliberate cause of pain" and the "parallel explanatory lens" through which that suffering is viewed (Weber 99). In such a way, self-immolation on the one hand demonstrates the boundaries of the state-approved power over violence and on the other hand, it repossesses the agency of an individual and collective on the level of political and ethical protest.

Act Two, Scene two, Deng refers to Deshar as a "savage" because of her self-immolation, and Tibetans were viewed as naturally disruptive by the state (50). In the eyes of Deshar, the act is self-imposed and does not act aggressively against others, making the definition of violence difficult. Self-immolation disrupts the normative separations of victim and violator, challenging the limits of acceptable harm and thereby, reveals the ambiguities of morality of nonviolent protest and self-inflicted protest. The Chinese authority asserts the conclusive determinations on what practices are approved and outlawed regarding the imposition of injury and the related capacity to assess what amounts to harm. Thus the suffering intrinsic to legal penalties, though manifested physically, is not interpreted as causing harm, but "curative, corrective" (Foucault, *Discipline* 76). While commenting on the self-immolation of Dorje Rinchen on October 23, 2012, the Chinese security officials affirmed "self-

immolation is an extreme suicidal behaviour that goes against humanity, society and the law, and deprives people of their right to life" (Burke par. 10). Self-immolation is an act in opposition to the basic framework of existence. It is outright defective from an ontological perspective on personal vitality and output. Deliberate self-killing, becomes a rebellious act of enforced damage that causes the demise of an afflicted person, who is within the jurisdiction of the state.

Deliberate self-injury is generally viewed as the infringement of an innate right to one's body, which goes to support the idea that people are naturally driven to avoid suffering. Self-immolation contravenes this supposition, since the actor voluntarily suffers, sabotaging traditional models of action and opposition. Deng understands the action of Deshar as careless heroism, the inability of the Tibetan nation or Dalai Lama to come back, but he fails to find his daughter among the systemic forces, and his inability to assess the situation exposes the mental stresses of the bureaucratic power. The self-immolation of Deshar, therefore, shows the boundaries of the traditional conceptualization of pain, agency and power, the ethical and political conflicts woven into the practices of voluntary bodily self-destruction. But this inability is hidden, by disclosing the whole issue at hand with a simple statement: "Savages. They are complete savages, we are civilized" (2. 2. 50). The existence under power too gives Deng very less space to define or identify oneself as an individual.

Given the "bio-politics" of the Tibetan subjects under its custody (Foucault, *Discipline* 197), China places itself in the role of protecting the lives of the Tibetans in that it has the mandate to avert any harm that is not under its legal mandate. This is in line with the monopoly of violence of the nation-state that provides it with the ability to determine what types of harms are acceptable and which individuals are

considered threats or valuable subjects. The theorization by Agamben makes this insight even more acute: the state turns Tibetan subjects into “bare life”, creatures “included in the juridical order solely in the form of its exclusion” (*Homo Sacer* 8-9). By such a reasoning, PRC government is making the Tibetan body a location where sovereignty is working by the fact that it is deciding whose life is being spared and who can have their life put at risk. From the Chinese Perspective, “Self-immolation is an extreme suicidal behaviour that goes against humanity, society and the law, and deprives people of their right to life” (Burke par. 10). Suicide therefore, like any homicide or genocide, implies criminality. So, the entire intensity of suicide goes beyond self-killing as we recognise it as a murder of one's own self.

The murder charge is legally enforceable since self-immolation is established as a breach of state-stipulated legal standards. This bio-political reasoning forms the basis of the governance of Tibetan bodies, in that the classification of self-immolation and suicide indirectly support that such bodies are within the administrative jurisdiction of the PRC. The state integrates the self-actions of self-immolators into its power system by labelling them as self-murderers. At the same time, the damage that ensues is being described by Chinese officials as politically driven opposition, which strengthens state narratives connecting such actions to a so-called Dalai Lama faction created in the official discourse of the media. Criticising the Dalai Lama's refusal to decry these actions, a security official denounced these self-immolations as “a disguised form of violence and terrorism actively tried to pursue separatism by harming people” (Lim par.8). By portraying the impact of the flames sparked by separatist intentions, it brought self-immolation into connection with other forms of violence in opposition to the state, which validated the violent modes implemented to terminate these acts.

The act of self-immolation, which is in reality diminished into suicide since it denies the biological life cycle, is presented by the state as a violent self-destruction coupled by force. But this labelling spectacle hides its political/existential multiplicity. In the case of Deshar whose life is disturbed in her own motherland, self-sacrifice is a way of getting rid of a deep psychological and spiritual suffering. At the end of the play, when she is being interrogated, she identifies herself as the author of her life force and makes an act of self-harm a conscious re-assertion of agency and opposition. She proclaims her “ability to not quiver when burning. ... To not go quiet when silenced” will “make the world worth saving” (2. 7. 88). This dialogue re-defines the suffering and silence of Deshar as a strong act of agency as opposed to the subjugating one. When she uses her body as the place of resistance, she redefines endurance into an opposition of control and makes pain to be a moral power. Her silence when she is under Chinese custody turns out to be a proclamation of inner sovereignty, a proclamation of self-possession which could not be controlled by others. Under the oppressive, patriarchal environment, such silent resistance proves her independence and makes her the only source of her identity.

When Tsering is being interrogated, his declaration, “Violence. His Holiness. Is my god”, focus on the need to find dignity and identity restoration in the face of state examination after Deshar committed self-murder is emphasized (2. 4. 66). Deshar’s gesture sparks unrest all over Lhasa, representing figuratively that Tibet demands to be a sovereign nation, with an unassimilated cultural identity. Self-immolation also appears as a non-violent resistance that does not harm other people, stating that it is impossible to live without cultural and spiritual purity. The texts of the Tibetan self-immolators show a cultural logic whereby self-sacrifice serves as a

sacred sacrifice and as an ascetic practice, and it is unclear whether to state the same as exclusively religious piety or political action.

Tibetan speech describes suffering as an ethical paradox that has no easy solution, which is an embodiment of the denial of absolute answers by the Middle Way. Although in contemporary society self-immolation is commonly understood as the display of violence, under Tibetan Buddhist philosophy it is commonly known as an act of mercy and righteousness. Discussion on whether it is violent or non-violent directly appeals to Buddhist literature with both parties quoting canonical literature to prove themselves correct. Those who advocate self-immolation emphasize the examples in the *Jataka stories* and on the *Lotus Sutra*, particularly the one about the “bodhisattva that gives his body to a starving tigress to avoid her gaining negative karma” (Strong 33). This story has become a moral code to most Tibetans, including monks and nuns who have self-immolated and who have managed to see bodily sacrifice as one way of safeguarding identity, reducing suffering of others, and facilitating spiritual advantage to others.

Deshar actually does self-immolate, in order to publicise their condition of existence. Lixiong knew well that, “setting one’s own body on fire as an offering for nothing else but merit”, won’t be easy for outsiders to understand (par. 21). The Tibetans self-immolating in public can be closely linked with the *Lotus Sutra* where, “the Bodhisattva doused himself in fragrance and oil, drank scented oil, and wrapped himself in an oil-soaked cloth. He made a vow and then burned himself” (Benn 59). The act of sacrifice by Buddha becomes that of compassion and thus, meritable. Similarly, Lama Soepa who committed self-immolation on January 8, 2012, commented that “sacrificing [his] body with firm conviction and a pure heart just as the Buddha bravely gave his body to a hungry tigress”(ICT, *Storm Grasslands* 157-

58). So, motivated by kindness, the suffering endured is imbued with a positive charge, and the discourse of self-sacrifice pertaining to *Jataka* tales, reinterprets the action as a sacrifice of the self without any restraint, rather than a situation of political dissent.

In the last scene of the play, in the polygraph room, Deshar expounds to Tsering that her self-mutilation was occasioned by the agony of change that she had faced during her pursuit of truth. Despite death, she gives a butter lamp to Pha-la, symbolically handing it over to him as her *amala* in front of the statue of Buddha, causing him to make note of her suffering which she has been experiencing and making him internalize the grief that she has not been able to do after the death of her mother. He reveals to Deshar that her mother's only intention behind visiting the Dalai Lama, even after him calling off the revolution of 1959 was to "save Deshar from hatred" (2. 7. 86). The self-immolation of Deshar is therefore presented as a virtuous, hate free gesture. As everyone believed in the revolution and suicide was an option impossible to opt for, her mother was killed that night in *Pah-La*'s hands when Deshar slept, and the intergenerational trauma of political and moral dissonance can be noted here. The self-immolation of Deshar is a personal suffering turned into a morally-based, non-hateful action which is disrupting the traditional ideas of violence and agency. At the same time, the forced death of her mother highlights the severity of the political loyalty and the price of ideology battle across generations.

Self-immolation may be interpreted as an intellectually justified reaction to the imposed suffering of the Tibetan self, considered as virtuous and merit-making when it is in accordance with dharma and of benefit to others. Even the acts with animals are also ethically important in Buddhist moral categories, which may have an impact on the political environment due to the karmic consequences of actions as per the

Buddhist doctrines. The apparent inconsistency in self-immolation has its roots in the western traditions "global repertoire of protest"(Shakya, *Self-Immolation* 37). In the iconic snapshot by Malcolm Browne of the Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc from Vietnam, we can see the monk in a serene state in full Lotus posture as the flames consume his body. For the western society to understand these actions, the revered monk explained that then each individual needs to grasp the Buddhist way of thinking from which they emerge. He himself acknowledged that the self-immolations are "somehow difficult for the Western Christian conscience to understand. The press spoke then of suicide, but in the essence, it is not, it is not even protest" (Hanh, "search Meaning" par. 1). To comprehend self-inflicted suffering, it is important to know that the given pain has non-violent purpose directed at the self and that it is organized by metaphysical systems that help to define the purpose of pain. Deshar learns to control her body and reaction, promising that her voice cannot pull the world to its salvation, but can make the world worth saving. Her performance represents a politically aware generation that proposes not just Tibetan independence, but also the need for collective and integrated identity all over the world.

Towards the end of the play, Deshar proclaims that, "Your way out of suffering is to liberate the outside. You are liberating the outside, we the inside. Our ways do not have to be at war with each other" (2. 7. 89). This highlights that internal and external liberation are complementary and an individual can be enlightened while at the same time be a social activist without contradiction. The dialogue spells the dichotomies between spiritual and political action by situating self-transformation and collective struggle as mutually supporting, suggesting a holistic approach toward the struggle and ethical action.

The relations of power depend on the two factors of justice and force and define what harms can be granted and what is considered as cruel. Deshar challenges institutional control of the body through her self-immolation and therefore acts as a morally and politically legitimized form of action that motivates other people with her cause. The play portrays that securitization is dynamic and contingent. It depends on the relationship between securitizing actors and audience, narratives they make and the political culture. In the view of Stritzel and Chang, the entire process is a “political game constituted by moves and counter-moves in a continuous struggle for authority and legitimacy” (12). The mutual amalgamation of religion and nationalism at the crux of these events become factors troubling our standards of judgement of what is being violent and non-violent. To understand self-immolations on an analytical frame, a blending of Arendt's view as well as that of Georges Bataille is utilised. Bataille maintained that non-violence and violence are mutually constituted and that prohibitions carry inherent transgressions (56). It is equally important to recognise circumstances of dispute, wherein violence and non-violence transform into understandable entities, and they potentially appear incongruous.

The self-sacrifice of Deshar serves as a spiritual way of raising and shielding Tibetan identity. In self-inflicted irreversible bodily harm, self-immolators place themselves in the middle between the state domination and the individual agency, disturbing the strict divisions between violence and non-violence, harm and resistance. Her performance turns out to be a powerful counter-securitization that undermines the discourse of the Chinese state. The fact that Deng still fulfills his official responsibility despite the loss of his daughter shows that a moral decay has taken place and Jia, Deng's wife, views this as a kind of karmic punishment that is being passed on to her by allowing the destruction of the child of another person in

the attempt to achieve identity. The more lenient and obedient attitude of Deng towards his superiors and his promising to work for the motherland, irrespective of such personal turmoil and the consequent trauma, makes Deng more like a programmed robot. While the Chinese authorities state that self-immolations were orchestrated with the political pursue “Dalai Clique” (*Tibet the Truth* 53), the Tibetan side, speak of self-immolations as of the sign of “the deep-seated frustration” (*Tibet the Truth* 56) among Tibetans due to the repressive policy of Chinese authorities. These are protests against local oppression. The self-immolations are imbued with the significations of self-control and proprietorship of one’s life. Thus, from the play it can be delineated that self-immolations are “embodied expression of humanity” via “an unparalleled example of Bodhisattva mind”, expression of “ultimate self-discipline” in opposition to the “disciplining biopolitics” of life under Chinese colonizer; “reclamation of sovereignty” (Yeh and Litzinger 761); inflicting “virtuous pain” for a collective cause (Mingyur Rinpoche 6). An offering is therefore inherently non-violent. The cultural framework of gift giving prohibits it.

Reiko Ohnuma's analysis into "gift-of-the-body" Jataka tales, posits that these demonstrations encasing the pinnacle of generosity, grant "a concrete manifestation of an abstract Buddhist ideal, locating this ideal within a dramatic character and allowing it to unfold within a recognizable human context, replete with personal and social consequences" (92). Accounts of this kind recognise any act of giving that denies reciprocal obligation, owing to its abundance. The basic act of giving is detached from absolute or the ideal form of generosity from this perspective. This non-reciprocal nature is crucial, as the self-less quality of giving, where no return is sought, "result [s] in an unseen and transcendent reward in the form of karmic merit (punya)" (92). These are gifts free from any deemed for reciprocation and its sole

purpose is to attain virtue by mode of bodhisattva ethics. Lixiong reflects Thich Nhat Hanh in stating that, "setting one's own body on fire as an offering for nothing else but merit"(Hanh, *Searching Enemy* par. 21). This observation corresponds to Ohnuma's concern in relation to the processes of a gift that outweighs its return, granting virtue to the benefactor. Visibly associating his acts to Buddhist teachings, Lama Soepa posed all Tibetans to "genuinely practice Buddhist principles in order to benefit the Tibetan cause and also to lead all sentient beings towards the path to enlightenment "(ICT, *Storm Grasslands* 110). According to the Buddhist doctrines, our present existence stems from the formerly accumulated karma. Thus the cultivation of merit functions as a pathway for resolving tensions through a karmic logic. As gifts are designed to build in merit, these self-sacrifices are located beyond the boundaries of the political arena.

Deng admits that his main agenda is to make Deshar acknowledge the fact that her self-immolation was a conspiracy by the Dalai Lama or his exile office. His intense involvement in the apparatus of state surveillance makes him more of a function than of a man, the part of a machine, where feelings and personal judgment have been destroyed by ideological conformism. Jia remarks that "Marxists should not get married. Should not have children. You should sleep with each other" (2. 1. 44). The sentence is a bitter commentary by Jia on the way ideological absolutism can destroy interpersonal and familial relationships and transform human relations into political tools. Her ridicule of Marxist dogma reveals the hypocrisy of a regime that expects absolute commitment and refutes all the emotional and ethical concerns that render social life worthwhile. The Chinese state is formulating Tibetan resistance as a national security threat, which justifies extensive repression in all cultural, economic, and political spheres. Commander Deng represents this cog. His very self has been so

deeply integrated into the ideological machinery of the state that he is no longer able to tell the truth as compared to the stories he must promote. His obsession with getting Deshar to confess with her nearly killed body reveals the emptiness of this system, and that its pursuit is not after the truth but the preservation of its own power. It is in this context that securitization of the Tibetan uprising by the state becomes a multi-faceted process, which entails policy, bureaucracy and propaganda. The location, being next to though not entirely in the system, enables Jia to use her vision as a counter-narrative where the claims of the state are shown to be morally bankrupt and artificial.

Act two, scene two introduces the “polygraph room” of Lhasa Central Prison, whereby the convergence of technology of surveillance and bio-political power is introduced as a way of disciplining the Tibetan body (47). The state transforms the truth into a mechanized performance making Deshar a measure of physiological data which itself legitimizes the authority of the state. The involvement of Deng and Ling demonstrates how people are sucked into the security apparatus and it keeps its activities going. The involvement of Deng and Ling demonstrates how people are sucked into the security apparatus and it keeps its activities going. Here, Deshar is the subject and observer of the securitization of her own body, and the process creates human subjects as threats in a theatrical play of scientific objectivity. In this scene therefore, the mutual dynamics of power are revealed with the truth-making machinery of the state being both disciplining and expressive of its power. This is a discursive interlock and crossing over condition.

Tibetan society is portrayed by the Chinese administration as barbarous, severe, and cruel. “Numerous . . . military vehicles, military looking vehicles with tell-tale license plates covered up or removed. And also many troops there whose

uniforms were distinctly lacking in the usual insignia of either the police or the riot police. So my very, very strong suspicion is that the army is out there and is in control in Lhasa” (Miles 95). Thus, according to the narrative of the Chinese nation-state, any type of injury caused to the body, by any means, for attaining any unapproved outcome is termed to be violent. Though the Chinese constitution mentions that making use of the body for religious purposes is a protected activity, it is always limited to five sanctioned religious denominations. However, it is strictly noted that such activities should not “disrupt social order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state”. Above all it denotes that “Religious organisations and religious affairs are not subject to any foreign dominance” (“Constitution of the People’s Republic of China,” Art. 36). Though upholding religious autonomy, it remains subject to strict control, in order to ensure that it conforms to the state priorities and policy goals.

Chinese officials have branded the self-immolators as “terrorists,” “separatists,” “splittists,” and “criminals”(ICT, *Tibet* 20). The controlled representation of self-immolators by the Chinese state as security threats has been complemented by the increased policing of regions where such cases are witnessed. Such securitisation not only adds tensions to existing ones, but also adds to additional self-immolations. This is an act of desperation in the eyes of many Tibetans who are feeling threatened existentially and by the spectre of fear, especially in the history of the crackdown of Lhasa, where national survival is being threatened and no other option seems available. Thus, the nun Deshar has in a way shown a path of liberation. But Commander Deng is immersed in complete chaos as he knows that “A mob of Tibetan children burnt down an old woman’s tailoring shop, with her locked inside it. This much fire. This is what you have done” (2. 2. 48). Trapped in this ceaseless

pattern of systemic repression and despondency, Deshar's self-immolation functions as a manifestation of communal protest against cultural extinction, rather than an individual action of defiance.

Deshar finds herself in a highly helpless state as she could not resist the increasing violence around her. She was too lost in her own confusion. It makes her pain even worse as the officials insert water in her already burnt body worsening internal injuries and adding to her physical and psychological trauma. Without taking into consideration the vulnerable state of Deshar, she is forcibly made to sing in her feeble voice for the "Motherland", the land to be tamed according to the Chinese interest (2. 2. 48). She is made to spit on her own robe and clean it. By this Deng registers the contempt of the system, towards the Tibetan's belief and cultural value. She is forced to sign the document stating her daring action was as per the orders from the office of Lama in exile. He does not even admit that a purpose-less life and a life that is not a part of oneself can be a source of such intentional actions. Self-immolation should be interpreted as the form of protest that is staged, processual, but not spontaneous. Counter-securitization, in this case, is relevant to explain the causes, as well as the consequences of these deaths. The acts signify the continuation of the peace and freedom struggle of the Tibetans and not just ethnic assertion. These actions are all interwoven by concerns to do with the position of safety, control, and existential threat in the case of Tibet.

Tsering reminds that the revolt of 1959 was an uprising in its entire features. But the current one is unfolding itself with different features like "looting, rape, and arson" as pointed out by Constable Gaphel (2. 4. 68). Tsering argues that cultural supremacists who were revolutionizing have now to face the unintended effects of the revolution they are undertaking. He is still convinced that Tibet had lost its best

chance at achieving liberation when the CIA trained guerrilla resistance was withdrawn. The playwright unveils, through Gaphel, the fact that this stoppage was planned by the Americans themselves. Gaphel says, “The Americans are imperialists Monday to Friday. On Saturday they want to save the world and on Sunday they go to Church. ... You want ... true liberation... You will have American warships in our lakes. Only till they get everything they want” (2. 4. 70). Geopolitical disposability of Tibetan lives is seen when Gaphel acknowledges that the U.S. had devised the model of sacrificing the trained Tibetan warriors in Nepal highlands in case the Dalai Lama had refused to end their campaign against China. The commentary by Gaphel reveals the cynicism of the U.S. interventionism, the American aid being morally inclined but in the end serving to benefit themselves. His criticism cautions against foreigners who come in the name of liberation only to substitute one rule of domination with another one in the guise of altruism. The Tibet-China issue is demonstrated to gain the global attention of the international community due to geopolitical bargaining and not due to the interest in support of Tibetan self-determination. The play highlights the fact that the world, especially the U.S. seeks strategic interests and ends up exploiting and dumping Tibetans in their quest for autonomy.

In Act Two, Scene five as Jia sets out in search of her lost “daughter”, amid the remains of the severed hairs tied still within the ribbon, she retrieves her daughter’s “journal”, amid the dispersed remains of the human bodies, lifted with no apparent concern by an anonymous man totally unaffected, affirms that the moral laxity that Chinese implemented on the Tibetan population has ultimately backfired (72). The institutionalization of violence over time has taught Tibetans to suffer but when it finally bounces back on the Chinese authorities, it reveals the moral and existential contradiction that the intruders had never anticipated. The state, in its turn,

refreezes Tibetan resistance as being intrinsically violent, and conceals its involvement in creating the conditions it is scared of. The man, talking from the perspective of any common Tibetan, who is displaced in their own land, declares: “I know. I know. I am saying you. I need a face to accuse. I have to live” (2. 5. 77). Thus, self- immolation as termed violence by the Chinese has become the face of establishing the violated and denied needs of the Tibetans as a minority race. Two forms of communication with political implications are present here. One is the speech act in the final statements left by the self-immolators and two, the concept of “act of speech”, where the suffering body conveys the injustice experienced by a community to a wider audience (Fierke 57). There emerges a desire for the Tibetans to defy Chinese power. That is why it is possible to state that the movement of the Tibetans resistance is based chiefly on the ideas concerning identity conservation.

Inside the Prison, Commander Deng is informed of his daughter’s death (2. 6. 79). He restrains from crying or venting out his true emotions. This is where Tsering and Commander Deng stifle their paternalism to serve their ideological systems of loyalty. Their disavowal of affect emphasizes their disciplining of the individual by politics and religion, favouring rationalized duty over interiority of the human being as it uncovers the distance between institutional procedures and the inner psychological realities that form human action. This demonstrative subjugation in the pursuit of socio- political obligation concretes the foundation for more comprehensive criticism as positioned through Ling’s perspective, where the idea of fatherhood transcends the biological determinism to depict authoritarian rule exerted over territories. In the perspective of Ling, it is the executors of the protocols, deemed to be fathers of various territories that causes a major problem- “All of you fathers. The shape of the world” (2. 6. 84). The domination of the ideologies and interests over

others becomes the whole mission of these deemed fathers throughout the world. The subjective vision of Ling reveals Deshar's act of burning herself as a protest against the violence committed on an individual's existence, the declaiming of their identity, and the utter devastation of basic human needs. She reaffirms Deng that he is not even justifiable for any comfort because the eagerness for blood, according to Ling, cannot find satisfaction from any soothing words. Ling here clearly outlines the notion of motherhood and sex, as the most wanted masculine desires in the patriarchal society.

LING: You are pathetic Deng.

DENG: Comfort me. I don't have anyone else here.

LING: (*Laughs.*) The limits of complexity of the masculine mind. Sex or Motherhood. Basic. Basic simple shit. ...

LING: (*Laughs.*) There is a communist hell, where fathers rot and read Popular female fiction. (2. 6. 83)

This dialogue is a satirical reveal of gendered vulnerabilities of the Chinese security apparatus. The ridicule of Deng by Ling makes his emotional desperation a crude dichotomy of sex or motherhood, and how the ideology of patriarchy makes male vulnerability trivial and at the same time policing female agency. The last line she makes about a communist hell where fathers rot reading popular female fiction satirizes state dogma, in envisioning a punishment not based on political opposition but gender heresy, displaying the ridiculousness and frailty of authoritarian masculinity. It emphasizes the ways in which the patriarchies of authoritarianism legitimize violence as the means of protection and, in fact, extend their ideological puppetry to the future generations. Here, Deng is a perfect example of such distortion. Despite the death of his daughter, he is still stuck in the trap of prejudice and

masculine domination. It shows that ideology-driven fatherhood becomes inhumane and does not focus on human relationships but is absorbed in realizing ideology.

She assertively states that it would be the “beginning of the end”, if the next incarnation of the Dalai Lama would be a woman (2. 6. 85). Ling, the female officer in charge of the interrogation, disappointedly remarks, “... This world is fathers fighting fathers. And hoping some of you will reincarnate across the line. (*Pause.*)” (2. 6. 86). Completely devastated at her attempts to make the masculine world realise the dangerous outcome of the riot, she calls on for the long life of revolution. She realises that only revolution and the violent outcome would satisfy the never subduing ego of the male world. Self-immolation depicts aptly the area of concern of communication. The communicative frame here refers to the worrisome threats affecting the core values along with a call for action. While unity needs to be created, cultural practices have to be defended. This is self-explanatory presumably for the Tibetans. The act of speech is directed at the Chinese intruder, expressing “a message of resistance to foreign interference or occupation” in the direction of an effecting Other (Doe 120). Therefore, the Tibetan turn to self-immolations is a “change in the language of protest” (Shakya, *The Dragon* 123). Sacrificing the body as an offering to attain merit justifies enduring pain without implying violent acts. Anyhow, since these actions objective is to attain an acceptable political atmosphere, these political acts become non-violent, as the whole question pertains as to who gets ruled by whom. Though, in a manner, the harm happens to the body, these sufferings never go against the rules of non-violence that forms the base of Buddhist ethics.

Deng “shoots” Tsering and he dies in front of Deshar and Gaphel (2. 7. 94). In order to relieve his body (symbolizing his physical existence), of all the burdens, Deng now takes the interrogation chair and starts playing for Deshar. Deshar

questions; “If you could save your child from suffering with a lie that would take her life, would you lie, inspector Deng?” (2. 7. 96). The commander’s answer is marked with a red light and a beep sound, marking it to be wrong. Without an escape from his unworthiness being revealed, Deng shoots the nun Deshar with the truth being recorded. The scene blackout along with a gunshot, without any further delineation of the incident, symbolising the unquestioned authority of the truth being implemented via the activities of the system. This scene is a melodramatic treatment of the violent imposition of systemic truth in which moral decisions are automated and subjugated to algorithmic decision-making. The dilemma that Deng faces draws attention to the conflict between moral instinct and authority, as human compassion is trampled by strict regulations. The blackout and the gunshot symbolically underline the annihilation of the agency of an individual in the context of a totalizing system in which institutional truths are prioritized over individual morality.

The endorsed forms of Violence, both domestic and international, within Tibet's spiritual tradition have constituted Tibetan 's contemporary movement of resistance against the Chinese nation-state. These discourses enable pain to be perceived as "passionate engagement" by framing coercive violent acts as "moral action that articulates this -world-in-the-next"(Asad 121, 91). Anyhow, the acknowledgement of the compassionate and thus, the honourable offering of the body through self-immolation, further complicates the issue, providing an additional form of authorized suffering to examine the body in self-immolation. It takes its prototype beyond *Jataka* tales, to the bodhisattva of healing in the Lotus Sutra, another Buddhist scripture used in large to explain self-immolations. In this scripture, the central figure realises that sacrificing his body by self-immolation embodies the utmost act of devotion he could ever perform. Resembling the act of Tibetan self-immolators, the

central character here too "doused himself in fragrance and oil, drank scented oil, and wrapped himself in an oil-soaked cloth. He made a vow and then burned himself" (Benn 59). Emphasizing the personal spiritual progress, we again encounter a politically neutral type of legitimized violence in self-immolation directed towards the self.

It is necessary to delve into the socio-political and historical conditions prevailing in a land in order to understand why "particular discourses of security ...become possible" and why certain implementations prevail as a threat in certain regions (McDonald 126). The dialogue between Jia and the dead Liu takes the form of a speculative epilogue where the truth is achievable beyond the systemic and patriarchal restrictions. Within this intermediary space, the playwright implies that violence is only effective in the sphere of the living, whereas death allows the free flow of an exchange without the frameworks of power in the world. Jia seems dumbfounded at Liu's questions that why couldn't a person like His Holiness Dalai Lama who chooses to follow the most pristine path, could not save a little child like her. The young Liu accepts death without any disappointments, as it has let her freer. This highlights the way death is transformed into a zone of freedom, devoid of patriarchal systems and institutional violence that restrict an expression in life. The contrast between the acceptance of death by Liu and the existential confusion of Jia is a way of exposing the paradox of moral suffering in a world where even the representatives of the highest virtue, such as the Dalai Lama, are unable to avoid the loss of innocent people. The playwright thereby introduces death as not defeat but the sole venue of nonviolence and pure truth.

In the discourse of the claims made, suffering falls within the acceptable limits of Buddhist morality. However, to identify the appropriate type to assign any specific

occurrence of self-inflicted harm, we must be aware of, in what way the victim undergoes through their afflictions, "an act of forceful injury or a passionate engagement" (Asad 70). Regardless of whether an action constitutes a violation or not, relies on the driving force behind individual actions. All things being equal, we refrain from judging an action which causes unintentional harm, just like the manner in which we disengage ourselves from deliberate acts of Violence. In an interview Dalai Lama remarked "Basically, violence and non-violence ultimately depend on a kind of motivation and purpose. So it's difficult to sort of judge these individuals, their motivation. If the motivation is anger, hatred, like that, then negative. If the motivation [is] some different thing, more positive motivation, then [it is] more difficult to judge" (Lama and Buck 201). If these actions are preferred merely on the basis of resentment or outrage against China, these self-immolations would never have the possibility of carrying a positive intention. It is "plainly wrong"(Lama qtd. In "Interview with Ann Curry"). Anyhow, if these acts don't stem from resentment, and if they originate from more beneficial causes, they might represent constructive actions. In an interview hosted by Ann Curry, the Dalai Lama explained the terms of viewing these actions as favourable. "I am quite certain that those who sacrificed their lives with sincere motivation, for Buddhadharma and for the well-being of the people, from the Buddhist or religious viewpoints, is positive"(Lama qtd. In "Interview with Ann Curry"). Therefore, one can state that when the dharma-driven actions are based on real compassion, they would surpass the traditional ban on harm. These acts are not seen as violence but as morally productive actions undertaken in the interest of a greater human race, which produce beneficial karma instead of moral perversion. This kind of comprehension is essential in knowing the root cause of what Geshe Kalsang Dandul of the Institute for Buddhist Dialectics in Dharamshala states as "pure

motivation for the well-being of six million Tibetans"(Yee par. 8). These authoritative confirmations establish the acts of self-immolations in accordance with the Buddhist precepts. The authoritative stance like this upholds these acts taken out of compassion, with an ultimate beneficial outcome as lawful and therefore not violent.

The linguistic simplicity and the metaphoric richness of the play like butter lamp, the Beijing- Lasha Express, is made to capture the violence of systemic intrusion into Tibetan spiritual and nomadic life as well as the precarity of everyday life of people who are displaced in their own territories. Between non-violence of Buddhism and the oppression of the colonial government, Tibetans face an ethical and political dilemma, which, perhaps, is one of the reasons why self-immolation is a desperate but effective mode of protest. Thus, from history and socio-political perspective, one can ascertain the reason why self-immolation has been understood as a painful but appropriate form of protest in the context of Tibet. Although Tibetan sovereignty was suddenly lost, the community directed by the Dalai Lama is still fighting to maintain their cultural and national identity. The main goal on becoming ashes is not just to be a messenger but the doing of it becomes required and relevant to combat an impending menace.

The transition of the Dalai Lama to a democratic Central Tibetan Government rather than the theocratic system can be understood as an adaptive reaction to the modernity that allowed subsequent generations of Tibetan people to find their way in the exile with better educational and linguistic background. However, as a part of this modernization, there are great attempts to maintain the cultural and spiritual background of Tibet. The Tibetan counter-securitization through self-immolation places an emphasis on the issue of identity and survival. It is such practices of security that continue to be a problem, specifically because these practices are imposed

without being conscious of the difference in political and social realities in various parts of Tibet.

The experiences of self-immolator's who want the return of Dalai Lama and Tibetan freedom are both a cry of personal pain and a protest against cultural extinction. The reaction by China such as criminalization of Tibetan families, blocking of information, and promoting large-scale migration of Han people has only served to silence Tibetan voices in addition to resettling the demography of the region. State-led development discriminatively favours Han immigrants and leaves out Tibetan nomads and farmers, creating an exogenous colonialism in which Tibetans become an outcast in their own country. The systemic project of assimilation through the harmonious application of hard and soft power in Tibet draining language, religion, culture and historical memory is a systemic project that jeopardizes Tibetan identity to the very core. This plan goes beyond the human-rights infractions, and it coincides with the international concept of cultural and ethnic erasure. After all, the issue of Tibet is not simply about political independence but about the existence of the people and the culture of this nation and its stability in the environment of continuous oppression and imperialism.

Chapter Four

Pills, Profits and Power: Medical Imperialism and Disaster Capitalism Rampant in the Third World Nations as Depicted in the Play *The Laboratory*

The Mumbai based writer-director and playwright Shivani Tibrewala has developed the play *The Laboratory* in association with The Theatre of Royal Plymouth, U. K. for their Theatre Science Festival. The play premiered on 27 April 2008, at the National Bioethics Conference organized by the Indian Council of Medical Research at the PSG Institute of Medical Sciences, Coimbatore. The Play was then directed by the playwright herself. There are four major characters in the play- Joy Fernandes, a budding medical professional; Arjun, an investigative journalist; Dr. Austin Pereira, Joy's mentor and Senior medical professional; Ralph Fernandes, Joy's uncle and CEO of Lizer Inc. (A Pharmaceutical Corporate), excluding Mary and Joseph (both the parents of Joy Fernandes), who form the victims of corporate reaping. The plot of the play spans for a period of ten years and the narrative goes back and forth in time. The play has distant locations as its setting. It revolves around Joy's house, the hospital, Ralph's house, and the tsunami relief camp. The play narrates how the multinational corporation of Lizer Inc. utilises the tsunami relief camps as sites for dumping its expired and abandoned medicines as well as how the illiterate population of the nation is used for the trial run experiment of its newly invented drugs. This chapter looks into three major aspects as delineated in the play. One, how neo- colonialism and diplomatic mystification continues to exert imperialism over the developing world in disguise of advanced technology, economic growth and consumer oriented globalization through the ongoing exploitation of the pharmaceutical corporation of Lizer Inc. Two, how disaster capitalism is worth a toss

coin for the corporates to trademark themselves. Three, the increasing element of medical imperialism in the contemporary world.

The play depicts that the narrative of medicine well requires an addition of humanities into it, to more humanize the stream, as a cure, all for an increasingly mechanical medicine. According to the play, the humanities should enhance the medical story to make the healing process more caring and holistic. “Medical-humanities” programs promote the “use of” disciplines like “literature, philosophy, and ethics in medical training” as one way of assisting the practitioners develop empathy and critical self-reflection (Charon 3). “Narrative medicine”, where the “physicians are encouraged to listen to the personal history of patients”, has been found to enhance both the diagnostic accuracy and patient satisfaction (Charon 4-5). Moreover, the Western tradition of distinguishing between “theoria and praxis” along with the concomitant division between the subject and the object cannot be maintained in medicine (Merleau-Ponty 75). Modern practice shows that the amount of knowledge and practice are co-constitutive: “theoretical knowledge” informing the physician determines the “treatment” and the interaction of the physician and the patient continuously reformulate “theoretical knowledge” (Merleau-Ponty 82). Within the current context, the field of medicine is becoming more worried about the practical impacts it may produce and the process of pragmatically creating and deploying the impacts. Since medicine cannot exist outside of the context of social and cultural realities, the healing professions must not count only on technical knowledge or market forces. This implies that medical education and practice should be made more humane, with the humanities playing a significant role in restoring balance between mechanization and commercialization of the health care process that,

patient well-being rather than profitability and efficiency of medical procedures, should be a primary objective of the discipline.

This post human drama engages with the question- what happens when humans negotiate the technological landscape controlled by the corporate powers. All animate objects are reduced to laboratories to experiment with the new drugs manufactured or to a means of aiding to do so. The play highlights the horrendous impact of the machine world, the experiments of biomedical science on the human body, trepidation of surveillance technologies, corporate booming and controlling the healthcare sector, and critiques institutionalization and commercialization of the human body by neo- corporate powers to amass huge wealth. It brings into discussion the concepts of Medical Imperialism, neo- colonialism/ neo- imperialism, diplomatic mystification, and disaster capitalism.

Neo- colonialism/ Neo- Imperialism and the diplomatic mystification

Neo-colonialism may be described as the extended practice of socio-economic and political patterns that have been placed in the former colonies by the elites from the former colonial states for the purpose of enforcing capitalist, neo-liberal globalization and cultural hegemony. In a neo-colonial state, the former colonial masters make sure that the newly independent colonies remain trapped into a web of dependency with the mother country in the economic as well as in the political sphere. Neo-colonialism is defined as the new form of dominance of the developed countries over the other developing countries after the colonies gave way to independence. It mainly denotes the impacts and aggressions which are consistent and still evident from the colonial period in a social setting of any civilization. Neo-colonialism is an implicit form of imperialism whereby the developing economies are subjugated not by political means but by the use of technology, economic apparatus, consumer

culture and globalization. Though not so apparent, it still perpetuates colonial power structures as it economically and culturally subordinates these countries by imposing Western goods, practices, and values.

For developing nations still grappling with the economic and social legacies of European imperialism, the global spread of late capitalist technology poses significant risks even while it promises to improve health, alleviate poverty, and raise general standards of living. The playwright locates these risks as intensely intimate and thoroughly social through a well-written drama about the transnational flows in three distinct but related areas: advanced biomedical technology, disaster capitalism, and the power politics of Multinational corporations. These particular technologies are chosen to reveal some of the corporeal and cognitive dimensions of globalization and to ask questions about the ways in which it affects race and ethnicity as they are currently conceived and performed in increasingly transnational spaces. According to N. Catherine Hayles,

The posthuman view thinks of body as the original prosthesis we all learn to manipulate, so that extending or replacing the body with other prostheses becomes a continuation of a process that began before we were born... the posthuman view configures human being so that it can be seamlessly articulated with intelligent machines. (3)

For a long time, the First World and the corporates placed therein have spent a large amount of money in providing the developing nations with enough weaponry for strengthening their internal defence. But the current development of corporatizing the healthcare sector and the emergence of large pharmaceutical corporates, are inducing adverse effects on the third world nations. The militarization to medical corporatization is a case of continuity of the First World domination over developing

countries via various mechanisms of dependency. Commodification of healthcare is now serving to propagate what was previously done by force. This criticism of ideology is reflected in the beginning of the play when the definition of the concept of medicine becomes the area of ethical and political disagreement.

The play opens, with a stage completely bare except for a coffin lying open. A tense conversation is happening between Joy, a young budding-female medical professional and Arjun, a young man into investigative journalism, about what medicine itself is. For Arjun, medicine in itself is a cure. But Joy vehemently confronts him, stating that it's just the ability to cure. After pondering over a while, Arjun says: "The power to heal" (sc1. 11). Arjun is alarmed at his own usage of the word power, as any individual is aware of the infinite loop through which they perform their quotidian existence, which is progressively controlled by the indiscernible forms of power structures. In the very first dialogue between Joy and Arjun, the concept of medicine as a neutral cure and its evolution into power that determines life and death is dramatized especially in the Global South. The healing power is not only curative but gets implicated with the political and economic systems that subject the vulnerable communities to medical imperialism and corruption. As Foucault argues, "power and knowledge directly imply one another", and in such a situation, the science of medicine functions as a disciplinary power and subjects the third world to corporate and geopolitical powers (*Discipline* 27). The healing discourse, therefore, covers the process of control and makes people subjects of experimentation and exploitation.

Here, Arjun, representing the educated citizen concerned for the rest of the life and lifespan of the population, doubts the entry of multinational corporations as huge investors in the healthcare sector. His study reveals that the nation is in a state of

corporate colonization, where most of the MNCs encourage themselves to intrude, overpower and exercise considerable control over whole third world society and its governments that favour the power and might of the corporates rather than the native people and their health and human rights. The leverage to assure the compliance of the target is obtained through economic subjection, political pressure, or even outright force exerted by the corporate monopolies. As Navarro observes, “Medical imperialism represents not the spread of healing, but the extension of domination, where health becomes a tool of control rather than liberation” (35). The uneducated Indian is the most susceptible target in such an environment, as he is incapable of challenging or even understanding the medical regimes imposed on them by the corporations. Their health and even life are thereby made expendable in a system that puts profits above human dignity.

The heated conversation between Joy and Arjun ends upon the issues concerning the illegal mining of health data, especially from the Third World nations, in order to generate specific target groups to trial the dose of drugs for obtaining the patent by the MNCs and amassing huge wealth. Arjun tries to define medicine as a cure, but for Joy it's the ability to cure. Pointing at the Pharmaceutical corporates, Joy questions; “Who have the power to fight the system?” (sc1. 11). She soon comes to her own conclusion that, “who uses their power, when, that's control” (sc1.11). But Arjun corrects her stating “who controls what, that's power”, knowing that the corporates take hold of the discipline of medicine as the discipline in itself is based on the premise that one person can know what is good for another, a game of taking control of the same power to make another feel the worse, naturally (sc1. 11). The conversation between Joy and Arjun sheds light on how the harvesting of health

information, instead of a socially unbiased technological action, turns into an instrument of exploitation by pharmaceutical multinationals.

By stealing sensitive medical information of third world countries illegally, corporations are able to create custom designed populations that they can experiment on, in the name of scientific progress. Already weak economically and politically, such countries have no infrastructural defences against such incursions and their citizens serve as the expendable test subjects. Ethical considerations are thus swept aside by the corporate quest to patent and make money and the boundaries between healing and harm are collapsed. In this regard, medicine no longer represents care but a commodification system, in which human lives are converted into data points. As Couldry and Mejias argue, “data colonialism combines the predatory extractive practices of historical colonialism with the abstract quantification methods of computing”, a logic that helps explain why the Global South is targeted to become the object of exploitative experimentation (3). Health data mining, then, is a form of medical imperialism, in which the Global South becomes a test of corporate desire.

The question of the pharmaceutical corporates’ colonization of the nation by ensuring a complete say over the health of the population within the nation as well as in utilizing the third world human bodies for hidden experiments happening behind through the provisions of full body check-ups at a discounted rate and free sample supply through the lobby of physicians operating within the nation itself, is one of the most widely recognized phenomena associated with globalization, economic growth, and the management of corporations. The bigger and hegemonic MNCs holding larger stakes of economic capital and power developed better discourses on the influence of company operations in society, and resource assets. Due to their colossal influence and power, large multinational corporations can choose how the society perceives

their presence and why they deserve to remain dominant. They pose as being socially beneficial by framing the operations they engage in; this way they mask activities that are exploitative and portray themselves as being essential to development. As Edward Said notes, “power produces knowledge... and, by extension, the authority of those who are in a position to speak”, emphasising how corporations construct discourses that sustain their authority (*Orientalism* 12). These discourses enable them to justify resource extraction and domination of vulnerable groups of people.

For instance, while Joy ponders over the negative impact of drugs on the human body, Arjun is more cautious about the individual’s power to fight back the system. While Joy is immersed in the thought of “Does your body have the power to fight an infection? Does the antibody have the power to kill you?” Arjun is disturbed of thinking, “Do you... Does the system have the power to end you? (sc 1. 11). The play demonstrates globalization’s “insidious power to admit different cultures into the realm of capital only to break them down and remake them in accordance with the requirements of production and consumption, and even to reconstitute subjectivities across national boundaries to create producers and consumers more responsive to the operations of capital” (Dirlik 32). As mentioned by Frow, the body submitted for the dummy- run experiments is “no longer an organic unity”, but constructed out of a supplement, an alien part (49). This situation illustrates ways in which digital technology has enabled capital power to retreat into cyberspace where it roams nomadically, invisible yet always present. Here the playwright exposes that, the myth of a democratic utopian space often associated with virtual reality, far from dispensing with the crude materiality of the body and the flesh, also emphasises its complexity.

The seductions of the new digital technologies along with the interference of biomedical science and its experimentation over the common lot by the corporate powers, mask their potential to produce docile subjects in thrall to a novel kind of magic. The pharmaceutical corporates with their headquarters located in first world nations colonize the third world nations in an imperialistic manner, via the restructuring of the economic and social systems of the third world regions. These corporations involve themselves in extraction of natural resources as well as labour, which change the social, and economic aspects of indigenous people's lives as they are sought to be imposed by the institutions of third world nations, regulating trade and organization of society.

The pharmaceutical corporation of Lizer Inc. showcases through the media broadcasting that they are tying up with the Indian government in relief activities for the tsunami victims. It is shown that the humanitarian concern and the tale of generosity of the corporate are highlighted in all news bulletins rather than the impact of the tsunami disaster on human lives. The reach of the brand name of the corporate is easily done through this broadcast. In the postmodern period, corporate colonization is a harsh reality. Multinationals and corporations undertake cross-border economic invasions and dominate the market places while influencing political processes and shaping consumer choice. The corporations integrate all aspects of social life sacrificing local agencies, employees or inhabitants through legal loopholes like tax evasion, pollution, and cultural imperialism. Therefore, humanitarian assistance turns into less of a peace-making effort and more of a cost-benefit analysis to sell the plight of the victims as a marketing gimmick. As Naomi Klein observes, "philanthropy has become the new marketing, where corporations purchase a caring image to mask their relentless pursuit of profit" (*No Logo* 144). The visibility of the

pharmaceutical corporation and its brand grows under the pretence of good will and its underlying capitalist interests remain hidden.

Hearing the conversation on power politics medicine, Dr. Pereira, a senior medical professional as well as Joy's mentor, explains that the entire medical regimen is grounded deeply on the axiom that a discipline trained individual is proficient enough to assess the adequate remedy for an ordinary man. Though Dr. Pereira tries to explain the discipline of medicine to his student Joy satisfactorily, Arjun resonates that the same coin naturally has the power to make an individual feel vice-versa, the "worse" (sc1. 11). Medical practitioners in the globalized world, regardless of their ethical education, are easily lured by the offer of lucrative deals by pharmaceutical companies that give them prestige, funding and gain. As Marcia Angell cautions, "physicians can be easily swayed by the blandishments of the drug companies, to the detriment of their patients" (123), showing how corporate influence corrupts medical ethics. These incentives eventually make them unfaithful to patient care in favour of corporate interests, thus becoming involved in the process of subjecting human beings to untested drugs. Such collaboration of knowledge and finance diminishes medicine to a location of profiteering experimentation.

It presents an Indian perspective on the international trade in the human body as a way of addressing the theme of challenges facing humanity in the next century. In the text the playwright transforms the context and characters in ways that reflect the obtaining of power relations in another cultural milieu. The narrative's real world referents are firmly fixed in India, though the script may have been explicitly written to capture issues relevant to humanity as understood in global terms. This suggests the currency of the original Indian location as a ready index to the abject horrors of the illegal experimenting on third- world human bodies. There is an indirect control

exerted over the political and economic activities of the developing nation, as seen in the play. The attempts made to liberalize the economy, lead to the currency devaluation as the nation opened its door to the foreign capital.

Arjun points out that the accidents can never be forgiven stating it was “unintentional” (sc1. 11). The realm of medicine can never reject the homicides happening in the field, just as a mere accident. Because, however unintentional the accident may be, it leads to the end of an individual’s life. Dr. Pereira comes out with his perception that accidents can be forgiven in the case if the intention was pure, leaving the other side of the act unsaid. A medically-oriented practitioner whose motives are mainly profit aims the practice at turning a human life into an assessable risk, at which point an action is based on financial benefit rather than ethical duty. Human misery under this reasoning is subordinated to profit margins and the dignity of life is compromised. Arjun vehemently opposes his statement, showcasing that the whole malady affecting the entire discipline of medicine exist in that particular zone which most of the time we prefer to pretend does not exist, “It is a no-man’s land between good and evil, grace and selfishness, benevolence and callousness” (sc1. 11). In the gray zone where self-interest mixes with altruism, the medical profession is corrupted and malpractice remains uncontrolled. These practices undermine the faith people have in medicine and make patients commodities and not human beings who need care. The end result is the decline of the profession into a profit-oriented system that cares less about saving people and more about receiving payments. Covetousness, laxity, and uncertainty of ethical principles all erode the values of curing within this space. As Ivan Illich remarks, “The medical establishment has become a major threat to health”, underlining how institutionalized malpractice undermines the very purpose of medicine (11). This stream of confusion- whether such malpractices really happen

amongst the professionals in-charge of the fellow individual's health and well-being,
 - straightens the hidden path easier for the corporates to amass huge profits.

Corporates play on the latent temptation of prestige, money, and promotion to attract doctors into their web of profitability. They disguise self-interest as professional opportunity by providing high-paying material incentives like sponsored conferences, research grants, foreign travel, or costly gifts. This thinly veiled temptation over time, helps to align medical practice with corporate interests, where prescriptions and care are frequently determined by the profit margin rather than the wellbeing of the patient. As Marcia Angell observes, "Drug companies are involved in every detail of doctors' lives, from providing free samples to sponsoring their conferences, and in the process, they profoundly influence medical judgment" (102). By doing so, corporates commoditise the practice of medicine and reduce the doctors to consumerism agents instead of healing humanity.

There are three main ways in which power is wielded by the corporate here: hard power, structural power, and soft power. The pharmacy corporate of Lizer Inc. utilizes its soft power in the scene of tsunami disaster in India by strategically incorporating their economic policies with that of the relief operations carried forth by the government. It projects itself as a multinational corporate concerned for the global humanitarian causes and establishes their brand amongst the entire population of the nation. Thus, the corporate's capital enhancement and reduction of production loss happening throughout this relief process goes unnoticed completely. The Lizer Inc. utilises its structural power by using the educated professionals of the nations to ply in the best suitable portion of the population as target groups to experiment their newly invented drugs. Here the third world human body unknowingly and out of the pressures exerted from the verges of poverty, become the entities of the developing

nation from which the corporates of the developed nation benefit economically. The gradual dependence on the corporate definitely weakens the economy in a long run, making it depend again on the corporate for its military assistance, and paving a way for the corporate to exert its hard and soft power by delving to influence the policy formation of the nation.

According to Joy, when knowledge is combined with precision and discipline, it becomes extremely dangerous when it comes to such unethical intentions. When that happens, even the instruments of progress become tools of exploitation and destruction. Joy comments that, far more lethal are knowledge and industrious meticulousness, as they can bring about greater harm, when put to use. The play shifts on to an intricate mode of conversation between Dr. Pereira, Joy, and Arjun. Arjun, furious over the statement made by Dr. Pereira, proclaims that, “Greed is a hungry, demanding child- difficult to satisfy. Blessed are the Parents that can turn their face away when the child throws a tantrum, Asking for more, when it knows it has had enough” (sc1. 12). The reflections of Arjun emphasize greed as an insatiable being that increases in power the more it is fed. By comparing it with a child, he implies that discipline and restraint are the only solutions to curb the destructive outburst of the same. The people who are able to resist the temptations of excess protect not only their integrity but the ethical structure of society. In this way, the dialogue refers to self-control as the ultimate strength against the corrosive power of greed.

This kind of large corporation has a huge economic power, which enables it to set the pace with governments, suppliers as well as consumers. Through financial power, technological advantage and possessing the key control in markets, corporations are able to colonize these markets successfully and mould the regulations to their choice. As Vandana Shiva observes, “corporate control over life-saving

medicines reduces life itself to a tradable commodity” (*Biopiracy* 112). Today, pharmaceutical companies monopolise the drug market through patent consolidation, government lobbying, and outrageous prices, commoditizing healthcare by making it a regulated good. Their hegemony places corporate profit over the health of the people. There are various repercussions of this corporate colonization, ranging from economical rape, social injustice, environmental depletion, and cultural imperialism that affect the third world society’s life in the global village. In addition, it establishes new trends of questioning the democratic governance, human rights and sustainable development when power and influence is centralized among several large corporations forcing organizations to seek solutions on how to enhance the transparency, accountability and ethical standards within the business world. Goldacre observes, “drug companies routinely withhold data, exaggerate benefits, and downplay risks to secure their markets” (45). The pharmaceutical companies are today monopolizing the medicine market, by controlling the patents, lobbying the governments and charging very high prices, commercializing healthcare and making it a commodity. Their hegemony means that corporate profit is prioritised over the health of the people. This way, necessary medications would be beyond the affordability of many, further widening disparities in care.

Witnessing the conversation happening between the two, Joy symbolically climbs into the coffin, while a dirge plays in the background, assessing how exhausting this world is, a world which always tries to pretend. She comprehends that the entire world is working just to satisfy its own petty ambitions and convenient moral code; “with the... efficient alchemy of lies into truth, while [we] applaud, satisfied” (sc1. 12). Joy comprises that if the authorities and the professionals are still not ready to break their silence on a make-a- do- belief that not all is lost, then this

waiting to take no action will end only on the day when “no appeal to conscience will be possible because there will be none” (sc1. 12). By lobbying the exploitative economic terms, the corporations continue to maintain the Third World countries in their subservient position by forcing them to depend on imported technologies, patented medicines, consumer goods instead of local reliance, etc. As Samir Amin notes, “the capitalist centre maintains its dominance precisely by keeping the periphery in a state of permanent dependence” (*Imperialism* 104). There is also a moral mask behind this addiction with the profit-making motives being shrouded in humanitarian assistance or development. These policies have served to keep the First World in control of the economic and political directions of the Global South. This illustrates that the structural inequalities are not just incidental, but rather are deliberately reinforced.

The first nation pharma corporate, deliberately maintains the dependent status of the developing country’s population via multinational corporations, deprivation of the latter’s markets, and partnership. The Lizer Inc. exploits the entire Indian population. It uses Mary’s body for the dummy run of its new drug. The trials are executed by well-known physicians like Dr. Pereira, whom the illiterate and poor population blindly submit themselves to without any question and the government-run tsunami relief camp becomes the godown for dumping the company’s abandoned medicines. As pointed out, “Multinational corporations control not only the resources but also the decision-making processes in the developing world, leaving these nations politically independent but economically enslaved” (Nkrumah x). Thus, the corporate controls the entire production, distribution and sales market of their products in developing nation like India, with a meagre portion of their profit shared amongst the agents. As P. S. Rajan explains, “Poverty and lack of awareness in developing

countries provide multinational drug companies with a ready market to sell medicines at inflated prices while avoiding accountability” (58). In the Third World countries, pharmaceutical companies take advantage of the illiteracy and poverty of the populations by conducting clinical trials on vulnerable people, selling expensive patented medicine, and blocking access to inexpensive generics. These circumstances guarantee profit maximization and leave necessary healthcare beyond the reach of the poor population.

As Joel Lexchin notes, “pharmaceutical companies often treat developing countries as markets of convenience, where drugs not acceptable in the West can still be profitably sold” (44). Joy, out of her powerless situation to act efficiently, concludes: “So let us wait then. Let us wait for a day when we will need no courts, no churches/ temples/ lawyers/ priests/ police/ prisons” (sc1. 12). Ineffective through all her moves, Joy let lock herself in the coffin, not finding a proper end to the court case that she has filed to disclose the usage of her illiterate mother as a Guinea Pig for accessing the aftermath of a newly manufactured drug by one of the leading Pharmaceutical Corporate, Lizer Inc. As Julia Kristeva reminds us, “death imagery often functions as a semiotic revolt against the symbolic order, revealing both resistance and despair” (87). The coffin represents not only the loss of agency, her inability to alter an unfair order, but also the renunciation of a corrupted world that lives on false morality, structural silences, and exploitative power relations. Representatively, it characterizes how individuals creased by hegemonic structures may indicate stillness, silence or pulling out as their only method of dissent, a drastic denial to partake in the fraudulent enactment of justice and truth.

The World-systems divide the global economy into the core that consists of highly industrialized nations, the semi peripheral region comprised of moderately

developed countries and the peripheral region composed of less developed countries. These three categories of nations thus practice neo-colonialism in different ways, the advantage being given to the core that uses the resources and labour of the periphery as a source of profits. The corporate of Lizer Inc. is benefitted from the total exploitation of the third world human bodies, which in the long run may result in genetic aberrations. The first nation corporates' exploitation extends from the visible to the invisible kind; Neo-colonialism as a kind of new imperialism that cuts across the economic, social, cultural and political domains. The imperialist powers keep neo-colonial states in tow by providing the population, who may be trying to meet the ends, with free samples of medicines and providing the physicians with uncountable luxuries for administering the drugs manufactured by the corporate. As Sudip Chaudhuri observes, "India has strong laws on paper, but the absence of political will and the influence of multinational corporations often render them ineffective in protecting public health" (142). The absence of proper enforcement of laws in India helps First Nation pharmaceutical companies to take advantage of vulnerable people by conducting unethical trials, overpricing and dumping of unwanted drugs.

The pharmaceutical industry practises illustrate the way in which the neo-colonial power continues to re-brand itself, earning profits in the guise of humanitarian interest. Such manoeuvres mask exploitation in the name of goodwill and undermine local self-reliance and independence in health care. Within the pharmaceutical industry, this is through the provision of free samples of drugs to the poor people who are desperate in order to satisfy their minimum health requirement hence creating dependency on multinational companies. Meanwhile, doctors are being tempted with rewards and comforts to prescribe the drugs, which will guarantee the corporates a constant stream of consumers. The utter trauma and depression that she

feels out of the rejection while fighting for the real cause of her illiterate mother's death, forces her to end her life. The time lag often becomes a loop hole for the corporate powers to amass huge profits, while counting upon the health and life of more and more citizens. Joy is traumatised by the suffocation of structural rejection, and the silence of the institutions that are powerless to resurrect her mother. Her current state of despair could be interpreted as a sign that injustice can ruin hope in the long term. As Cathy Caruth notes, "trauma is not simply the suffering of the past but the endless repetition of its impossibility of knowing" (4). Delay in justice is a structural defect, failure to deliver justice on time is costing the common man, particularly the poor, it is taking them through a lengthy court system and in the process giving the corporate world a business opportunity to make a profit out of the delay. As Marc Galanter observes, "delay in courts functions as a form of inequality, where the haves come out ahead by using time as a resource against the have-nots" (29). This impasse in the court system leads to the situation where only the financially fortunate and those with an institutional presence can access justice as a luxury.

The official record of tsunami disaster is reaching its peak, continuously exceeding every day and by that "Saturday at least 25,007 people were killed and 4,837 were held unknown" according to the official reports, and still many are yet to be divulged (sc2. 13). The post- tsunami death rates on the East Indian Coast were on constant augmentation. The Indian Government is performing its best to help reduce the casualty. But all of a sudden, many Multinational Pharmaceutical corporates who were till then solely perturbed only about their private financial boom, have forthwith devised a plan for sharing the finances of the rescue schemes along with the government, without an instant's delay. The pharmaceutical Corporate of Lizer Inc. is far beyond its counterparts in taking the shared responsibility in the rescue process,

with its contribution of medicines and healthcare products reaching approximately a count of “\$60 million” (sc2. 13). The Lizer Inc. response can be viewed as being a classic disaster capitalistic experience as the corporations appear on the scene once the crisis hits not just to fix the situation, but to buy a token capital and establish itself in the market. The miracle kind contribution story narrates the history of the 100 years of the manipulative behaviour of the pharmaceutical companies and how their lust to make money was changed into the necessity to do good. Here the help offered by Lizer Inc. is not really a solidarity action but a capitalistic propaganda. As Naomi Klein argues, “in moments of collective trauma, corporate interests rush in to fill the void, using the language of rescue to advance agendas that would otherwise meet resistance” (*The Shock* 6). Therefore, philanthropy operates as public relations to consolidate corporate dominance.

The CEO Ralph Fernandes speaking about post-traumatic stress disorder states the initiative of the cooperate Lizer Inc. in bringing all the top psychiatrists in the south Asian region for the Singapore summit sponsored by the company, to bring an awareness among the general public about the flagrant effects of tsunami upon its victims. Medicalizing collective trauma, corporates devise a system where populations of sufferers have become reliant on imported medications, remedies, and technologies, masking the exploitative economic practices as humanitarian. Joseph Stiglitz calls “the paradox of globalization, where interventions framed as assistance often reinforce dependency and inequality” (57). In this way, PTSD summit serves as both a figurative point of entry to the corporations manifesting its social responsibility and a business approach to plant itself deeper into the weakened economy. As part of establishing themselves as international caregivers, multinational companies are putting money in a theme of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in post-tsunami

conferences and at the same time expanding their market in the mental health and pharmaceutical sector.

Meanwhile, the playwright takes pain to develop a 'critical localism' that situates the differential effects of globalization on specific (Sub) cultures within a dialectic of complicity and resistance, which illuminates the contradictory operations of transnational capital and technology at the local interface and suggests that globalisation inevitably produces its own discontents. It fosters the wielding of power with might without responsibility and the domination of people who fall under the ownership of power. The fast pace of decolonization was used as a plan to transfer the colonialism from open structure to subtle control to the people through political power in the global community, economical colonization, and cultural colonization. The poorer former colonies were indeed stymied by the political, economic and cultural realities bequeathed to them. Consequently, the responses of various states to these challenges were equally divergent concerning their resilience and efficiency. The underdeveloped ex-colonies were shackled by the system of established exploitation, weak institutions, unequal terms of trade and cultural submissiveness, left behind by colonial powers. This caused them to react differently with different states of the world reacting in a localised response to the shocks and the world capital and internal weakness reacting forces.

Neo-colonialism, to developing countries like India, is the exploitation or misuse that was characteristic of colonialism. This forms what can be described as a catch 22 scenario as the developing nation requires support and assistance from developed nations which in most cases comes with the strings attached. More attention should be paid to the process of corporate generosity and the utilization of bodies as mere labs to experiment. Ralph's statement becomes vague when Arjun

reads out the exact amount adjudged by the government to reinstate the victims, including the reimbursement proclaimed for the kith and kin of the dead as “23 million dollars” (sc2. 14). We have the juxtaposition between the corporate talk pervert who turns financial responsibility into a narrative of retail rather than generous redemption. It turns out to be a mere rhetorical gambit. By promoting aid as immediate charity, corporates achieve a skilful deception by ignoring the binding commitment of money imposed by the state.

Unable to apprehend the sudden up rise of Ralph Fernandes and his company Lizer Inc. in conducting the relief activities all over the Tsunami affected areas, and understanding that the capital and yearly profits of the company for the last ten years won't be satisfactory to rehabilitate more than 4, 23,000 people housed in 789 relief camps as per the latest reports on that Sunday, Arjun again restates his question to Ralph Fernandes, that how he as the representative of Lizer Inc. is going to give relief for 386 million Indians infected by Tsunami, “along the 2,260 Kilometres of India's mainland coastal area” (sc2. 14). But Ralph makes himself wade away from the question stating that looking on to the relief agencies, survivors and thousands of volunteers working tirelessly to assist those affected gives him more hope on his as well as other corporates. And the major fact here is that the world nations are a witness to this. Ralph avoids answering the question, making it less about responsibility and more about spectacle, applauding collective volunteerism as a cover-up of corporate irresponsibility. He makes the question of justice, by darkening the scene with thanksgiving, a piece of goodwill, to be observed by the world at large. Structural responsibility is re-configured in this recycled calculation as symbolic charity where the corporation is allowed to run the relief story. By doing so, Ralph helps to wrap the sense of goodness being negated by the evils of profit. Incapable, to

resonate much on the official calculations Ralph blackout the scene, by declaring that he has been grateful to lend a helping hand to the world community.

Although this power operates somewhat independent from the judicial and government apparatus, it nevertheless requires institutions and the State, since it works through them, “the State, the correctional institutions and Medical institutions (need to) be regarded as coagulations of practices” (Valverde 18). The realistic plot stresses the potential of global capital to strengthen the already profound divisions between the first and third world subjects. This depicts the firm political structures of neo-colonial systems that include the network of alliances and diplomatic subtle deception. Using economic dependence as a bait, economically frail developing countries are lured into partnerships with MNCs, most of which are in disguise of economic agreement. Globalisation, with its capitalistic demands, perpetuates and not destroys the hierarchies between the first and the Third World. The play reveals deductively that the world capital is not some meaningless machine of domination as such, but makes the nations unequal. The neo- colonial powers gain hegemony through economic dependency. On the periphery of cooperation is hidden the usurious dealings.

These alliances are used by corporate imperialists from the developed nations to pressure the third world nations to conform to the imperialism’s either ideological, political, or economic dictates, or a combination of both. This makes it possible for the developed nation corporate like Lizer Inc. in the play to undertake operations and protect their economic agendas like dumping their globally discarded and abandoned medicines in the tsunami relief camp in the name of concern over humanity and thereby protecting the company from huge production loss. This demonstrates the instrumentalization of humanitarian crises as the convenient disposal of surplus or

even unwanted goods, repackaged as charity. In this way, Lizer Inc. will be able not only to secure its profit margins, but also to acquire moral legitimacy and remain able to exploit the structural level. The alliance system serves as a disguise aiming at establishing an immediate market for the production of the corporations from developed countries for them to generate profits. This interaction means that to form cooperation with colonialist corporate led alliances, the developing nations are forced to allow the colonialists to fully exploit human and natural wealth of the third world nations. As David Harvey explains, “Accumulation by dispossession remains a central feature of global capitalism, whereby corporations penetrate weaker economies to appropriate resources and establish new markets under the guise of cooperation” (145). Alliances however raised under the guise of cooperation are actually designed to advance the corporate interests of the developed countries. Developing countries are manipulated to open up their markets and resources under the guise of partnership, usually at the expense of local independence.

The play brings out how the data mining of the health care system of the third world nations by the pharmacy corporates hosted by the first world nations lead to the breakdown of human bonds and relationships of the third world people, a population with an impoverished but healthy body. As Michel Foucault notes, “the medical gaze... reduces the patient to the passive object of knowledge, fragmenting human existence into data that serve institutional interests” (*The Birth* 89). This implies that commodification of healthcare data dehumanizes individuals by treating them as statistics, denying them the dignity of their lived experiences. It is a violation of the privacy of such personal health matters that undermines the traditional dynamics of care with dependence. This eventually transforms communities into commercialised markets, in which human interactions are relegated to the logic of capital. The urge of

the poor in the third world to get into a more materialistic world and to lead a sophisticated life, paves way to their exploitation at the hands of the corporates, and unintentionally gets trapped as target/ sample groups. The play also projects the need of the third world to escape their destiny because they are financially not well off.

Arjun reveals the sordid truth that the so-called medicines they deliver are outlawed and discarded medicines, showing just how corporates are exploitative. The fact that Joy refuses to read them underscores her disillusionment since she sees no value in her interaction with a system that is built on lies. The hard-core reality is that it's only accessible in India. Arjun starts quoting the medicines typically used by the common man to cure their illness, without knowing its side effects:

Arjun : Analgin, painkiller. May cause Bone Marrow Depression.

Furazolidone. Antidiarrhoeal... Known to cause cancer. Nimesulide.

Painkiller... liver failure. Nitrofurazone. Antibacterial cream... effect?

Cancer. Phenolphthalein Laxative... cause cancer. Phenylpropanolamine...

Joy : That Fix Action 500... That's just cold medicine!

Arjun : And it just could cause stroke. (sc15. 36)

Rather than promoting health, these medicines increase medical emergencies, overstretch fragile medical and health care systems and empty the pockets of the populace who now have to deal with side effects that could have been prevented. Such medicines are known to cause long term illnesses to patients, making them less productive and further generating poverty cycles. The entry of unsafe medicines also discredits the local medical authorities, undermining the national medical care institutions. Meanwhile, the reliance on multinational corporations continues to expand as nations are now compelled to import new medications to counteract the harm that previous ones have done. "By exporting drugs rejected at home,

multinational corporations externalize risks onto the poorest populations, while simultaneously locking their economies into cycles of medical dependency” (Boseley 112). This commoditizes human suffering and the economy becomes all looped up with corporate profit as the primary beneficiary of the common good.

The instability is caused by the corporate’s involvement in the third world economy, making it subservient and the people from this region lose their identity to the corporate standards. It is necessary to have a moderate, liberal use of neo-colonialism: India should accept goods and ideas from the corporate to some extent but, without replicating the corporate in its social structure. Although interaction with multinational corporations can bring with it technological advantages or resources, uncontrolled practices can lead to the loss of indigenous value and sovereignty. Moderation would ensure that the corporate power does not turn the social landscape of the country to become the image of neo-colonial forms of power. Arjun, through his investigation, points out at the reality that the thirty percent of drugs that are being distributed in the tsunami relief camps and the pervading narrative of corporate “generosity” are the labelled drugs returned from the first world nations (sc15. 38). The case of Arjun brings to light how corporate philanthropy is often more of a sham where drugs discarded or returned to the First World nations are repackaged as a donation. This reproduces what Paul Farmer labels as “Structural Violence”, whereby Systemic inequalities subject marginalized groups to avoidable abuse in the name of care (40). It results in dependency, which explains the promotion of capitalism by humanitarian discourses. Thus, the XYZ Country, which hosts the pharmaceutical corporate could unfold their tale of generosity that “it made a 200 million- dollar donation to medicine” (sc15. 37). Most of the time the free samples procured by the physicians from the Pharma Corporates are unused drugs returned to corporates for

safe discarding. Since most of the first world nations have standard control directives, which is menial in India, the Pharma Corporates are in a race to dump out these inefficient drugs on the tsunami survivors in India, in order to display the strong possibility available to them in projecting their social concern.

Dealing with the problem of corporate colonization appears possible only through means of a synergistic approach which includes legal changes, the improvement of the mechanisms of corporate governance, and the strengthening of community entities concerned to protect their rights. To reduce the amount of exploitation acts, the corporate colonization issue will have to be viewed collectively. The empowerment of local communities to fight the disease by educating, advocating and organizing will help guarantee that the affected groups are not victims but rather agents of change. Only with this kind of synergy, systemic inequities could be overturned and a more equal balance between corporations and human rights achieved. Thus, recognition of social justice within the process of economic globalization is a crucial necessity in order to guarantee that the objectives of economic growth are reached for the benefits of all parties and to protect their rights and interests. The phenomenon of corporate colonization should comprehend the terms of these power relations that continue to preserve structural asymmetries between MNC's and other social actors.

In return for an immediate and substantial rise in the living standards, the common man of the Third- World make a Faustian pact with the Multinational Corporates. Such Faustian trade-off is one sign of how short-term material gain, such as access to consumer goods or healthcare, is compromised in the interest of long-term self-sufficiency and sustainable development. Here unknowingly, Joy's mother Mary had to lay down her entire body as a laboratory for the First world MNC to

conduct their dummy- run of a newly manufactured drug, in return for accumulating Joy's tuition fees. Thus, we find the third- world bodies becoming subject to the whims of their intended recipients. The insertion of Third World bodies into the will of the corporate recipients exemplifies how bodies are not regarded as beings with rights but as experimental sites, or markets, shaped to accommodate the requirements of transnational profit. This declining of human actuality to economic efficacy demonstrates what Achille Mbembe positions as "necropolitics," where power regulates who may live and who may not in check of capital (12). The administrations of the neo-colonial states while presenting their foreign policies to the citizens, portray them as benevolent. But beneath the veil of humanitarian assistance one can glimpse the actual policy in constant pursuit of more specific economic and political aims. These policies are, however, associated with unprecedented levels of corruption. The economic strategies of neo-colonialism seem to be the most obvious of all those used in this respect. The economic strategies adopted by the first nation pharmaceutical corporation of Lizer Inc., maintain the continuation of exploitation of human and natural resources in the newly liberated and developing country like India. This exploitation and violence are often masked in discourses of the progressive endeavours of the civilized society. As Susan Strange notes, "structural power is the power to shape and determine the structures of the global political economy within which other states, institutions, and actors have to operate" (25). Their lobbying, philanthropy and collaboration with governments that enabled them to be seen as a major source of economic development and their covert role in policy-making that has resulted in their positive outcomes. This is the growing influence of multinational corporations (MNCs) in Third World countries through soft power, which infiltrates the public discourse, the political elite, and the developmental agenda. This process

often results in the creation of an administrative system where corporate profit is prioritized, which weakens the autonomy of a country in making decisions. This way, corporate soft power becomes a tool of neo-colonial control, national sovereignty and an international capital mask. MNCs justify their hegemony by mobilizing cultural power and images of modernization or globalization, covering their exploitative activities.

Corporate-supported projects are packaged as humanitarian programs in order to extract human and natural resources at their own profit. Corporations use hard power by leveraging on economies, investment terms and conditions and sway on key infrastructures forcing the states to put corporate interests above the interests of the population. Meanwhile, soft power politics such as affecting the discourse, funding development, establishing networks of elites, etc. legitimize their presence and conceal exploitative motives. Such dual presence allows multinational corporations to capture resources, control labour and policy making in the guise of goodwill, and hence convert ecological and human capital into unabated financial profits. This creates a circular dependency, since the corporation dictates the continued extraction of human and natural resources and can convert simple health demands into profit flows, rather than building up local skills. But ultimately, it is the rhetoric of civilization and development, a legitimizing discourse that hides structural violence and fortifies neo-colonial hierarchies behind the banner of progress. The Lizer Inc. economy action plans demonstrate how multinational companies integrate themselves in developing economies in the name of modernization and development. The marketing stories present this exploitation as an act of kindness, India as a recipient of a higher level of care and the subject of economic manipulation is hidden.

It is a more dangerous phase of imperialism, which is now much more subtle. The exploitation of the less-developed regions is therefore achieved through neo-colonialism and constant use of foreign capital. This much less visible stage of imperialism involves economic dependence instead of political domination, and exploitation is thus no less apparent. Such overseas investment is tactfully used to manipulate the policy, determine market priorities and drain the resources in the name of investment and development. This means that neo-colonial processes fix inequality so that the decision making process and wealth remain in the hands of the developed countries as the less-developed regions continue to be subordinated. Despite the concept of investing under neo-colonial structures, they worsen the already existing difference between the developed and the underdeveloped nations. As Ha-Joon Chang argues, “developing countries need to assert control over the conditions under which foreign capital enters, so that it serves domestic development rather than entrenching dependency” (52). The fight against neo-colonialism of Lizer Inc. put forth by the investigative journalist Arjun in the play, is not the desire to completely eliminate the capital of the developed countries to work in the underdeveloped nations. Instead, it strives to put an end to the ability of developed countries to use their financial muscles in a way that will make less developed nations suffer.

Arjun expounds Joy that the antidepressants that she takes become efficacious in its operation for the reason that the subjects taking the specific medication simply don't exist enough to feel dejected, as it is obviously revealed to accumulate the chances of self-immolation. Joy stands still, unable to believe the widespread corporate mafia in the discipline of medicine, as Arjun substantiates that the same medicines have been annulled from the U. S. market as “the FDA has fucked them” (sc15. 37). Pretending not to notice any of the conversation between Joy and Arjun,

Dr. Pereira enters and Joy, completely immersed in the ideals of the profession, asks him for an explanation over the veracity of these facts. Dr. Pereira justifies himself stating that if the pharmacy companies from the first world nations are distributing these medicines out of cost as an act of dumping in the medications banned in the host countries, then it is an ungenerous act. However, to create confidence over him, he states that any medication including the free samples to be distributed here in India should first be ratified by him, as he too is part of the Advisory Board of Drugs Controller General. As Vandana Shiva observes, “technocrats and professionals in developing countries often act as agents of global corporate power, translating the logic of profit into local governance and policy” (*Staying Alive* 104). In this case, first world corporates (through incentives, status and institutional authority) co-opt literate professionals and officials in Third World nations like Dr. Pereira. They are in a position to facilitate the corporation’s agenda by accepting privileges and coming into agreement with corporate interests, and in the process not only legitimize the exploitative practices but also carry them out, at the expense of local welfare. Their collaboration depicts the fact that education and knowledge are being manipulated to serve their own interests and profit rather than the good of the people.

Arjun promises to reveal his involvement to the court and other superior authorities such as DCGI and IMA in order to stop his manipulation strategies. However, Pereira warns him against this act and points out the dangers and uncertainties involved with confronting established power and sovereignty. Thus, neo-colonialism poses a major threat to world peace, having one fatal drawback: the state under its impact cannot have full control over its own development. Arjun is a representation of ethical responsibility who aims to fight the problem of corruption in the system by exposing Dr. Pereira. But the caution issued by Pereira shows the extent

to which this kind of corruption is rooted in both business and political systems, with justice becoming a question of uncertainty. Finally, the struggle shows how dangerous it is to be a whistle blower in the Third World, where sovereignty can be easily undermined by neo-colonial business power.

Dr. Pereira manipulates Joy using academic opportunities laid out by Lizer Inc. and baits with rewards to keep her quiet and his reputation intact. However, Arjun ruins such a plan by stating that people in the Third World cannot be sold as commodities to companies. It has been identified that the developed countries have created a number of covert institutions for the exploitation of human and the natural resources of developing nations like India in the disguise of various legal frameworks that are normally portrayed as beneficial more to the people and companies of the developing countries. The actions of these agencies often tend to accentuate the process of underdevelopment and continue the impoverishment of developing countries such as India. Scholarships and grants which encourage people to leave their countries of origin can also be seen as part of this exploitation. The establishment of clandestine institutions and legal systems by developed countries succeeds as a kind of covert power, which allows pharmaceutical companies to penetrate developing societies in the name of charity. The less literate and marginalized people of third world countries are the worst hit in this kind of landscape as the poor institutions of the country are not able to protect their rights. These corporations are robbing their countries of the best and brightest through scholarships, grants and professional prospects, thereby watering down local resistance and intellectual resources. This brain drain creates a dependency on foreign talent and simultaneously, it creates a fascination with the capability of corporations, thus it is considered as modernization.

So, soft power lives as a pre-emptive step, and the existence of corporations is natural, where exploitation is exhibited as development and not domination.

Dr. Pereira, emerging cautious and conceited, forces Joy to calm down Arjun, intimidating dreadful consequences. Arjun betrays his secret by informing him that the mother of Joy (as with many others) had also died in a drug trial, in which an alleged life-saving drug had actually led to fatal heart attacks. Unfortunately, the newly introduced medicine which was advised for decreasing the possibility of heart disease amongst menopausal women, led to clotting and ended up in myocardial infarction in women who were on the trial of the drug. As Petryna notes, “the globalization of clinical trials often shifts risk onto vulnerable populations with limited protections” (35). By disguising the loss of forty three lives as an acceptable trial mortality rate, the medical centre turned human tragedy into justification through statistics. The weak regulatory systems and the extent of poverty in Third World populations will often result in the populations being experimental subjects in pharmaceutical trials as it seems to offer them an economic opportunity. There is no sufficient legal protection to help reduce the normalization of death among corporations under acceptable statistical margins of human lives to a percentage. The problem is also exacerbated by illiteracy since participants might not adequately understand risks of such experiments. Finally, these relations are revealing how systematic inequalities make marginalized bodies disposable in the quest of global Pharma-capital. Therefore, pharmaceutical corporations take advantage of the systemic vulnerabilities of the Third World, objectifying its citizens and making them the ad hoc victims in their experiments aimed at gaining profit.

Dr. Pereira claims that patients had been told about side effects, but Arjun tells him that some crucial information, including the fact that test animals died, was

concealed. The key risks were omitted in the consent forms and fake dummy results produced a perception of safety. As Sunder Rajan observes, “the globalization of clinical trials frequently involves the suppression of risk information, transferring both medical and ethical costs onto already vulnerable populations” (98).

Consequently, corporate interests made colossal profits as patients were not informed of the threats. Thus, the interrogation and revealing of such silences is crucial in protecting individual rights and physical sovereignty. Exploitation is not questioned, and human life turns into a commodity of corporate capital. This secrecy is what allowed the drug to proceed through clinical trials and obtain patents in an irresponsible way.

A senior medical practitioner like Dr. Pereira, unable to comprehend the negative impact of these experiments, again puts in to justify that without any research, “there would be no medicine” (sc15. 40). In most developing countries, physicians are easily lured by the luxuries presented by pharmaceutical companies since the lack of adequate funding in the health system generates material vulnerabilities which are exploited by corporates. As Lakoff notes, “corporate-sponsored medicine blurs the line between scientific objectivity and market incentives, recruiting physicians into circuits of capital accumulation” (212).

Professional development in the form of foreign scholarships, sponsored conferences, and financial rewards is presented as an incentive, disguising their exploitative nature. The practice of normalizing gifts and physicians becoming corporate members rather than health guardians complicit with this culture. Unable to justify these actions, Arjun questions Dr. Pereira, on the conscience of a doctor like him to set up a relief operation as his research lab. Here. Arjun thoroughly points out that, “Testing on people who have no choice- is not research- it is exploitative, illegal, unethical, and

goes against the very essence of medicine” (sc15. 40). Structural violence is best exemplified by the exploitation of vulnerable populations during drug trials whereby the body serves as the locus through which inequalities of power and capital are inscribed. As Foucault asserts, “biopower exerts a positive influence on life... yet it subjugates the body and controls the population” (*The History of Sexuality* 140). By turning human beings into human guinea pigs, corporates overrule human autonomy and undermine the ethics of medicine. These practices are what one scholar refers to as bio- political control, in which life itself is being manipulated in order to be used as a means to gain economic advantage. This is not any overt physical violence as such but a systemic violence that elects to expand the marginalization of groups who cannot even fight back. The play prefigures that corporate realities mediate a global traffic in bodies, at once material, symbolic, and highly intrusive of human life, made possible by modern technology.

Dr. Pereira declares that there is a limit to what the medicine can do and informs Joy, Arjun and her father Joseph that her mother Mary had succumbed to a fatal heart attack- “Myocardial Infraction” (sc. 3. 15), which would have been infuriated by the painkiller she had been taking. The scene blackout with Joseph’s wailing declaration that he couldn’t ever support Mary. As Petryna explains, such practices demonstrate how “global clinical trials create hierarchies of risk, in which the poor are disproportionately exposed to the hazards of experimentation” (78). Turning them into a kind of “invisible laboratory” to experiment with experimental drugs is demonstrated by the character of Mary in the play because her state of poverty gives her little influence to protest against participating in drug experiments, where her body is used as a proxy location where such experiment would be highly regulated or even banned in the developed world. This is a commodification of

vulnerability in which human misery is tactfully used to help reduce corporate expenses and speed up the product approval process. Violence here is twofold: material, the physical dangers and deaths experienced; and symbolic, the loss of subject's autonomy and dignity.

The entire scene moves backwards into Ralph's house, where he is found to have a serious discussion with Mary. Mary resorts to soliciting the assistance of Ralph only to find herself in the clutches of corporate slavery. Ralph uses her vulnerability to force her into taking part in drug-testing at Lizer Inc. The example of Mary shows how pharmaceutical companies take advantage of the economic necessity of the disenfranchised in society to take advantage of medical exploitation through the sacrifice of parents. Her female desire to get Joy an education is appropriated and forces her to become a guinea pig in the name of opportunity. This is the structural violence of global capitalism in which the poor and the desire are controlled so as to make biomedical profit on the cost of human dignity. Thus, she is forced to bow to her newly designed fate.

The corporate power structure as well as the Third world ordinary man- both operate on the assumption of the superiority of the colonizer's culture, language, conventions, and the assertion of the need for the colonized to be raised up through colonial contact. This is the basic rule of inclusion and exclusion. Frantz Fanon, in his seminal study on *Black Skin, White Masks*, defines colonized people as not simply those whose labor has been appropriated but those "in whose souls an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality" (18). Though we have moved out of the former mode of colonial domination, neo-colonialism advances a modified and horrible form of colonization, based on economic factors. The omnipresent corporate's presence gives an overdose of the

grim reality that disrupts the said to be well-shielded authority to maintain law and rules in the country and seems to have triumphed over the sense of humanity. It provides social power for the perpetrators but with no responsibility. As Carroll notes, “the social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time” (43). The imperative which has led to the integration of social responsibility among corporates is that unregulated corporate power not only destroys governance, but also the very fabric of social trust and justice. When profit comes first and questions later, the least privileged groups find themselves at the mercy of exploitation with very little redress available. It means social vulnerability for victims with no redress. It will eventually contribute to the breakdown of the existing structure of the society.

In scene 11, Joy, standing outside the hospital ICU, is talking to Ralph who is in his house in the USA. She informs him that the sudden stoppage of the medicine “Tetraclid”, manufactured by his own company, has led to an adverse effect on her mother Mary (sc. 11. 26). Ralph completely negates Joy’s agonised plea, by informing her the legal prohibition in providing a drug still under its test- phase, awaiting the clearance certificate of FDA. He points out that, thus, it won’t be possible to make it available in the market though whatever the situation may be. At the same time, Joy’s interrogation of how such a drug could be tested on her mother’s body if it is illegal and against the company policy, goes unanswered. Ralph makes it clear for Joy that nobody compelled Joy to get into the uniform of a paid volunteer. It was her own decision as she was in a tight position to pay Joy’s bills. Joy hangs the phone knowing that her illiterate mother was willingly made a “Guinea Pig” by the Incorporate (sc. 11. 27). This scene illustrates how pharmaceutical corporates systematically devalue the bodies of volunteers, treating them as disposable

instruments rather than autonomous human beings. By emphasizing formal consent and company policy, they shift responsibility onto the participants, absolving themselves of accountability for harm caused by their drugs. The grief and appeals of relatives, like Joy, are dismissed, demonstrating a structural prioritization of profit over ethical obligation. As Petryna notes, “the globalization of clinical trials often shifts both medical and ethical risks onto populations with limited protections, rendering human life a site of economic calculation” (67). Such practices transform volunteers into objects of experimentation whose suffering is commoditized and erased from corporate calculations. Ultimately, this reflects a broader pattern of exploitation in which the humanity of marginalized populations is subordinated to the imperatives of capital.

This de-territorialised power, exercised at a distance yet all-inclusive in its effects, precipitates the breakdown of the family as a social unit. Not only the influence of the corporate, but the family members too compromise the essence of relations. Each relation compromises their humanity too and betrays their kin in their hollow quests for affluence or they stay in their docile state. Out of poverty or desire, members engage in the economics of selling each other; trust is destroyed and care is lost. As a result, social structure becomes imbalanced and relation ties are deprived of their significance in favour of material wealth and social conformity. “Economic pressures and structural inequalities often infiltrate family relations, turning kinship ties into sites of negotiation, compromise, and sometimes betrayal” (Giddens 75). Sentimentality and other human weaknesses have no place in corporate culture which depends for its survival on a purely capitalistic and technocratic system, autonomous of human desires and family relations. As Boltanski and Chiapello observe, “the new spirit of capitalism thrives on flexibility, detachment, and the suppression of human

sentiment in favour of market imperatives” (34). The scientific/technological evolution of the first world is a process that increasingly appears to be subject less, an impersonal, indifferent evolution that renders the individual highly irrelevant.

In the powerful ideological juxtaposition between technological civilization and human values and morals, the boundaries between human and technology, reason and feeling, artifice and nature are dissolved. Technology and the human are not so dichotomous any more, especially both under the control of corporate power structures. In this kind of situation, human agency becomes more limited, since technology tools are not directed towards moral or social values, but towards corporate interests. As Feenberg observes, “technology is never neutral; it embodies social values and power relations, shaping both human behaviour and social structures” (22). As the play progresses, it becomes increasingly difficult to separate the humans from the technological intervention of the corporates. It is a game of illusions and deception. The dividing line between the physical and the electronic realities is blurred as the corporates prove to make the third world illiterate slot a proper position for them to weave in their network of laboratories.

Implicit in this are questions concerning the self and origin, questions that put into crisis both stable identity and our symbolic system of signification. Immortality as the long-sought dream of the Western man is in the process of getting achieved through the corporate use of technology and biomedical science, but at the expense of a specific segment of the world population. As Sunder Rajan observes, “the pursuit of biotechnological immortality in wealthy nations often relies upon the extraction of risk, labour, and data from marginalized populations” (112). Technological and biomedical developments driven by corporations challenge conventional ideas of identity, ethics and social meaning, pitting the values of the human against the

scientific. Whereas the ideals being sought by Western societies like immortality are being achieved at the expense of marginalized populations in the Global South. The play illustrates the exploitation of Mary and Joy as global south people who carry the moral and bodily burdens of corporate biomedical experimentation. Their plight is a concrete example of the larger trend where advancements in technology and pharmaceuticals favour privileged groups at the expense of vulnerable communities leading to their status as disposable and at risk.

The female body is turned into a key-issue and is presented as what M. L. Pratt has called the “contact zone where disparate cultures meet, clash, grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination” (137). The status of woman as a sign constantly subordinated to male- dictated contexts is explicitly demonstrated here. The generous act of Ralph Fernandes providing financial support to Mary for becoming a volunteer in their new project, makes Mary’s body under the complete dictatorship of the corporate Lizer Inc. The intensively bound corporate mechanism enforces and ensures that she takes continuous assessment of her own body for the recurring ailments. The assistance to her health and body was provided by Dr. Pereira, who was again, an agent of the corporate. This neo- colonialism of Lizer Inc. has turned into a heavy burden for the affected population as it consumes a massive amount of resources while at the same time inflicting long-term damage to the dominated regions. The neo-colonial regulation of bodies, illustrated by Mary’s relentless monitoring as well as reliance on Dr. Pereira, exhibits how Third World inhabitants are subjugated by the pharma corporate and state benefits under the pretence of healthcare. This constant surveillance and treatment are redirecting local funds to corporate-led projects at the expense of indigenous development and social well-being. As Foucault explains,

“biopower exerts a positive influence on life... yet it subjugates the body and controls the population” (*The History of Sexuality* 140), making human life a site of governance and exploitation. In addition to this, the health effects of testing treatments on humans over the long-term retard productivity, entrench poverty, and cause dependency, thus impeding social and economic development in the impacted areas.

In the scene, Arjun and Joy are trying hard to scan an announcement on the courtroom noticeboard. Both are annoyed in understanding that the hearing of the case is “postponed till November 20”, as the defence has pointed out another emergency (sc. 8. 21). Joy, misjudging the chances of winning the case, as they have been preparing for the case for more than three years, questions Arjun regarding the position taken by the defence in the case. His experience as an investigative journalist working on the racketing and corporate mafia in the field of medicine, reveals that no individual in the present society can ever be adequately equipped to fight the power politics of any Multinational Corporates. “The deferment of formal accountability mechanisms allows corporations to expand their experimental and commercial activities without immediate consequences” (Lakoff 214). The delay of the trial in the play shows how delays in the judicial system in adjudicating cases are a way to amplify injustices committed by corporations to the disadvantaged groups. Very long court cases mean that pharmaceutical companies can keep the use of the human body with little to no responsibility and that this abuse is normalized in the name of procedural legality. The purpose of such delays is like structural loopholes, reinforcing the unequal distribution of power between companies and the underprivileged groups.

Joy, out of anger confronts Arjun that he has been speaking like a hard-core lawyer, winding and infolding all the visible and heard facts into what one wants to say. All bothered about making a winning argument turns away their face towards truth, which is always an unwanted kid. As Frynas observes, “Transnational corporations exercise a form of soft and hard power that reshapes political institutions, often subordinating citizen welfare to global corporate interests” (56). Multinationals (MNCs) exercise political power through their economic influence to affect legislation, regulation systems, and policy making in both developed and developing countries. They tend to lobby governments, finance political campaigns or form alliances between the state and the corporate sector that put corporate interest above human rights. Such a concentration of power enables MNCs to escape any form of accountability, preserves a desirable market environment and entitled to practice certain exploitative actions. In turn, marginalized groups suffer most of the effects of these policies, since they have fewer healthcare access points, less rights, and are more vulnerable to the harms caused by corporations. The conversation on court trial between Joy and Arjun showcases how marginalized people within the system struggle to seek justice. As Donnelly asserts, “human rights exist to protect individuals from the abuses of both state and non-state actors, yet their efficacy depends upon enforcement and accessibility” (49). Legal loopholes and delays in the processes along with manipulative strategies make their plight futile. As observed by Arjun, individual and family pressures, coupled with the socio-economic fragility, can roll years of dedicated advocacy back. As a result, justice as a concept begins to be a dangerous undertaking, as the power of influential organizations overshadows individual actors. This is a problem of further removal of rights of vulnerable groups in general, where law and ethical safeguards were not adequately implemented.

In the hospital, as Joy passes Dr. Pereira in the corridor, she is offered a “*mithai (Peda)*” in credit of the brand new fully equipped department, with the latest technology flown from Japan that they are going to have (sc. 9. 23). The play shows how drug companies bribe doctors and medical practitioners as a tool to maximize profits and take advantage of their status to authorize drug trials and mass-marketing of experimental drugs. She just blacked out the scene, by taking in a desire to study abroad and with a promise from her professor in getting a scholarship for the same. Anyhow, Joy as a human being, finds her life purposeless as she is unable to penalise the corporate for the injustice committed to her mother. As Sunder Rajan notes, “physicians often become agents of bio- capital, mediating between corporate interests and patient bodies, thereby facilitating profit-driven medical practices” (102). By putting medical workers in the middle, corporations may conceal the concept of ethical responsibility and present medical practice as business ventures.

In the play, Joy is disillusioned, an illustration of the ethical crisis experienced by medical students as corporate concerns take centre-stage in healthcare. After seeing how her mother and other people are being used as guinea pigs, she wonders just what was the point in becoming a doctor and finds out that medical practice has been reduced to a profit-making business. The ideology that “medicine is about health” becomes a say word (sc. 13. 29). This tension is one of the big questions about the moral aspect of the medical practitioners whose professional lives are hijacked to promote the interest of the multinational pharmaceutical industries at the expense of their patients. According to Joy, the actual crime is not getting involved emotionally while dealing with a human being, while the corporates employ their power politics over the entire domain. It’s a human body that the entire discipline of medicine is dealing with and not a bunch of test tubes. The urge of the developed nation’s bodies

to retain their own well-being and protection at the cost of the remaining human population, creates a new system of imperialism and exploitation of third world countries.

While Arjun tries to convince Joy that the doctors take chances by choosing the best option available for their patients, Joy corrects his perception stating that two million people in India are becoming part of some clinical trials every time and at times the same drug gets tested twice or even thrice because of the patent laws; and is not a choice, but greed for personal profit of the corporates. The argument points out how the form of patent law and clinical trials created by companies affect patient autonomy because the medical treatment ceases to be patient centred and instead a revenue generating entity. “Transnational pharmaceutical corporations routinely prioritize economic returns over ethical considerations, treating human subjects as disposable resources in pursuit of patent and market control” (Frynas 61). Arjun proclaims that “the business of health is just business” (sc. 13. 30). Thereby, it can be deduced that, the code of ethics is not propellant in this business as the whole racket of Multinational Pharmaceutical guys come in and take advantage of a population that is poor and desperate. Poverty makes these people vulnerable to manipulation and turns their bodies into profit-generating machines without their consent or proper protection. These practices enable companies to reduce the costs of research and multiply their income, ensuring a power structure on the one hand and continuing the exploitation of the system on the other. The corporates play with the life of the underprivileged in the third world nations for a “few thousand rupees” (sc. 13. 30). Arjun reassures that it’s not just a few thousand rupees, it’s thirty thousand per patient, which is quite an amount for any middle- class third- world body setup as a laboratory.

Globalization of monopoly capital entails the coordination of the global economic structure and the world's political system, as well as the dismantling of the barriers that separates the economic and the political. Monopoly capital is both globalized and unites economic and political forces, allowing hegemonic nations and businesses to gain control over less-developed countries. Rather than leading to the promised prosperity of neoliberal reforms, these countries are more likely to be neo-imperialized, with neo-dependence of the economy and corporate domination whacking structural inequality and limiting real sovereignty. But once some countries shifted from their original political and economic systems, they were unable to reach society's promised greenhouse of prosperity and stability, as neo-liberal economists declared. Leeching off a population that has no choice while asking them to make a choice and requesting a very illiterate population to read the forms to understand what the test is really about, the pharmaceutical companies are really in an easy platform in a country like India, where huge economic disparity exists. Arjun clearly states, "The vulture will swoop when the prey is vulnerable... The thing to do is make ourselves less vulnerable" (sc. 13. 30). Pharmaceutical companies are able to circumvent informed consent simply because the poor cannot understand the decisions they are making. Such vulnerability in the structure enables companies to experiment with risky or repeated drug trials at low-cost without legal consequences typical in the developed world. Thus, poverty and illiteracy merge together to become a means of corporations earning immense profit at the expense of human well-being. This commodification of human need and the economic precarity of the poor population directly contribute to corporate gain and social-health inequity. The structural inequalities inherent in these societies reduce the capacity to seek redress in the courts and allow corporations to play in high-risk or habitual trials with little responsibility.

The lack of proper indulgence of the judicial system and negligence in giving awareness to the public before the drug is being tested on the patient, as well as the lack of strict laws on the companies with regard to compensations to family members for any mishaps on the patient, empower the first- nation corporates to exploit the illiterate population of the third world nations, who are ill equipped to decode the complicated consent forms they need to sign before the treatment. Governments should limit corporate excess by enforcing serious punishments and imposing penalties and measures to prevent corporate misinterpretation and to protect human health. “Without strong regulatory and legal frameworks, developing nations remain vulnerable to exploitation by transnational pharmaceutical corporations” (Lakoff 215). The reluctance from the side of governments functioning in the third world nations to see ‘Death’ not just as a negative impact, but as a homicide, as the death of one member of a family is like the death of the entire family, enhances these exploitations. The protocols used in drug trials in third world countries need to be reformulated to put more emphasis on ethical issues, science, and safety of the participants. “Ethically sound clinical trials require redesigning protocols to reflect local social realities and ensure participants’ safety and informed consent” (Crane 143). The threat of taking advantage could be moderated by improvements like self-governing watch-over panels, precise reporting, and additionally, an enhanced culturally complex approval procedures without negotiating the efficiency of research. “Community engagement and health literacy programs are essential to protect vulnerable populations from being treated as experimental subjects” (Macklin, *Against Relativism* 97). Educational conferences have the potential to promote informed consent, posing important questions, and limiting vulnerability to company manipulation.

In most Third World countries, the government does not wish to categorize avoidable deaths in drug trials conducted by corporations as either intentional or negligent, and so, exploitation continues unabated. By treating human loss as systemic failure undercuts systemic accountability, and exposes vulnerable populations to corporate mistreatment. “Regulatory inertia and the minimization of harm in developing countries often render the deaths of trial participants invisible, facilitating ongoing corporate exploitation” (Petryna 91). Although the inflows of international capital can drive economic growth and build human capital in least developed countries (LDCs), these inflows tend to focus on monetary gains rather than human capital development. Instead of investing in long-term approaches to skill acquisition, or employment opportunities in the local labour force, corporations and investors are often preoccupied with asset acquisitions, privatization and short-term profit strategies. These issues are realities of contemporary times that lead to the treatment of a major part of the world population as mere lifeless objects, existing to be manipulated. For instance, the Chinese government currently stands accused of regularly selling the organs of executed prisoners to patients in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, while allegations of illegal organ harvesting persist in Brazil, Chile and Argentina, despite the demise of military regimes that apparently supported a covert traffic in bodies, organs and tissues taken from despised social and political classes during the 1970s and 1980s (Frow 35-51). One proposal in the United States, for example, outlines the benefits of setting up a ‘futures market’ in cadaver organs that would operate through advance contracts offered to the general public, with substantial sums of money to go to the deceased person’s designee (Cohen 60- 61). Additionally, scholars note that “the commodification of human organs risks exploiting vulnerable populations and undermines the dignity of the human body”

(Macklin, *Against Relativism* 102). The commoditisation schemes can decrease ethical and moral concerns by providing monetary compensation to the representatives of the deceased, making human tissues a commodity, but not a human right.

Unknowing of the hidden traps, Mary consults Dr. Pereira for the pain in her legs. For the further analysis, she is suggested to take a “Colour Doppler” test, to study the blood flow in legs, (sc. 14. 32). After a thorough examination, Dr. Pereira enquires about the medications Mary has been taking. She shows him the tablets she has been taking for more than six months as a cure- cum- precaution to prevent heart attack in women of her age. After examining the tablet’s contents, the doctor declares that it is a clear case of “venous thrombosis”, a clot in blood vessels of legs and informs Mary that it could be the side effect of the drug that she had been taking (sc. 14. 33). Over the years, people such as Mary, believing in the medicine prescribed, willingly become subjects of drug experimentation where corporations focus on testing and not on the safety of the individual. This misinformed consent turns ordinary patients into uninformed guinea pigs, with the health risks of corporate drug trials. This puts into a tight focus how, all characters differently empowered as social and cultural subjects, experience, utilize and even change themselves into target groups controlled by the pharma corporates. They transcribe their body into a mobile laboratory, like what happened to Mary, sweeping away any kind of visible evidence against the illegal experimentation of Pharma corporates over the third- world bodies. At the same time, the Indian Donor’s (re) actions are constrained by their limited access to capital and knowledge. Consequently, the physical independence of these subjects is submissive to the profitability of the company, and their health and well-being give way to the business and economic concerns. This large-scale control

maintains the secrecy of exploitation, continuing in the same cycle of exploiting human bodies in the Third World as expendable tools to profit pharmacological interests globally.

Globalization continues to make MNC the headquarters of research and development, rich and profitable although production and marketing are globally dispersed. These corporations are generally located in the upstream of the vertically integrated, specialized division of labour structures and have the rights to the key components. They determine what the general trends in technology and products are and also govern the research, development and design sections. The partner enterprises, frequently closely affiliated, have to accept the established standards and prices. The partners normally engage in labour fixed capital intensive investments and are usually charged with the responsibilities to produce, process and assemble standardized items. Through this process, human bodies are commoditized as a locus of scientific knowledge and as a tool of financial accumulation and disadvantaged groups bear the greatest burden of the dangers and harms. Third World bodies here are viewed as standardized tools with physiological reactions that need to conform to corporate expectations in order to endorse global drug trials. The body of participants is expected to bring about uniform, predictable results, virtually eliminating individual differences as a scientific and economic commodity. Deviance or negative response is simply swept under the carpet or negative response is repressed so that only information that helps in accrual of profits is fed into the corporate pipeline.

For instance, at Dr. Pereira's hands, Mary becomes a guinea pig for testing another newly manufactured drug by the same company. Mary, though confused at first, agrees to this new medication, which was told to be a brand-new solvent for the clots. The oral words of the doctor become a guaranteed document given over the

drug and Mary gives approval for the medication of the new drug on her body.

Illiteracy and the resulting ignorance prevents the ability to make informed decisions, keeping communities in dependency circles, hindering real socio-economic and health-related development. Globalization is best illustrated through how multinational companies will lobby the government of the developing country for policies that will support capital movement and investment above everything else. Despite the promise of increased economic development, most Governments of developing countries fail in the provision of social security and protection of their citizens' human rights while they sacrifice their resources to persuade foreign investors and producers. As Frynas notes, "MNCs routinely shape policy frameworks in host countries to align with their strategic and financial objectives, often at the expense of local populations" (72). The soft power employed by multinational corporations to influence popular opinion and sponsor research, as well as economic benefits, creates an environment where corporate interests prevail. At the same time, they use hard power in the form of lobbying, strategic alliances, and threats of divestment to compel governments to write laws and regulations to increase profit. This two-pronged approach tends to elevate the corporate interest over the well-being of the citizens.

For instance, Mary's inquiry whether the new drug could be a permanent cure for her, is brought to a sudden halt, while Dr. Pereira questions whether she has any other alternative. Mary responds that "Whatever you think is best, Doctor. I leave it up to you" (sc. 14. 34). Thus she gives her silent consent, with no chance for any objection. Mary's body is submitted to the vicious plans of Dr. Pereira, whom she now considers as a God. Poor health literacy among the illiterate subjects makes them vulnerable to exploitation by medical professionals because they tend to believe the

medical practitioners and accept their treatments and prescriptions without knowing the dangers, and even consent without knowing what to expect. Such blind trust gives way to unscrupulous methods like illegal drug testing, allowing vulnerable people to become casualties of corporate and professional needs.

This reflects the widespread misconception regarding the poor people's ready acquiescence to the exchange of their freedom and individuality for material things. For instance, inside Dr. Pereira's cabin, Joy, irrefutably confronts Dr. Pereira for looking upon ordinary people as boorish, "Plastic Puppies" (sc. 17. 42), stuffing in their entire anatomy virulent materials, abandoning them struggling for breath. The process results in the homicide of ignorant and uninformed natives of the third world, while the populace lay lounging in their beds, exalting their doctor like a supreme being. Joy is disturbed, unable to apprehend that, a senior and highly experienced doctor like him is more conscious of the exigency to obtrude, by choosing an indecorous path, setting down his own patient's way of living increasingly exposed to uncertainty. The socio-economic deprivation of poor populations promotes a transactional mentality in poor populations, where short-term material rewards are valued over long-term independence and agency. As a result, the consent of the poor is often not freely made but forced by circumstances, which only benefits systematic inequalities. It is this dynamic that multinational corporations use to push their influence via the medical professionals positioning them as the authority figures between the company and the population. MNCs control the flow of information and present drugs or clinical trials as acts of charity so that illiterate or uninformed people do not question the possibility of risks. This power, misinformation, and socio-economic helplessness allow companies to conduct experimental or malicious

activities, in effect making the population unwitting participants under the guise of a sense of legitimacy and care.

The functioning of Lizer incorporates seem different in its very structure. The globalization of MNCs evolve by outsourcing their production processes, investing into new subsidiaries and forming strategic bonds, whereby more countries and enterprises are integrated into the global network controlled by MNCs. Here, the Lizer Inc. expands its experiment and production bases to the tsunami relief camps. The accessibility of an enormous cheap global populace, helps uncomplicated multiple international organizations to accumulate capital. Thus, in contrast to the international business population, these disasters inflicted on the poverty-stricken population who have limited opportunities to mobilize and protect their rights. In addition, the existence of a world pool of surplus labour power, greatly help the internationalization of capital, and increase the capacity of multinational capital to have a divide-and-rule policy over these wage earners. Such is the informational edge whereby Lizer Inc. can make vulnerable populations its petting zoo and cheap labour source to bundle humanitarian crises with profit incentives into one agenda. As a result, the power imbalance perpetuates structural injustices so that the most disadvantaged groups will remain subservient to world capital and transform the MNCs into increasingly rich entities without much responsibility.

Being the person who caused her mother to death, without apprising her that the new drug could lead her to a fatal cardiac arrest, Joy asks Dr. Pereira to take a brand-new medication for Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus which is in its phase one screen test and wants the volunteers belonging to the category of healthy senior citizens. But Dr. Pereira disapproves for the same. She also identifies that, not only her mother, but all the other forty- two patients who died of myocardial infarctions,

were denied their right to pick out the best alternative for them, as they were oblivious of the intricacy of the side effects of this new medication upon their bodies. The absence of information about the dangers of drug samples itself is a reflection of the systematic neglect of informed consent as the basis of medical ethics. In Third World situations where illiteracy and poverty deny people the opportunity to obtain their own medical knowledge, withholding such knowledge makes the patient a passive subject. Through such practice it subjects the body to experimentation in order to trivialize autonomy and expose vulnerable populations to unnecessary harm. Finally, it is an example of structural violence, in which corporate/ medical complicity takes advantage of the weak social-economic circumstances and leverages them to promote profit over rights.

The experiments and research laboratories targeting the poor, illiterate population of the third world, help the corporate to gain the patent rights for the new drugs manufactured by it at ease and thus, increase the production. The capital concentration leads to the expansion and financial monopolization of such corporations. But their monopolistic control is widespread. Currently, a few hundreds of large financial oligarchs and multinational corporations at the apex of economic power gained an extraordinary Schein wealth through the strategized utilization of third world human resources, the mere inflation of financial assets and taking away enormous amounts from social wealth accumulation. As Kwame Nkrumah notes, “Neo-colonialism is...the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility; for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress” (239). Therefore, the prosperity of multinational corporations consists not in the equitable development but in the systemic expropriation and exploitation of Third World human and social resources.

Furthermore, due to the scarcity of public funds available to the government this has limited the nation state's ability to prevent the increasing income differences prevailing within the society. The neo-imperialist countries remain predatory, taking the resources and wealth of the peripheral countries as their base, and thereby achieving monopolistic or oligopolistic positions, leading to their growth and affluence. International transfer of surplus value has a direct positive effect to improve overall profit margin. Therefore the concentration of neo-imperialist monopoly capital brings in upfront greater polarization between the haves and the have-nots and thus have direct negative effects on the lives of the people. As Samir Amin observes, "Accumulation on a world scale reproduces underdevelopment in the periphery just as it reproduces expansion in the center" (*Accumulation* 104). Not only does the siphoning of resources increase income inequality, but it also limits the ability of the state to invest in the provision of key social services, including healthcare and education. Thus, the world economic system perpetuates its existence via systemic dispossession, which asserts the dominance of Third World people in the name of development.

Dr. Periera justifying the entire unethical processes happening in the field of medicine, proclaims that a country with majority of its population functionally illiterate, drug-naïve, and not at all advanced enough to recognize the medical jargons, wouldn't have understood those assertions delineated in the consent forms, even if they were given explanations. The vital living status of the common man in the third world nation like India is so deteriorated and humiliating that, their endorsement for everything and anything episode in their course of existence, is validly a due matter of mere finger-impression- "Angutha Chhap!" (sc. 17. 43). This scene emphasizes how illiteracy and poverty disempower people, rendering their role

in making life-changing choices no more than a figurative fingerprint. This scene emphasizes how illiteracy and poverty disempower people, rendering their role in making life-changing choices no more than a figurative fingerprint. These circumstances reveal the systematic nature of disenfranchisement as an exploitative means by which Third World people are turned into the human resource of capitalist enterprise. “Informed consent in clinical trials is often undermined in low-literacy populations, where the absence of understanding renders consent more a formality than a genuine exercise of autonomy” (Petryna 42). These circumstances reveal the systematic nature of disenfranchisement as an exploitative means by which Third World people are turned into the human resource of capitalist enterprise.

In the current scenario, this is effectively carried out by the Multinational Corporates, especially in a race to patent the drug before the other contenders in the market. Thus, rigorously cohering to safety tests is at most of the times overlooked, to all its intents and purposes. The very skilled doctors, by playing the role of frontman in implementing the needs of the MNC’s, avail themselves of the benefits of freebie vacationing at their dream lands like Hawaii and show no hesitance to link up with their patients again. Joy is disturbed wondering since when patients became insignificant compared to building a new-fangled and technically advanced research and lab rooms in the hospital. As Dinesh R. Pai observes, “As health systems transition to value-based care delivery models, reducing costs and improving quality of care without sacrificing either remains a challenge” (1). The issue Joy raises, the development of medical infrastructure will dehumanize care, is a symptom of a larger system failure. This de-emphasis on relational care not only alienates the patient, but also kills trust in healthcare, turning the process of healing into a technological, rather than a human, one.

Building the new empires by the affluent like Dr. Pereira has massacred the whole life of common people like Joy. Dr. Pereira's continuous justification seems that "ideals are created to have something to aspire to, but one cannot live up to that always" (sc. 17. 43). Joy pulverizes him stating that homicide doesn't open up to evolution or transmogrification. The educated medical professionals who by becoming the lab associates in helping the Pharmaceutical corporates amass huge profits and refuse to abide by the ethics of their profession, fabricate possibilities that smash the aspirations and desires of their patients and their family, making them frantic to dream anything pristine. Still, Dr. Pereira warns Joy to stop being despondent as they are incapable of retroverting the events.

The neo-imperialist global order leads to further research and development of Hi-tech technological equipment in the perpetually growing healthcare sector. Anyhow, this new imperialism is a barbarian attack on civilization, on humanity. Corporates sell life by turning human bodies into objects of experimentation instead of rights and dignity, turning people into a means of accumulating capital. This not only subverts fundamental human rights, but also strengthens structural disparities between the Global North and the South. As Rajan observes, "the human body becomes a transnational laboratory where the hierarchies of global capital determine whose lives are risked and whose are protected" (87). The finance monopoly capital has a paradoxical dual dependency on technological innovation as it necessitates and relies on technological innovation for the sustenance of monopolistic structures, but at the same time, due to its mode of operations with very high profits, it experiences stagnation in the promotion and development of technological innovation. The deliberate stagnation in non-high-return research as a result of monopolistic accumulation of wealth consigns healthcare and life-saving technologies to the

privileged elite. This systematic marginalization makes human rights like the right to health and development commodities that can be purchased with capital. A considerable proportion of R&D expenses has been incurred to maintain the sales of the old chemical products that are threatened by patent expiry. This is an unhealthy practice which not only is increasing the cost of healthcare but is also hindering the production of affordable generic drugs that may serve impoverished people.

Deprived of everything, losing her mother who was her sole support and the only relation that bound her to her family (because of the very profession into which she wants herself to be), Joy declares her loss of faith in the profession and her own potential to restore health to the needy. The medications referred to as magic bullets, if validated, will work. But, to advocate a medication lacking any insight to its lethal complications, in a final analysis would lead to genetic disorders. Decimated by her faith in God Joy proclaims that, all of a sudden, God has turned out to be a “Phony” (sc. 17. 45) in her presence. Her disappointment signals the existential malaise that is generated generally when scientific power conceals violence of vulnerable bodies in the name of development. Here, the Phony God represents the loss of transcendent trust that gives place to a vacuum marked by systemic injustice and human suffering.

In scene 18, Ralph and Dr. Pereira are in a conversation at Ralph’s house, thanking each other for the mutual supporting system that each owes the other in mounting up the ladder of their lifestyle (45). The Indian citizens are made fun of asserting that not even the slightest portion of America’s population is sufficiently maniacal to carry out trials on a psychotropic drug. “Such double standards in medical research reflect a troubling ethical divide: trials deemed morally impermissible in affluent societies are often rationalized as acceptable or even necessary in poorer contexts” (Macklin, *Double Standards* 1). The literate population of America would

not be in a haste to sign forms, without receiving genuine reply to their inquiries. Besides, it would have taken ages to get the drug time- tested and proved, if they were hanging around for volunteers in good physical condition in a developed and industrial nation like the U. S., coupled with the tribulations of acquiring authorization from FDA. “Pharmaceutical corporations increasingly recruit subjects from low-income countries, where poverty and limited access to healthcare drive individuals to ‘volunteer’ under circumstances that would be unacceptable in wealthier nations” (Shah 74). In contrast, in India, due to high levels of poverty, illiteracy and lack of informed consent mechanisms, vulnerable populations are easily cajoled, or fooled into participation. Basic inequities hence make the Third World population a more docile and susceptible testing ground with respect to pharmaceutical testing.

Neo- imperialism is transitional. The system is changing from one formation to the other rather than being fixed in human society. To maintain its control over less powerful countries, it constantly re-arranges the power orders by creating new relations of financial dependency, technological control, and cultural hegemony. In the epoch of neo imperialism, there has been a change in technological and institutional structure of developed capitalism which in a way helps set the base for further capitalist growth and hence postpones the moments when the system in disguise of welfare of developing nations will collapse. “Neo-imperialism thrives on the asymmetrical integration of developing economies into the global capitalist system, ensuring dependency rather than autonomy” (Harvey 42). Thus, from this dominant position, developed countries can derive substantial advantages. Such continuity in terms of structural inequalities is that developing countries continue to rely on foreign capital without genuinely enjoying economic sovereignty. Through the

advancement of global markets and other characteristics of economic globalization, the neo- imperialistic effects can be prolonged. “Contemporary imperialism is characterized not merely by territorial control but by the exercise of economic, political, and cultural domination by a few powerful states over the global periphery” (Arrighi 28). Neo imperialism is nowhere a stage higher in the ever-evolving capitalism from free competition to private monopoly, to state monopoly or to international monopoly; but it is also the new mode of the international monopoly bourgeoisie. This new imperialist system consists of a few developed imperialists who dominate the rest of the world with their socio- economic and political imperialist policies. It shows the way neo-imperialism works not just at the macro level of global economic and political control but also permeates the micro level structures like healthcare systems exploiting vulnerable populations and making them the profit centre of corporations.

The hosting of unaware volunteers with free medicines within the hospitals, on top of taking advantage of the relief camps to profitably cast aside the prohibited medicines, has favoured the pharmaceutical corporation of Lizer Inc. to prevent a huge loss of billions of dollars for their company without attracting the attention of authorities. At the same time, the corporate has also made a huge profit by testing the new drugs on the illiterate population of India. The health industry, according to the CEO of Lizer Inc., is “a sophisticated Zoo. Survival of the fittest” (sc. 18. 46). This definition of the health industry as a sophisticated Zoo by the CEO is a Darwinian explanation of corporate medicine in which the rules of competition and profit reign over ethics or general health of its patients. This metaphor reinforces the way pharmaceutical companies see the human body as an asset to be exploited, controlled and streamlined to benefit from financial success. Such vulnerable groups can be seen

as forced into this system. The dehumanization of commodification of healthcare where patients become objects in a market-oriented hierarchy is also criticized in the statement. In the end, it shows the glaring contrast between the interests of the corporations and the ethical commitments of the medical profession. It is expressed that Dr. Pereira's slotting in of tsunami Relief operations in accordance to the company's R & D Schedule was very deliberate and an opportune act. Though plunged in black humour, the rat race to satisfy the drug research, to get it sanctioned before their competitors, and stockpile one's cool billion before the other corporate wannabes associate, is in fact the test of viability at any cost. "In the race for pharmaceutical innovation, the pressure to achieve market approval and financial gain often eclipses ethical responsibility, turning human subjects into instruments of profit" (Peterson 112). This depicts how competition in the pharmaceutical sector by the corporate firms lays emphasis on speed, market control, and profit making at the expense of ethics or human health. Due to this, it is easy to understand why billions of dollars are likely to motivate dangerous experiments and take advantage of vulnerable populations.

The exemplification of Pharmaceutical Corporation's involvement in the healthcare sector in a developing nation like India has led to the creation of new and updated economic, political, and social associations and subordination. The corporate of Lizer Inc. gains a huge success in accessing the healthcare market of India, leveraging its branding in the name of generosity. According to Joseph Nye, "Soft power allows actors to achieve their goals by shaping the preferences of others through attraction and persuasion rather than coercion or payment" (*Soft Power* 5). This shows that multinational drug companies use soft power to influence policy and form perceptions as good actors, despite having selfish interests that they pursue.

Taking note of this, they integrate their brand into the discourses of humanitarianism by gaining access to the market and gaining social legitimacy without coercing them to do so. Hereby, the citizens who are largely unaware of the medical jargons and functioning of law are made to believe that so many concerned corporations will never go against the welfare of the nation's population. Now, the corporate derives its soft power over the country through economic policies and pacifying the lawful interventions of the judiciary. This weakens the local authority since the citizens are less able to question or oppose any policies that undermine their health and rights.

A strategic function of neo- imperialism imposed by Lizer Inc. is the goal of victory without war. In addition, through the instigation of debt and financial crises in developing nations, the multinational corporate gain power over the third world population. Thus, the third world gets tailored to meet the market demands of the first world corporate. Lizer Inc. uses neo-imperial control via economic leverage whereby debt and financial dependence are the neo-imperialism policies used to influence the priorities and policies of developing countries. By producing structural weaknesses, the corporation makes sure that the national agendas are consistent with its market interests rather than the local demands. This economic coercion enables the multinational to control what is and is not to be made available, which in effect shapes the people into a consuming population. Consequently, development programs and health policies in such countries tend to put the interest of the corporate world on the welfare of the people. The process illustrates how economic tools may serve as an example of each such mechanism of domination that can be an effective alternative to direct military intervention.

Dr. Pereira strives to vindicate once more that if India is making a revenue of “200 million dollars” from clinical trials alone, and if “60% of that comes from Lizer

Inc.”, one of the three top players in the field of pharma corporates, then joining hands with such a corporate is an honourable act (sc. 18. 46). Dr. Pereira is content with the status conveyed by the pharma corporates to him, by attaining wealth from the business of health. He is even a member of the corporation's Board of Directors, besides being the chairman of the research Committee of the Lizer Inc. In honour of the immense clinical research Dr. Pereira conducts in favour of the patent requirements reported by the corporate, he is also positioned as the Vice- President at the Lizer Incorporate. Taking things lighter, Dr. Pereira gets overwhelmed by the honour conferred upon him by the Pharma Corporate, without acknowledging the tremendous responsibility laid along with it. Thus, a new beginning of slicing and reaping of healthy bodies occurs.

At this moment Joy is informed of her dad being recovered by the police on that day over a petition put forth by an NGO filing charges of savage physical violence and cruelty against women. She in either way is stifled by this act of authorial intervention for the sake of restraining violence. The way the expertise of the authorities and the system bear exclusively on the whereabouts of such small-time criminals, as a measure to retain their own credibility, leaves room for the multinationals to build in a ‘profitable world of organized crime’. The court does find in ample time to regulate orders on detaining subjects like Joy’s father, in spite of the fact that the very genuine corporeal bodies with criminality mandatorily ingrained into their mind set and their “hard- core crime” (sc. 19. 48), doesn’t even get the spotlight, even in the name of a simple arrangement.

In this situation the financial oligarchy retains a strong baron. Neoliberalism acts as the policy and the belief system that supports governance of neo imperialism. The private corporate takes the disaster as a plot for their intrusion into the relief

activities and soon becomes an exploiter in the disguise of an aid facilitator. Large international businesses have little control in supporting sound economic and social advancement and enhancing the living standards of the inhabitants in developing nations. The biomedical technoscape presented here encompasses the radical reordering of relations- between the whole bodies, between self and other, between the body subject and the representational body, and between the social and the political body. At one level, the play's critique of this reordering process is conveyed through the bodies, the mobile laboratories. This experimentation over third world bodies can be explicitly linked to cannibalism, a corporeal trope that tends to be invoked when a limit is approached.

It seems the statute of the state only intends to penalize those lawbreakers, either facile and plain sailing or an idiot- proof to catch. Joy, with the sudden deathblow in her family; in need of a caring father, almost feels "like a very loved ORPHAN...", even while being adjoined by her good- natured boyfriend, Arjun (sc. 19. 49). This anatomizing of human bodies into a saleable entity, is more like being served up like a chicken for dinner. The third world bodies are unknowingly sold for a human game sanctuary where the rich nations gain self- authorized licenses to hunt socially disadvantaged types. We are constantly reminded that the Indian bodies, converted into mobile laboratories and recruited by the Pharma corporate of Lizer Inc. for the gruesome business are to be positioned as human prey both visibly and invisibly.

It is capitalism that creates more wants than it can supply, as Crystal Bartolovich observes, not only in developed regions but also more globally, with the result that "the production and satisfaction of appetite" is "negotiated in grotesquely uneven fields" (236-37). Deleuze states that modulations happen in invisible or

opaque networks that are unperceivable to individual citizens. The play raises a large variety of questions: Where can ethnicity be located in a world in which surfaces and interiors of the physical body may be reshaped by biomedical science and experimentation to the extent that they affect social relationships and cultural practices? If the body as a whole can be treated as an entity to be experimented and used for test-run across racial boundaries to amass wealth illegally by the corporate bodies, what does that mean for the politics of race, the construction of difference and the fear of miscegenation that has so animated the cultural conflict through the ages? Tibrewala holds a magnifying lens to the stereotypical cultural distinctions and the great socioeconomic disparity between the First World and the Third as she faithfully reproduces long-held assumptions about the taken-for-granted subjection of the Third World to the inherent superiority and supposedly beneficial impact of the West.

Shivani Tibrewala predicts the unbalanced power relations between the pharmaceutical companies of the first world and the poor Third World population in *The Laboratory*. The play demonstrates how corporates use soft power which involves apparently kind assistance, scholarships, and relief efforts and hard power which involves economic coercion, regulation of regulatory systems, and clinical trials in order to entrench their interests. The uneducated and financially disadvantaged masses are portrayed as unsuspecting actors who have been manipulated into being experimental subjects and as such, human bodies are turned into a commodity. The play brings out, through the story, how individual injustice and legal complicity further contribute to the exploitation, making corporate greed a natural thing. Finally, the work by Tibrewala challenges the concept of global capitalism which unveils the ethical and human rights violations of neo-colonial biomedical practices. Soft power is used by pharmaceutical corporations to present

their intervention as humanitarian aid or a community health program, providing a facade of good intentions in order to conceal exploitative actions. This impression tricks people, particularly illiterate people or those of low economic means whereby corporations transform the human body into the experimental site thus turning people into the living lab rat. Commodification of human health diminishes autonomy of the body since decisions are not informed by autonomy of individuals but rather corporate interests. Thus, Soft power therefore acts by manipulation of perceptions and the creation of social norms, liberalizing exploitation. Matthew Causey terms the “slippage of subjectivity into the space of technology”, which alerts us to the potentially profound effects of globalization on the ways in which identity can be structured (61). The play points specifically to the impact of global capital on identity-forming practices concerning eating, death, mourning, and sexuality, all of which are embedded in the deep structures of corporeal sociality.

Disaster Capitalism

somewhere along the way, capitalism reduced the idea of Justice to mean just" human rights," and the notion of visualizing equal opportunity has become blasphemous. They are not fighting to Tinker with reforming a system that needs to be replaced. (Roy 14)

The use of television and social media in depicting disasters has made political aspects of entertainment more appealing in disaster capitalism than the actual disaster to be sensationalized. The whole aim is to get high viewership. This has replaced the earlier trend of analysing the social, political, and economic conditions that lead to the disaster and these calamities are often treated as something for enjoyment and are received with rapid excitement of the circus like events. It turns collective tragedy into a commodity that thrives on fear and emotional manipulation. This does not only

make human suffering insignificant, but also legitimizes a culture of making money out of sorrow. As Naomi Klein observes, “Disasters are not merely natural events; they are politically produced spectacles of inequality” (*The Shock* 14). Far from helping the audience understand the specific disaster, the approach conceals the aspects that allow such catastrophes and their impact.

Live television conversation is cropping up on the repercussions of the tsunami along the Indian shore between the Indian television newscaster Arjun and an American television reporter seated at distinct desks. Joy is put in between the two on the stage, reversing and reverting between the two channels. The production highlights the mediation of disaster as a spectacle, and Joy is literally torn between national and international discourse of the disaster. This scene in the split screen dialogue is a critique of the commodification of tragedy, where human suffering gets processed there through journalistic competition and no empathy. The main musings in news broad cast is over the generous contributions that the pharma corporate Lizer Inc. and its CEO Ralph Fernandes has done in favour for Tsunami victims, rather than over the effect of Tsunami. The concentration on the philanthropy of Lizer Inc. reveals how the corporate image-making overshadows the actual humanitarian crisis, and makes aid a spectacle. It also criticizes disaster capitalism, demonstrating how media discourses favour profit-oriented benevolence over critical processes of attending to the social and environmental effects of the tsunami. While the official toll of tsunami victims was reaching its peak, Pharmaceutical Corporation Lizer Inc. came in to share the schemes of financing the relief activities with the government.

In this way, the forms of media representation that have been prioritizing entertainment and fun over depth, rigour, or substance, have not only legitimised and aestheticized disaster capitalism but have also solidified the reality which produced

such tragedies in the first place. What remains unaddressed in the programming related to these disasters is the abuse of the indigenous people's human rights by corporations who continue to desecrate their lands and bodies as entities to be excavated, as well as the damage done to ecosystems through resource exploitation and resultant devastation. "The spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images" (Debord 12). The media strengthens the structures of authority that are glad to take advantage of the annihilation of nature as much as it is to the displacement of individuals. This distraction of attention is a self-perpetuating mechanism in which environmental devastation and corporate plundering are kept secretive by the consciences of society. The key feature of the disaster capitalism approach is the predatory behaviour of multinational corporations' executives, government representatives, and unscrupulous employees of international and/or local NGOs. Profit at all costs is the primary concern, with the specific methods varying across countries, but the overall strategy remaining the same: to manufacture either social or environmental risks to the maximum level possible, and then occasion unpredictable and unresponsive private sector thugs to exploit the situation.

For instance, when the television news is broadcast in the play, much public attention is over what the CEO of the company has to say rather than on the live status of the Tsunami disaster. Ralph Fernandes declares it vital to deliberate on the possible interminable psychological effects of Tsunami on its victims across Asia and the necessity to alleviate its symptoms among the people to help them revamp their human existence over again. For this, the corporate summons a Singapore summit of all the recognised healthcare professionals in the South Asian region in its initiative. "In disaster capitalism, the promise of healing often conceals the machinery of profit"

(Klein, *The Shock* 47). This framing causes the shift in the narrative of instant reprieve to corporate-controlled discourse, which places the CEO as the mediator of both trauma and recovery. It is a criticism of the use of the humanitarian language as a brand authority instrument to obscure the profit motive inherent in the care industry.

The Canadian writer Naomi Klein, who coined the term Disaster Capitalism, issued a stark warning that, “we really are in a midst of what I have come to think of as a final colonial pile for the hardest to reach natural resources in some of the most beautiful protected parts of the world using sum of the most dangerous and damaging extractive practices” (*This Changes* 177). On the same line Arundathi Roy claims that, everything gets into the grab of corporates, “the privatization of everything has also meant the NGO- isation of everything” (35). In his argument, Klein reveals the way business corporations take advantage of crisis situations as a way to acquire resources and increase market control in the name of recovery. The NGO-isation is a reference point to the fact that even humanitarian institutions could be used as the tools of neoliberal privatization and the boundaries between aid and commerce are unclear. This critique portrays that disaster capitalism is not the residual of disaster but it is an orchestrated strategy that enhances the capitalization of disparity and ecologically undesirable impacts.

The news telecast between two anchors and the interview with Ralph, the CEO of Lizer Inc., off and on illustrating the panorama of Tsunami on the screen is incessantly going on and is replayed. But, within a few minutes, Ralph is put in the spotlight. For any question he gets, Ralph pulls out a set of previously concocted answers. He echoes continuously, “I am grateful that as Lizer, we could be part of a world community that has been able to lend a helping hand” (sc. 15. 36). The switching of the tsunami and studio shots make actual suffering a sort of edible

entertainment such that no one should focus on structural exploitation. The broadcast puts corporate authority as the voice of the crisis in the foreground and victims and local realities in the background by highlighting the scripted remarks of Ralph. This aesthetic of repetition disarms criticism, making the human lives and natural resources something that are commoditized to run a business disguised under the appearance of a compassionate coverage.

During times of global economic turbulence like Tsunami, the foreign firms expand their operations and access the natural resources found in developing nations like India. These crises undermine regulation and lead to desperate markets, where foreign companies can buy land and resources at a very low price. Disaster then opens up a portal to neoliberal expansion in which economic shock is used to establish corporate control over vulnerable territory. In this process, most of the returns go out of the country leaving few to the people of the country. Arundati Roy questions "... The Corporation and Foundation endowed NGOs as Global finances way of buying into resistance movements, literally like shareholders buy shares in companies, then try to control them from within" (96). This vicious cyclical pattern is steadily commercialising health care service provisions too. This can be described as a global system of pinning its hopes on a given country to milk as many resources as it can before moving to the next one, and in the process, it resembles a gravy train. As market logic privatizes an ever-growing number of areas of life, we need to ask why some proponents of the big think, influential Non-Governmental Organizations, and champions of civil liberties at home may seek to preserve first world nation's dominance in the world to the detriment of human rights in the global South. Most of the times as can be seen here in the play, the corporates recommend ideas that maintain the existing imbalance between countries.

The play's engagement with globalization is through Appadurai's concept of the "technoscape", a term he uses to describe the global configurations that involve high-speed movement of technology, both mechanical and informational, across previously impervious boundaries (34). These technoscapes vary according to the situations and perspectives of those involved in, or affected by, technology flow, be they nation-states, multinational corporations, sub-national groupings, or local communities. This formulation positions individuals as active players in technology transfer- thereby modelling a system which allows some degree of "personal agency" (Appadurai 7). In contrast, the much-accepted Western narrative of globalization presents technology itself as a faceless beast driving "an inevitable, transnational process of economic, political and cultural integration" (Mohan 121). This totalizing discourse typically neglects to consider ways in which the applications and effects of technology intersect with established patterns of inequality and injustice, particularly across ethnic and class boundaries.

This perspective contests deterministic perspectives that describe globalization as irresistible and something that cannot be controlled at the local level. It prefigures the way communities bargain, adjust to or even oppose the flow of technology, and makes globalization a conflicting and lopsided process. This kind of view also emphasizes the fact that the influence of technology is mediated by the pre-existing hierarchies of race, class, and gender, but not on a neutral level. The recognition of such intersections indicates that the use of technology can help to maintain structural injustice and still appear progressive. This critique eventually re-conceptualizes globalization as an arena of power struggle, a place where technology can be used to empower and mute people based on socio-political situations.

The international companies occupying major positions as largest economic units, replacing the nation- states, project how the pharmaceutical corporation of Lizer Inc. has gained an upper hand in any say, with regard to the regulation of Tsunami relief activities within Indian coastal areas. Companies also take advantage of the panic of disaster to campaign in support of deregulation, tax reductions and concessions of resources in the name of expeditious recovery. Investing in relief and reconstruction, they will have preferential access to policymakers and indirectly influence legislation to be market friendly. This factor undermines the democratic accountability to the extent that profit motives are used to override both the long term social and environmental interests in the formulation of national policies. It is possible to say that to counter disproportionate capitalistic exploitation, it is vital to present much more appealing and persuasive offers. Thus, listening and respecting local communities' opinions can be viewed as a better strategy than mindless submission to the Western mainstream discourses.

Journalist Matt Taibbi comments that "... [the first nation corporates] have a profound hatred of the weak and poor, and the corresponding grovelling terror before the rich and Powerful, and we are building a bureaucracy to match those feelings"(xx). He points out that "we are creating a dystopia, where the Mania of the state aren't secrecy or censorship but unfairness. Obsessed with success and wealth and despising failure and poverty, society is systematically dividing the population into winners and losers, using Institutions like courts to Speed the process"(12). Taibbi's critique illuminates how Lizer Inc. masks profit-seeking with humanitarian rhetoric, prioritizing elite interests over genuine relief. The company excludes the pressing needs of marginalized communities by taking over media space and defining recovery discourse. This relationship is the typical example of a

company-state partnership, which uses the catastrophe to widen inequality, transforming the sufferings of the population into a means of accumulation. This is very clear in the statement of Dr. Pereira that it is just for the sake of research and development of the genre of medicine that these activities are conducted on behalf of the corporate Lizer Inc. He himself knows that it is just a matter of justification and twisting of truths that need to be done in order to make these activities of sorting the population into targeted groups, for the trial run of the new drugs, legal.

This recklessness and the vindictive angle when portrayed on different platforms enable these businesses to execute their evils that are unfriendly to the vulnerable groups in societies. As an extension of his essay *Responsibility of Intellectuals*, Noam Chomsky said that “the third world societies can either obey or rebel a corporate power” (45). The observation made by Chomsky represents such disasters as the critical situations in which the entire affected parts of the world is weak, which are in a quandary about how to react, either to collaborate with predatory corporate interests or to fight together. It highlights the dependency ensured through obedience and the danger, but the necessity of rebellion as the only way to regain economic and political autonomy. Large global companies like Lizer Inc. have made their selfishness palatable and rational. But of course it is clear that their activities are not initiated by patriotism and love towards these states, or by the desire to have a stable world. Lizer Inc. takes advantage of poverty and lax laws in developing countries to run fast, cheap drug trials and patent them before its rivals. They do so, not out of humanitarian concern, but in pursuit of profit, and vulnerable populations are expendable test subjects.

Lizer Inc. is in a huge hunt for human bodies to conduct the trial of a new drug invented by them and get the patent sooner than their competitor. The procedures

of trial conduction is easier and economical in third world nations than in any other first nation countries as poverty and illiteracy play a huge role in making the execution of these activities easier for them in the third world nations. This practice is indicative of the wider privatization of healthcare in which medical innovation is a market good not a public good. Profit research has speed and exclusivity as its primary concerns, and ethical protection and access to treatment are put in the back seat. This type of dynamics contributes further to global inequities in health, with the disadvantaged communities serving as guinea pigs at the expense of restricting the advantage of medical innovation to the highest bidder.

Rebecca Solnit, comments in her work *A Paradise Built in Hell* that:

"you can read recent history as a history of privatization... not just of the economy but also of society, as marketing and media shove imagination more and more towards private life and private satisfaction, as citizens are redefined as customers, as public participation falters and with it any sense of collective or individual political power... Economic privatization is impossible without the privatization of Desire and imagination that tells us we are not each other's keeper". (Solnit 9)

This insight by Solnit demonstrates how corporations create a new economic system, as well as a new imagination, transforming citizens into inactive consumers. In third world countries such as India, this comes in the form of excessive resource exploitation and the privatisation of healthcare framed as development. Through the commodification of profit-related enterprises as an individual opportunity, the corporations undermine communal opposition and civic responsibility. Such privatization of the desire makes sure that the welfare of the citizens and collective responsibility are put on the back-burner to expand the market and to make profit.

In the current context, exploitative capitalist practices are being resisted in different parts of the world. As is the case today, people frown at the way nation-states have degenerated into fortresses that undertake extraction of resources and subjugation of people with the view to profiting from a parochial concept of peace and generosity, as offered by the MNC Lizer Inc. The aim to build common goods that facilitate the decrease of inequality, poverty, and disease indicates that the comprehension of communism in the twenty-first century is not the regression to the Soviet type of communism but a condition for human progress. But Arjun the educated Indian youth rebel and in fact study the whole issue of how this Multinational corporate of Lizer Inc. is placing a parasitic power over the targeted population of the nation. The fact that Arjun did not want to be a passive observer represents the need to have informed civic opposition to corporate domination. This commentary disturbs the pattern in which wealth concentration is simply unavoidable, revealing the systematic exploitation on which it depends. Such an attitude is essential to restore democratic control, so that economic development cannot be used to serve the interests of a parasitic power. The subject of the text is the issue of how it is possible that the accumulation of wealth at the owner's end still persists in the present day.

As claimed by Tabibi, "gigantic financial institution is the ultimate symbol of a new kind of corruption at the highest levels off society... A tendency to marry the near limitless power of the Federal government with increasingly concentrated, increasingly unaccountable private financial interests "(215). The subjects of the developing world are forgotten people, the Outsider, the Other, the Disposables, the poor, the suffering, and the dying. This fight of the third world population as represented by Arjun in the play, though however small it may be in its magnitude, is

a global fight that needs the concern and intervention of the Global North. They are a breakpoint and a wake for the world to fight the greedy monopolistic corporations and governments that make a business from torturing their own people. The goals should be a better economic system free of the current rampant inequality and a genuinely fair and democratic society. As it is increasingly clear that inequity is rewarded in today's markets, no one has much of an incentive to go around arguing for the timely redistribution of the world's assets.

Evidently, the neoliberal paradigm of reduced government intervention and increased privatization has extended to predatory practices, which has become a universal phenomenon. The deregulation of the neoliberalism philosophy allows corporations to increase wealth at the expense of social and environmental costs. Devoid of strong public policy or redistributive strategies, markets celebrate exploitation as efficiency, creating greater inequality in the world. This mechanism justifies the predator attitude because economic growth is corrosive to the social justice principles and democratic responsibility. It has become the norm for many large corporations, as well as most legal practitioners, to shamelessly prostitute international investment agreements for contract farming with a view of suing nations in distress.

The pharmaceutical corporate of Lizer Inc. in the play depicts the outsized game of economic exploitation and subordination of the less privileged states for the benefit of the first nation pharmaceutical corporations. The agents of the corporates are the educated professionals who work at various geographical pockets of the nation, scrutinising appropriate subjects to be exploited under the cover of their professional service. The playwright depicts that privatization, government liberalization, and drastic reductions in social expenditures are frequently carried out

after large-scale catastrophes, both natural and man-made. In the play the pharma corporate utilises the tsunami relief camps for dumping in its unwanted, abandoned and expired medicines, in the name of contributing generously for saving humanity. The whole disaster gets converted into an event of marketing the product of the corporate and preventing a huge loss in production capital. Meanwhile, it goes on a hunt of healthy bodies for conducting experiments.

Corporations exercise soft power through funding research, lobbying and influencing opinion in order to affix policy to their interests in the markets. They use hard power to take advantage of the capital mobility that threatens governments with withdrawal of investments or employment in order to influence the governments to adopt favourable laws. It is these strategies that make it difficult to determine the distinction between state administration and business gain, and national policy priorities cease to be formed by any other party rather than corporate interests. These ideological alterations are never tolerated but when the rest of the world gets to learn of these policies they vehemently reject them. Cooperation, thus, becomes the antithesis of privatization because the speculation, delay, misuse, negative consequences do not paint the pretty picture as portrayed by the leaders of the privatization crusade. But here, the corporate entity is again asserted. Although privatization is being presented in the language of efficiency, it can create a culture of secrecy and abuse, which is detrimental to the common good. Corporations exploit such vices to regain power and pose as being indispensable as solutions to the very crises they cause. This neglects the economic consequences of this phenomenon that has severe social and ecological consequences.

The corporations with immense wealth at their hand, have always strengthened their position over these nations by providing for the industries in which

such businesses have a stake. Thus, it becomes a relief for the government to transfer the responsibilities for the provision of various services, especially when the economy is at the verge of total crash in the aftermath of a natural disaster like the Tsunami. What has occurred is that state management has declined to such an intensity, or even nonexistence, that corporate domination is most likely to have won in the developed as well as the developing world. As David Harvey notes, “Neoliberalization has meant, in short, the financialization of everything” (33). With the deterioration of the state in the provision of basic services, corporations become the *de facto* governors, transforming and privatizing public crises into profit-making opportunities. This privatization of basic needs is normalized, undermining the democratic checks and balances and the accountability of the masses.

Apparently, disaster has evolved in the broader sense of the setting of a business that deepens a problem and then offers its products as a solution to it. This cycle is an example of disaster capitalism in which disasters are created or used as a means to open up markets to corporate solutions. In making profits on the destruction and the suggested remedy, companies turn disaster into an endless cash flow business and leave honest recovery efforts on the backburner. Human resources, detention centres are the newest addition to a range of assets and institutions that are incorporated into unanswerable private authority. Whether we want to refer to this as the manifestation of disaster capitalism or just plain vulgar appropriation of the inherently savage strands of capitalist economics, the resultant reality is one of a world managed by unanswerable market trends. This is indicative of a system in which the unregulated market structures overrule the democratic process and deliberately, profit ends up being the determiner of the social priorities. This

domination makes instead social good an adjunct of speculative capital, which enhances inequality in the name of an unavoidable economic logic.

Medical Imperialism

Fields such as medicine are becoming increasingly mediated, with the related dependence on doctors and antibiotics even to cure minor illnesses. This encourages a culture of pathologizing the everyday stresses of life and easily classifying a person as a patient. As stated by Illich, “The medical establishment has become a major threat to health” (11). This excessive medicalization is a blurring of what is considered normal about the body and illness and contributes to an attitude of passivity toward self-care. Effectively, health is commercialized and handled by the professionals instead of being a collective responsibility. This process of administering various drugs to the patient, who is literally unaware of its aftereffects, can be defined as a plotted platform for conducting the experiments by the corporates.

The term “medical imperialism” (109), devised by Schreier and Berger in the year 1974 defines the emerging behaviour of the medical industrial complex of the developed nations vis-à-vis underdeveloped or the Global South. One of the most conspicuous features of this medical imperialism is the out migration of doctors from the developing to the developed first world countries. This is because the doctors demand better salaries, facilities and better living standards, which are not available in most developing countries. Employers in the developed countries have discovered the policy of recruiting doctors and other health personnel from Third World countries willing to take up duties under terms that locally trained professionals will not accept. These nations often complain of shortages of physicians, while their main issues are improper management as well as inequitable distribution of the existing medical human capital. Instead of strategically increasing the medical education or

streamlining the domestic healthcare, the developed nations actually limit the availability of the most skilled medical practitioners to the developing world. These doctor-population ratios are partly achieved at the expense of the Third World through differential arrangements between the developed industrialized countries and health care suppliers.

Now, medical imperialism has attained new forms, with the corporatization of the whole field. The work of medical imperialism is now international corporate domination of healthcare, both the drug manufacturing and service provision alike. Even the doctors themselves are manipulated in this medical-industrial complex which shows a profit-oriented system that is not even close to the concept of unselfish help. The movement and employment of doctors in less advanced countries is an indicator of how the provision of healthcare can be turned into an economic policy that taps talents instead of providing global equity. These are practices that rebrand humanitarian assistance as a tool of structural dependence and domination. As stated in *Medical Nemesis*, “The medical establishment has become a threat to health by converting care into commerce” (Illich 38). The delivery of healthcare by the Western medical-industrial complex has among the Third World countries made a measured input of exploitation in the pretext of assistance and support.

Over the span of recent decades, the Indian state’s optimism towards provision of social services and fair distribution of pro-growth opportunities has shifted away and more towards encouraging a private business climate for economic growth. The neoliberal reforms that took place after 1991 shifted the social sector to a market-based policy, undermined state welfare and increased the level of social-economic inequalities and since then, the public health system as well as the key segment of private healthcare industry has experienced lots of changes. Healthcare is in the

middle of a transition from a prestige service that is a right of every citizen to a business opportunity that can easily offer maximum growth rates and equally happy investors.

The well-educated professionals like Dr. Pereira became the agents of the multinational corporation falling into the luxuries and enhanced economic standards offered by them for the service offered in their favour. Incentives and better lifestyles are tempting and thereby medical practitioners turn their knowledge into a means of profit-oriented medical politics. Dr. Pereira confirms that, only when the world fails to recognize the genuine works of the medical professionals, in the adequate manner criminalization emerges within the discipline. Professional alienation and moral exhaustion in physicians may occur in the case of insufficient appreciation of dedication and ethical practice, as a way of recovering lost popularity or financial assurance. Dr. Pereira tries to define that the space called “no- man’s land” is where the “faith” resides and in the regime of medicine nobody can underestimate the power of faith as there is a limit for what any chemical drugs can cure (sc. 1. 11). Arjun’s statement that, “And so, in good faith, we sanction the dismissal of doubt as an everyday occurrence, of conscience as an impediment to progress” becomes relevant here (sc. 1. 12). Raising faith above evidence is dangerous as it encourages patients to wait or refuse established treatments, which makes them sicker. It also disregards the separation between science and belief, and disrupts the belief in medical research and rational care.

Eric Krakauer has said that “medicine is the standard bearer of western metaphysics” (1759). Krakauer argues that Western ideas of rationality, control, and materialism are brought to health care by modern medicine. It tends to disregard cultural, spiritual and communal interpretations of suffering by framing illness as a

technical issue only. This superiority is able to privatize Western medical forms at the expense of various traditions of healing and strengthens cultural hegemony. The world stands before us as manipulable, and all thoughts of the world become just instrumental thinking. Oddly, this instrumental thinking has also come to affect the calls for more humanities in medicine, as humanities in medicine will once again humanize medicine. Incorporating humanities into medicine promotes empathy, reflection and cultural sensitivity in medical education, which is the antithesis of the mechanistic nature of biomedicine. This holistic approach assists physicians to treat the patients as individuals and not as clinical cases. It promotes the concept that the thinking of our being is essential to human beings.

Trusting a noble image amongst his colleagues and students, makes it easier for Dr. Pereira to instruct others to watch every step of theirs, whenever they find an opportunity to make profit. The reputation constructed gives him moral authority and he can normalize his opportunistic behaviour to subtle degrees. This relationship is dangerous in instilling profit-making morals in the culture of medicine in the name of professional advice. The main dilemma among doctors is on how to balance between a career development and the opposition to the idea of corporate influence that commercializes medicine. According to Dr. Pereira, the increased professional success requires the increased level of ethical vigilance. When Dr. Pereira focuses on the fact that success brings in the entire world's attention to the professional, Arjun points out success often makes individuals forget to watch themselves. Arjun underlines the psychological danger of praise. The external acceptance becomes the basis of the internal control. Statuses may be mixed up with recognition, and self-criticism may be distorted. Thus, success may corrupt integrity and invite the compromise of ethics without our conscious self-observation.

With a move towards adopting a corporate model within the healthcare delivery systems, different behaviours have emerged mainly towards the aim of increasing the revenues and profits. These changes are not confined to the setting up of corporate hospitals, and this corporate culture has affected other forms of private mainstream health care organizations as well. Dissemination of corporate values in the entire fields of the privative healthcare has transformed medicine to a commodity rather than a civic good whereby the interest of the patients has been taken backseat. This commodification contributes to the unfair access and reinvents care as a commercial transaction. In the last two decades, a phenomenon of corporatisation has happened in the sector of private healthcare in India and corporate economy, management and ethos have emerged in the overall health care system. The term healthcare industry is an overarching term that embraces hospitals, diagnostic centres, pharmacological and medical devices producing companies, and insurance companies. Of these various segments, the Hospital segment can be deemed as the largest subsector and as such usage of the term healthcare industry in India is often restricted to corporate and other large multi-unit brands of hospitals. The term healthcare industry when focused on big hospital chains limits the way the population views care to high-revenue hospitals. This framing marginalizes community clinics and primary care to enforce a structure that prioritizes models that are capital intensive, rather than affordable and preventive health care. This transition has been evidenced since the 1980s concerning the operation of Indian hospitals that have been floated as private and limited public companies.

Defeated by a healthcare system where profit takes precedence over integrity, Joy leaves a world that does not care about honesty. Her metaphoric gesture of finding peace by stepping into a coffin represents the death of ethical medicine by

corporate colonization. Arjun, a newspaper researcher and her lover, highlights this crisis by revealing that drugs that are commonly sold in India are considered to be harmful across the world. Medical imperialism undermines the ethical fabric of the physician, by making it acceptable to make money at the expense of patients. Systemic corruption compels practitioners to deal with prohibited or poor-quality drugs and creates cynicism and moral exhaustion. In the long run, this cynicism makes the profession nullify the values of care, trust, and honesty that constitute the profession.

The corporates, in pursuit over their capital, have got a manipulative power over the economic policy formulation of the state. This, in fact, makes their functioning much easier. “The corporate domination of medicine threatens both the quality of care and the autonomy of health policy” (Relman 45). The impact of corporations in state policies institutionalizes profit-oriented interests at the expense of regulatory measures that secure the public health. This merging of capital and control stems medical imperialism faster because it has made it acceptable to exploit in the name of policy. The psychological appeal of the corporates towards target group helps them in easily manipulating the poverty as well as illiteracy of the population. The establishment of corporate power over the policies of the state makes profit-oriented agendas resistant to regulation safeguards that are aimed at safeguarding the health of the people. This integration of capital and control speeds up medical imperialism since it justifies exploitation in the name of policy. Alternatively, corporations take advantage of the economic weakness and lack of health literacy to advertise unnecessary treatments as a necessary one to increase dependency.

These strategies transform structural poverty into an opportunity to make a profit as a consumer. For this, the more educated professionals from within the

population is employed. “Market logic has infiltrated even non-profit health institutions, reshaping their missions to mirror corporate priorities” (Sandel 112). The corporate culture on policies of the state makes profit-driven agendas permanent and undermines regulatory mechanisms that are designed to enhance the health of the people. The combination of capital and control turns medical imperialism into the speed of the light as it justifies exploitation in the name of policy. This corporatization is what makes the distinction of ideas of non-profit and profit-making business unclear, redefining the priorities of the organization.

The presence of corporate interests in the policies of the state predetermines the entrenchment of profit-seeking interests, undermining regulatory policies aimed at ensuring the health of citizens. Such a convergence of capital and governance promotes medical imperialism by making the exploitation acceptable in the name of policy. The aspects of brain drain are connected with the strategic pacification of the educated professionals as Dr. Pereira offers Arjun the special contacts, and Joy, his bright student, is provided with a scholarship and teaching assistantship to guarantee her silence. Such calculated machinations show how Pereira can hide the wrong deeds and make sure that no witnesses can testify against him. By using the economic weaknesses of patients, he literally turns clinical care into a guinea pig to experiment with the new drugs produced by Lizer Inc. “When physicians become agents of industry, the patient’s trust is quietly converted into corporate capital” (Relman 56). In his defence, Pereira justifies his actions by posing medicine as a game of faith, which he takes advantage of through the respect that the illiterate people give to their doctors. By doing so, he is the ideal example of how learned medical professionals may turn trust into a product to boost corporate and individual interests.

In Scene 15, Dr. Pereira dismissively calls Arjun a "Kid," (40) to which Arjun retorts by labelling the doctor a "Whore"(40), before vowing to ensure Pereira "will rot in jail" (41) for abusing his profession and position. Arjun cautions the doctor, "But, if rackets like this continue, God will soon lose his faith in doctors" (sc. 15. 40). The scene ends in blackout as Arjun searches for the missing Joy. This confrontation reveals the failure of the professional etiquette to represent an ethical confrontation between the corrupt authority and the rebellious truth-seeker. The power outage highlights uncertainty and increases the tension, which represents the ethical crisis that is not resolved in the medical field. Medical imperialism enhances inequality in structure by turning vulnerable populations into test subjects and captive markets. Uninformed and poor populations, who have no rights to information or the law, are easier to fool with offers of protection and are subjected to unverified drugs and experimental procedures. This dynamic stamps on the credibility of health systems, acclimates exploitation in the name of progress, and cycles of poverty and ill health that continue to make corporate money.

The financial pressures have seen non-profit trust hospitals enter into joint ventures with profit making organizations to run operations and manage the hospital. This has increased the cost of services and the availability of free or subsidized care to low-income patients has decreased. "The commercialization of charity care transforms healing institutions into revenue centres, eroding their social mission" (Sloan 74). Corporate hospitals are attractive to physicians through their higher pay, better technology, and better infrastructure, which attract talent to them unlike the small institutions. Affiliated hospitals also allow the physicians of the company not to perform administrative duties, including staffing or licensing, letting them concentrate on clinical practice and remain stable in terms of revenue. Corporations are very

active in getting well-known doctors such as Dr. Pereira to increase their market share by making them more credible and increasing the number of patients flowing in.

For instance, Scene Five takes place at the home of Joy where she returns after the celebration of her friend Shefali obtaining MBBS. She says that she had a dream of wanting to be known as “Dr. Joy Fernandes” but she regrets that she cannot dream freely (sc. 5. 17). Mary, her mother persuades her saying she will support her if she study hard this year. But Joseph rejects, sneering, “...good at making promises like money grows on trees... Just marry a nice boy and don't listen to your mother, Joy...” (sc. 5. 18). At that point, he incidentally hits Mary, calling her a “bi-” and raises his hand towards her. Joy observes a lifetime of abuse and even later loses her mother, a fact that causes her to store the trauma and become more introverted. As observed by Herman, “Violence, once done to the body, is inscribed in memory and spirit, long outlasting the initial act” (33). Violence against the body causes both physical and psychological damage in the short run and long run, undermining the victim by crushing their feeling of security and control. These traumas cause fear, shame, and hyper-vigilance, which usually change identity and relationships. In the long term, they may be in the form of depression, anxiety, or post-traumatic stress, and repeat the patterns of silence and exclusion.

It is imperative to note that disease is influenced by social, economic, and environmental forces and emerges inside the body and not as an outsider. Nonstop elevated morbidity and mortality rates testify to the tolerance of the society to poverty amid surpluses, competitive individualism, hazardous work environments, negligence of slum residents, structural unemployment, and increasing inequality. The play depicts Joy being granted to go and study her “M.D.” in another country, believing that Dr. Pereira had suggested her to the pharmaceutical company (sc. 6. 19). As the

scene goes to black, Arjun, who teasingly refers to Joy as a “Tom Cruise”, warns her to wonder what the reason behind such generosity is (sc. 6. 19). The text does not just associate disease with biology but with the existing social injustices, the illness is a reflection of structural violence. The work of Joy as a scholar depicts how corporate philanthropy can conceal hidden agendas, which promote dependency instead of empowerment. The caution of Arjun is based on the value of critical alertness at the times when professional growth is associated with obscure corporate agendas. This experience shows the way medical imperialism capitalizes on social inequalities, that corporate assistance is given in the guise of charity and that more power is taken over the susceptible practitioners. These processes make education and healthcare instruments of maintaining power imbalances in the world.

Dr. Pereira, lured by generous offers, is involved in unethical clinical trials where he experiments on the vulnerable people and he is not focusing on the medical necessity. Joy challenges him and decries how the helpless people are treated like trash to be taken advantage of, as “Plastic Puppies” (sc. 17. 43). The scene reveals how privileged actors abuse and how they place the Global South population at risk, behind the scheme of scientific progress, stuffing in their entire anatomy virulent materials, abandoning them struggling for breath. The process results in the homicide of ignorant, and uninformed natives of the third world, while the populace lay lounging in their beds, exalting their doctor like a supreme being. Joy realizes the circumstance of the majority of citizens in the country is meant by a minority of greedy population who are schooled enough to victimize the ones deprived of any privileges in their life. A dehumanization of the body through the use of third-world bodies in clinical trials makes the lives of humans an instrument of corporate profit which disregards the autonomy of the body and dignity. The disadvantaged groups,

who have no resources or education, experience a disproportionate burden of health, such as morbidity and mortality that can be prevented. Systemic abuse of this nature sustains inequality, mistrust in medical institutions and strengthens the global structures of power and privilege.

Instead of blindly embracing new expensive technologies, a better way to go on this would be to focus on efficient utilization of the available resources to enhance healthcare among the poor populations. Modern medicine is pathologizing normal human conditions, treating symptoms through the prism of professional models, and the absence of consideration of general social, economic, and environmental factors of illness. The trend makes major proportions of population with large portions of health reduced to a status of life long patients, re-conceptualizing systemic problems in terms of individual bio-psychological disorders that are treated and cured through individual doctor-patient relationships.

Compared to Joy with all her sorrows about her mother dying too soon, Dr. Pereira, who has obtained the titles of “the Chairman of the Research Committee and Vice-President at Lizer Inc.”, cannot help but grieve about life as a constant rainfall (sc. 18. 46). The fact that such sufferings are the inescapable predetermined course of events recounted by Arjun, only adds to her misery to the extent that she wonders why” the sun has to go away of the already broken lives” (sc. 19. 47). At the same time, the corporatization of healthcare, along with its emphasis on equipment, infrastructure, and revenue-driven procedures, destroys the doctor-patient relationship and puts more and more financial pressure on the patients.

In the last three decades the dynamics of the Indian health care sector Industry showed high commercialization of the health care services, decreasing public health infrastructure and stagnant health services. This process of corporatization of health

care has not only targeted these corporate health care but also impacted on individual practitioners and other health care facilities namely small and medium private health care facilities, large health care facilities and charitable health care facilities.

Considering the issues raised forth in the play and its grave consequences on the health as well as genetic mutations on a long run, it is wise to design such healthcare regulations and policies, which ensure quality healthcare service to all. Excessive requirements on infrastructures could indirectly benefit the large scale commercial and private hospitals at the expense of shutting down other small-scale healthcare suppliers and enhancing the process of the market to become more corporate. The corporatization process, which entails the expansion of profiteering without any limits, is hardly compatible with the task of providing and financing rational, efficient, and equitable care.

The intervention of the pharmaceutical enterprises from the developed nations in the under-resourced nations awakens a structural convergence of profit, power, as well as violence. Under the pretence of humanitarian assistance or novel medical breakthrough, these pharmaceutical conglomerates frequently deal with the spheres of economically underprivileged populations as pilot domain for uncertified drugs. These operations establish a mode of bio- political violence, in which the profound vulnerability of the subject from the global south becomes the prerequisite and the tool for capital aggregation. Therefore, Violence exhibited is not just anatomical but also systemic. Power intensifies this violence. It combines with power, empowering corporations to convert persistent underdevelopment and inequality into platforms for profitable medical trials. Hard power becomes visible in their capital gearing and technological dominance, sanctioning them to determine usage terms, pricing model, and patent regulations. Concurrently, soft power functions through synergistic

partnerships, socially responsible branding, and political persuasion that imperceptibly outline public health directives and controlling backgrounds to help corporate strategies. By manipulating legislative networks and public deliberation, these companies efficiently co-author the regulatory framework wherein their own sovereignty is justified. The consequential imbalance highlights a neo-colonial impetus, where the vitality and health of Global South are commoditized, and the margins between care and utilisation breakdown overloaded with the commercially exploitative imperatives.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

The Coherent Convergence: Dynamics of Violence and Power in the Modern Framework

Though many discussions have happened on power and violence, this thesis bridges the gap between the non-duality of its functioning in contemporary politics, with reference to the selected plays for study, namely *Untitled- 1*, *Pha- La*, and *The Laboratory*. Many interpretations of power posit violence as a separate force outside of power, or power's instrument, without recognizing the political dimension of violence. The currently available methods of analysing power and domination are reviewed to address the diverse aspects of the process by which various forms of violence are constitutive of power and perpetuate power relations. Many theoreticians have made remarkable contributions with regard to conceptualization as well as discussions on power. Amongst them, the most remarkable statements would be of Hannah Arendt and Michael Foucault. Arendt contrasts power and violence where the latter is a negation, not a production of the former while Foucault writes about violence as a constituent element of power. This research, based on the selected plays, arrives at the conclusion that contrary to the likely perception derived from the works of Arendt, there is an element of violence that exists in the realization of power. The selected plays indicate that power and violence link in a deeply invested manner through the participation of physical bodies, materiality and infrastructure. These elements are vital in the constitution and fixing of power relations.

Prominent and influential political theoreticians have attempted to address the question as to whether the use of violence is applicable in a democracy with varying results. However, the political consequences of such violence have most of the times

been excluded from being part of political philosophy and theory. Violence is basically downplayed and summoned as an extra-political given, a natural and original impulse that makes new policies and regulations possible and which is subsequently refined through politics. It is used as an instrumental tool, and its effect provides proof of the given statement. As with violence, power is also depoliticized or its use and function is limited to the level of personal meaning-making. Some define power as solely unrelated to, and even opposite of, violence. Others admit violence as a definite instrument of power, but its importance is often denied. An important problem of politicized violence remains outside discourses on power, and hence, a generally underdeveloped concept of violence is used to reveal how power maintains the present-day order.

People's perceptions and thinking on social issues lead to critical issues that refer to the regulation of violence and power. Philosopher Charles Mills claims that the given definition of society proposed in John Rawls's theory, namely as "cooperative venture for mutual advantage", is not enough as it allows no justified normative questions regarding present day society (Rawls 4; Mills 7–9). This way of thinking paves the way for questions of fairness in cooperation and does not acknowledge normative issues of past injustice, violation of personhood, and material institutions that underpin social injustice. Consequently, the narrational viewpoints that do not allow for violent action to be multifunctional in the fabrication of the social world order are also counterproductive. The main problem is how to give a powerful account of power, which can explain the capacities of the violence.

According to Hannah Arendt's notion, power is constructed and sustained through interactional processes. Power and violence are antithetical to her because the latter cannot build power in the way such practices do. In Michel Foucault's model,

violence can be considered as the source of power formation. The method of studying the correlation between public torture and the emergence of a tangible social setting is presented by Foucault in the first chapter of *Discipline and Punish*. Despite the fact that both theorists make a difference between power and violence this significant distinction between them is not noted often. Nevertheless, Arendt completely eliminates not only violence, but most of the material activity of mankind and its outcomes from the process of power generation. Though these may be the preconditions for power to develop, in Arendt's account, these do not hold any constitutive function. Such a position renders it difficult to study the continued impacts of violence on the present-day democratic power relations. Hence, unlike this dualistic vision, it is necessary to underline that power relations are made of heterogeneous elements and are not exclusively violent.

Proving the previous statement about power as well as violence, the analysis of some dramatic pieces shows that the concepts are portrayed in different forms. When it comes to the topic of violence, strictly speaking, the role of working on/through the body and material things is emphasized, whereas different explorations of power show its related modes of operation or tactics of representation. Thus, with reference to the dynamic between power and violence, it is apparent that even in those cases where power and violence are different, it can be stated that not all violence is a variant of power, or that power necessarily implies violence, or that violence is universally a prerequisite in the generation, consolidation, and enforcement of power. However, it has to be stated that violence is indeed one of the key components in the processes producing and reproducing power relations. Referring to the kind of violence, however, it means that the function of violence in the community is relative and varies. This statement stresses materiality of the entities and availability of

material structures and human bodies to build lasting relations which form parts of the web of power. Based on the suggested analysis with the help of several dramas, the author tries to make the viewers understand that power and violence are entities in their own right but they do not predetermine each other. The examination substantiates that power and violence can be conceptually separated even though, in most of the contemporary instances, violence can help to constitute and maintain power. Consequently, the thesis infers the understanding that power and violence are not dichotomous and that there is neither a difference regarding their functioning, stressing the centrality of materiality and architectures.

For Arendt, power and violence are opposites and power even cannot exist together with violence. Arendt defines power as the ability of people to exist not only in the condition of acting but also acting together. This ability develops when people create common types of social existence by erecting legal frameworks. While speech and action are distinct, collective action relies on speech: people who are participating in collectivities have to talk, in order to exchange information, their ideas and issues, to influence one another, to coordinate their actions, to reach consensus as to expected patterns of behaviour as well as to negotiate meanings of these patterns. The quality of acting together depends on the communicative relations of the people who deliberate and cooperate. It is not necessary that it should be done orally alone. In Arendt's words "power can be actualized only where word and deed have not parted company" (*Human Condition* 200). The concept of violence remains somewhat ambiguous in Arendt's works; there is no strict definition for it. Her examples indicate that the only things that provoke her are pain, harm, or death intentions against other people, or the destruction of things important to man. On this point Arendt comes to the conclusion that the distinctive feature of violence is the usage of instruments that

are made and applied with the aim of amplifying natural strength. This implies that violence can be individual thus does not need to be collective.

Furthermore not only Sartre but also Arendt speaks about instrumental violence where violence is always used as a tool. Its application is regulated by the means-end rationality and is justified where it is by the end purpose for which it is to be accomplished. Since the employment of tools is governed by means-end instrumental attitude, then, comprehending violence as contingent with use of instruments implies its instrumentality in the secondary meaning of the term. Thus Arendt also agrees to say that governments use power in this way, implying the concept of means-end relationship as a rationality of power. Furthermore, knowledge is concerned with the mechanism of creating power, which, according to her, is prior and pre-ordained for a purpose. Thus every exercise of power necessarily requires a foregoing consultation with the ends to be realized with the help of such power.

Moreover, violence as a means of power exclusion does not concern the reflection on ends, because the ends here are determined and the issue is to choose appropriate means. As a result, violence contradicts power. First of all, she differentiates power as communicative action on one side, and violence as efficiently non-communicative action, which is mainly enshrined in the body. The communicative relations upon which power is founded may therefore be cancelled or that ceased by physical force, in as much as people are barred from mutual communicating and acting. Thus, since “violence is speechless” it cannot set up new structures of speech relations, rather communication (Arendt, *On Violence* 51). But at the same time, to maintain the non-violent power over mutiny individually, violence could be used as the last resort or to eliminate those malignant organizations that did not allow the building of those relations. In other words, violence is positively or

negatively constructive for the appearance of power but it cannot offer the setting for the discourse in which agencies reason and act.

Said therefore, they indicate that power and violence are regulated by different categories of practical rationality. They argue that the reduction in use of violence and its replacement with rational planning which is instrumental in nature is vulnerable to eradicating the collective reason with respect to ends. When violence is not instrumentalised by power, one finds oneself at the end of the means, namely the ability to destroy, which results in the destruction of power which was to be utilised. Using the account presented above, Arendt's concern is that violence can prevent communication and deceptively pervert the non-instrumentalism inherent in Politics by influencing the communicative action possibilities of human activities that create durable and permanent material objects, which Arendt deems as inherently slippery and violent in form.

Although Arendt's approach to distinguish power from violence may seem rather inconceivable, there are indeed approaches that define political power as utterly dissimilar to violence. Deontic power should therefore be taken to refer to political power in the sense customarily subject to socially recognized rights and/or duties, authorizations, and permissions. Such deontic powers are created with the help of collectively recognized social roles. Thus, similarly to Arendt, Searle also tries to pinpoint that political power stands on speech acts. Searle agrees that violence might be the precondition of acceptance, but for this reason it cannot be argued that power is always based in violence. According to Searle, "Collective recognition or acceptance, while not usually founded on force, can persist only if there is always the threat of force – in the shape of the military and the police" (145). Thus, in Searle's categorization, force does not create power, but it enables the recognition phase of

power. In addition, since “police forces and Armies are also systems of deontologies,” organized violence is the result of power and not the other way round (145- 46). The same is true for the contemporary liberal contract theories and deliberative democratic theories as both of them target “the exclusion of violence from political thinking itself” (Mouffe 4). Similarly, within the power discussions under the domain of political science, it is also nearly silent for the aspect where violence constitutes power. As a result, Arendt’s structuralist vision counts as a classic of overly sceptical accounts of power which are concerned with the eruption of violence only in a minimal way. Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau all consider this distinction in some form but nowhere is it enunciated and vindicated more systematically than with Arendt. Therefore, drawing out the consequences of this point of view regarding power should be interesting to discover. The selected plays too forecasts that power and violence are never dualistic in its functioning in the contemporary political scenario, especially with regard to the contexts discussed in *Untitled 1*, *Pha- La*, and *The Laboratory*.

The present-day growth of nation-state surveillance strategies has substantially transformed the interaction of the nation-state in relation to the individual. A former contract founded on credence, inclusion and legal rights has gradually evolved into a system of control and surveillance, data collection, and power. The surveillance, implemented by the nation-state, sabotages citizenship, amounts to the abuse of human rights, and infringes personal privacy. Under the framework of surveillance capitalism, citizens are downscaled to nothing more than data entries, entities to be administered, commoditized, and anticipated. Therefore, it can be seen from the play selected for the study that the functioning of power and violence is non-dualistic in

the contemporary infrastructures of surveillance, within which involuntary compliance is integrated within the putatively unbiased technological architectures.

The ideal liberal-democratic concept of citizenship creates a sense of belonging, independence and protection of rights. Anyhow, the subjugation of the populace to the all-pervading surveillance, points towards a core lack of trust over the citizen. The individual under surveillance is visualized a suspect, no more considered innocent or completely incorporated within the frameworks of the civic body. As pointed out by Didier Bigo, mechanisms of surveillance promote a “ban-opticon” (“Security and Immigration” 86), where boundaries of exclusion and inclusion are strategically adjusted not according to the official legal standards instead via machine-driven risk calibrations and biometric data examination. Citizenship becomes conditional and changes to an action-oriented and representational identity, which is constantly being monitored. This interrogation of citizenship is specifically severe amongst vulnerable groups, such as the political nonconformists like the protagonist Vishwas as showcased in the play *Untitled 1*. Subject to constant monitoring, their entitlements to rights, legal protections and acceptance are constantly cross-examined by the nation-state. The nation-state presents itself as the determiner of legitimacy instead of confirming citizenship, and it does this by carrying out surveillance to control access to exercise the legal rights that citizenship should guarantee.

The right to personal privacy and protection of data is entrenched in general human rights paradigms, including Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 17 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (United Nations, Universal Declaration; International Covenant). The operation of surveillance mechanisms of the nation- state in an implicit manner, operating outside transparent norms, oversight mechanisms, or lawful process, amounts to a blatant

breach of these regulations. When the nation- state intercepts the communications, charts the mobility, and gathers the biometric markers or behavioural measures without prior knowledge or consent, it violates the liberty and self-esteem of the citizen.

Further, the impact of such monitoring systems of the nation-state are dispersed asymmetrically. Social units hitherto liable to systemic disparities typically possess the burden of inordinate surveillance. Unequivocally subjective, institutions of surveillance simulate and enhance prevailing social stratifications. Privacy, then, is regarded as a privilege, rather than a legal right, a situation endowed consciously as opposed to something globally assured. Surveillance capitalism, as explicated by Shoshana Zuboff, denotes the “procurement and commercialization of private data for accessing maximum profit” (Zuboff, *The Age Surveillance* 8). Although initiated by private tech enterprises at the outset, this framework has been embraced and actively fostered by the institutions of the nation-state, resulting in the merging of boundaries in the operation of surveillance in corporate as well as government sectors. According to this line of thought, each citizen is no more an individual entitled to legal rights, instead a mere point to generate data, a commodity to be evaluated, predicted, and kept under authoritative control.

The autonomy of the individual is completely destructed under the surveillance capitalism. Individuals are imperceptibly tapped and navigated via algorithmic regulation as well as control, proactive policing, and choice architecture. Commoditizing individual information degrades the individual to the level of a simple merchandise, condensed within the context of his socio-political and ethical environment. The consequences are thoughtfully reflective: political involvement of

the individuals is substituted with digital participation, autonomy is supplanted by optimization; and citizenship is superseded by consumer profile.

Established models present a distinction between power, which is constructive, and violence, which is oppressive. Nevertheless, the surveillance of the nation- state activates by means of a holistic embarrassment of both power and violence. The technologies assisting surveillance are repeatedly outlined as defensive or operational, still they implement a variety of systemic violence specifically scattered, constant, and mostly hidden. Here, the implementation of power happens through administration of way of life as well as behavioural trends of the populations. This does not indicate that violence wanes. It becomes inherent within the effective execution of power. The violence of getting scrutinized, catalogued as well as labelled, or declined permission depending on the data-driven prediction is just as important as its elusiveness. The tech-enabled urban law enforcement and policing, the continuous monitoring of dissent movements, and the biometric recognition systems demonstrate the modes of implementation of violence in the day- to- day operation of power. A clear distinction between the two has become impossible, as they become mutually constitutive elements of forces within the contemporary structures of surveillance.

The nation-state's over dependence on surveillance apparatuses is a thoughtful revolution in the sense of governance. Non-benign and hardly administrative, surveillance is transformed into a political gesture that challenges citizenship, infringes on fundamental human rights, and reduces the person to a commodity in the tentacle of surveillance capitalism. Fundamentally, it projects that the functioning of power and violence is no more isolated but are infused into those organizational setups that assert to safeguard society. Thus, it can be inferred that surveillance is not

just a regulatory tool but a central governance mechanism of present day exertion of power, which calls for active opposition and fundamental reconsideration of individual rights, identity as well as democracy.

The authoritative declaration of People's Republic of China's domination over Tibet's geographical territory, by modes of both hard as well as soft power, epitomizes not just an enforcement in governance albeit an enduring, multi-dimensional crusade of violence. In spite of China's description of stable advancement and cross-cultural assimilation, the situation as it stands for the Tibetan population advocates in another way. The execution of power by the Chinese authorities in Tibet has produced what a significant number of researches and human rights bodies recognize as erasing of Tibetan identity, cultural massacre, Genocide, implementation of complete cultural imperialism, and security-centred political strategies. As a response to the continued suffocation, acts of self-immolation among Tibetan monastics, nuns and ordinary citizens have become a disastrous, but effective, means of opposition. The Chinese existence in Tibet, contrary to being a balanced duality of soft as well as hard power, brings to light how the execution of power and violence are intertwined, as synergistic forces inside the parameters of centralized control and indoctrination of the dominating authority.

China's entitlement to Tibet, strengthened by military incursion in 1950 as well as the endorsement of the Seventeen Point Agreement in 1951, has occurred alongside with the coordinated efforts to eliminate the traditional and religious establishments of Tibetan society. The destruction of countless monasteries during the Cultural Revolution, the forceful settlement of the nomadic cultures, and the suppression of the freedom of worship are the actions that fit the definition of the cultural genocide. Although China represents its intrusion efforts as a national

solidarity and modernization process, these actions imply the extermination of Tibetan livelihood and their collective memory. As constantly pointed out by the Dalai Lama, the Chinese government has not only waged a physical war over Tibet but also on the “Tibetan spirit” (Dalai Lama, *Freedom in Exile* 25). The overwhelming influx of Han population into the Tibetan region, spurred by state directives, accelerates the deterioration of the autonomy of Tibetan population as well as its culture, resulting in “demographic aggression” (Shakya 212). Therefore, behind the discourse of national unity and development, the Chinese policies in Tibet serve as a meticulous project of cultural erasure, in which the territorial regulation cannot be achieved without the annihilation of the Tibetan identity, memory and self-determination.

China’s exercise of soft power within the territory of Tibet emerges via the spread of the Chinese-influenced form of Tibetan Buddhism, the re-education of young population of Tibet in Mandarin language, and the integration of the ideology upheld by Communist Party into the instructions of religious as well as educational bodies. This model of domination through cultural imperialism is disguised in the rhetoric of progress and solidarity, however it serves to work against the legitimacy of Tibetan philosophy of existence and ways of knowing. Instead of presenting true acceptance of differences or shared appreciation, the devices of exertion of Chinese soft power create a submissive Tibetan participant who relates to the Chinese authority surpassing local cultural and spiritual associations. Edward Said explains in his theory of cultural imperialism that such dominance over and done with knowledge fabrication and through mechanisms of ideological control constitutes a type of epistemic violence, “an attempt to overwrite and replace indigenous knowledge systems” (Said 93). The promotion of those monasteries abiding by the propaganda

upheld by the state as well as the declaration of the Tibetan political and spiritual leader Dalai Lama as a secessionist in addition illustrate that the implementation of soft power by China does not decrease violence, instead renovates it into an co-opted, organized system.

The Chinese framework of governance in Tibet is based on framing the dissent as a security threat. The native Tibetan resistance, irrespective of its non- violent or pacifist form, is perceived as destabilizing national security. The result of this discussion about security is the over militarization, digital surveillance, and preventive imprisonment. Typical day- to- day practices, like the visible presentation of the picture of the Dalai Lama, guiding the young learners in Tibetan, or performing sacred rituals, are vigorously overseen and frequently criminalized. The consequence is “politics of insecurity,” by which the nation- state constructs threats to legitimize coercive interventions (Bigo, *Security, Identity, and Immigration* 45). Within the territory of Tibet, the production of instability facilitates a continuous state of emergency in the context of which human rights are halted for the sake of security. The identity of Tibetans becomes deprived of meaning and is rewritten using the powerful state controlled discourses, which erodes the ability of the society to resist its own culture, language, and spiritual inheritance.

Since 2009, Tibetans including the nuns, monks and many common man have resorted to self-immolation as an irresistible mode of resistance against the propagandas and policies implemented by the Chinese in the name of development and welfare in the Tibetan region. The motives behind these actions have nothing to do with radical religiosity, but are very loaded political utterances, silent protests against erasure, territorial colonization and bureaucratic injustice. This is a mode of “sacrificial protest”, which moves beyond the established practices of resistance

(Biggs 173). The self-immolators at the same time become the subject as well as object of power, where the immolating body turns to a site of resistance by asserting its own refusal, by which Tibetans counter the official Chinese discourses and affirm the Tibetan agency. Such activities disclose the restrictions of the existing procedures of political protest in the authoritarian regimes and show how the specialized system of the powerful can anticipate the effectual discourse that death becomes the only form of the expression.

The events in Tibet showcase the erroneous distinction between power and violence into two opposite poles in its functional realm. The dominance of the Chinese authority over Tibet continues through the mutual implementation of both hard forms of violence like military overrule, unlawful imprisonment as well as torture practices, and soft form of violence like ideological conditioning, forced cultural homogenization as well as epistemological dominance. This proves that power and violence function in a collaborative manner. Foucault has pointed out that contemporary mechanisms of power are decentralized and normative. It legitimizes and regulates, instead of simply penalizing (*Discipline and Punish* 197). Anyhow in Tibet, visible violence is enhanced through this process of disciplinary power, thereby generating an interwoven structure of power and domination, which is both at once metaphorical and tangible. Armed control and socio-cultural restructuring, represents the manner in which how power of the domineering Chinese intruder can be enhanced most efficiently by reframing the differences in the name of development and national solidarity, instead of suppressing it. Thus, it can be seen that violence is not always a distortion of power, it constitutes its foundational logic.

The domination of Chinese power over Tibet does not just entail a forced unification nor just a schema of socially responsible human-centred development. It

is a consistent advocacy of violence, implemented by means of genocide, physical as well as psychic oppression, through the enactment of political insecurity and imperialism. The widespread notion of political insecurity by the dominating Chinese authorities challenges all Tibetan claims to declare their identity as a conceivable threat, imposing progressively tighter regulations and governance mechanisms by the Chinese nation- state. In this discourse, the public performances of self- immolation materialize as profound expressions of resistance against the oppressive autocratic Chinese government, which bring about every other instance of rebellion impossible. Eventually, through the play *Pha- La*, we infer that the struggle of Tibet uncovers that power and violence are not dualistic in its functional realm, a complication that anchors the foundation of authoritarian political systems in the modern era.

In the globalized context, neo-capitalism has taken the form of control mechanisms that are far-fetched compared to the traditional capitalist exploitation. One of its most dangerous forms is the impact employed by the Global North pharmaceutical corporations over Global South. The play under study, *The Laboratory* claims that, the manoeuvres of these multinational giants constitutes an organizational and methodical system of violence, an infringement on human rights, an encroachment on pre-existing socio- economic disadvantages like poverty and lack of education, and the commodification of disaster under the pretence of relief. By deliberately employing “disaster capitalism” (Klein 114) and the transformation of relief camps as a fertile site for experimenting with newly invented drugs, multinational corporations expose the intensely entangled form of power and violence. Thus, negating any proper distinction amongst the two. These subtleties, projects that corporate power, like the power exerted by the nation- state, functions by

the method of blending intimidation and control, concealed in the descriptions of development and humanitarianism.

The first nation based multinational Pharmaceutical corporates frequently set their enlargement into the low and middle income countries in the context of humanitarian operations, facilitating access to critical medications, strengthening healthcare networks, and advancing community health. Anyhow, these measures often mask exploitative intentions. These multinational corporations take advantage of lax regulation, lack of informed consent protocols and socio-economic disadvantages to conduct pharmaceutical tests on people in precarious circumstances on the pretext of clinical trials. Such trials often ensue in the absence of sufficient “ethical oversight”, endangering patient safety while providing limited value for the local populations (Washington 215). In these occasions, the individual right to proper healthcare and bodily sovereignty is methodically violated. Even the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights assures the right to fetch oneself the most achievable healthcare (United Nations). But, the underprivileged populations are used as test subjects, instead of those benefiting from healthcare innovations, these rights are redefined as privileges dependent on corporate priorities. The severe health emergencies that afflict the Third World are turned into opportunities to accumulate capital, in which misery is controlled to serve more profit maximizing interests.

The mode of neo- capitalism executed by the Pharmaceutical Corporation does not simply function from a void space. It takes root in the prior factors influencing the emerging economies, like financial insecurity, nutritional deficiency, lack of literacy, political volatility, forces that lead populations primarily vulnerable to exploitation. These structural factors, typically vestiges of imperialism and strengthened by market-driven development strategies, offer the flawless environment for ruthless,

exploitative corporate behaviours. The failure of numerous governments in the Global South to offer effective medical support paves the way for multinational pharmaceutical corporations to bridge the gap, though accompanied by concealed agendas. Here, the “structural violence” arising out of poverty crisscrossed with healthcare abuse, establishing a system where persisting pain is commoditized and propagated (Farmer 79). While illiteracy is at high rate and knowledgeable approval is not fully comprehended or implemented, respondents in the trial of newly manufactured lack the ability to make independent decisions.

The “disaster capitalism,” introduced by Naomi Klein, has an appropriate demonstration in the play *The Laboratory*, as the pharmaceutical corporation makes use of the Tsunami refugee camp to make trials of the newly manufactured drugs as well as to dispose of the expired medicines (Klein 114). This exemplifies a tactical crisis deployment and disaster as avenues for corporate enlargement and unchecked experimentation. This phenomenon is prominently evident post- natural disasters like the 2004 tsunami in the Indian Ocean which becomes the background of the major discussion in the play. What were meant to be temporary settlements (refugee camps) were transformed into experimental capitalist spaces of innovation based on neoliberal logic. Brand- new, unlicensed medications were experimented on evacuated communities as well as outdated medications, restricted in advanced economies, were provided under the pretence of humanitarian assistance. These practices are not exceptions rather characteristics of a larger phenomenon. Situations of crisis override standard regulatory procedures, undermine institutional control, and create communities extremely reliant on aid willing to accept assistance in any form, however exploitative it may be. The refugee transforms into a subject bereft of legal security, surviving in a “state of exception” which is fundamental to Bio- political

practices in the modern era (Agamben *State of Exception* 134). With this state of exception, such violence by corporations is not only feasible, but also a part of standard practices.

A notable feature of pharmaceutical neo-capitalism is its capacity to blur the line between care and control, the co- constitution of development and domination, and assistance coupled with coercion. Its violence is not only material but also ontological. It is the one that changes the identity and subjectivity. It aims to reconfigure the meaning of human embodiment as platforms for bio-medical experimentation and exploitation. This is what Foucault meant by stating that contemporary forms of power “activates not only via mechanisms of repressive strategies, but also through the control and optimization of human vitality” (*The History of Sexuality* 138). Anyhow, unlike conventional modes of biopolitical governance, corporate power within this situation lacks both electoral legitimacy and accountability. It operates in a transnational environment in which legal divisions are blurred and moral principles are avoided.

No definite separation can be drawn between the administrations of care from the perpetration of harm. Power and violence are inextricable, different aspects of a single reality. The pharmaceutical corporate at the same time becomes beneficial and detrimental, upholds and deplete, empowers and oppresses. It highlights the way in which power within neo-capitalism is not dualistic. It does not rely on blatant force or persuasive benevolence alone, rather by means of their carefully constructed blend. This mode of neo-capitalism by the pharmaceutical corporations exposes the brutal aspect of current corporate globalization. Quite unlike being forces advancing fair access to health worldwide, first nation pharmaceutical corporates recurrently serve as devices of neo-imperial hegemony, capitalizing on the Global South under the

twofold claims of scientific research and philanthropic endeavours. In disaster-stricken areas and refugee settlements, they alter a critical situation like disaster into a prospective opening, human agony into economic capital, and susceptible individuals into utilizable commodities. This method of corporate power justifies that terror is never an aberration of capitalism, but the grammar of its operation. The violence is widespread, entrenched, and regularized inside the processes of corporate precaution. Thus, resistance to this form of violence requires more than just institutional responsibility to a radical re-evaluation of the international political economy of power relations.

People reveal their individuality to each other, and action is accomplished by the presence of other people who recognize and estimate the action. Both action and speech are connected because consummator acts are informed by speeches, as speech is required to give meaning to acts. Arendt agrees that the permanence in the world brought by work is necessary for a space of appearance to exist, which is the condition through which agents can act since this process is limited and, thus, concrete. The concept of acting in unison would not be hyphenized without material applications of work and labour activities. However, Arendt does not generalize this proposition in an unrestricted manner, as she specifies that the only truly necessary material condition for power production is people's togetherness. Thus, power relates to work and labor only in the sense of establishing the necessary conditions for speaking and acting. Nevertheless, she continues to argue that labor and work though related, remain confined to their specialized realms and while action depends on them it happens in its own sphere that has its own unique quality. While the material spaces deployed by work are more perdurable than the activities and intentions of the workers who engender them, the space of appearances is inaugurated when some

people are 'together' in the mode of speech and action and ceases to exist when they stop.

For Arendt, there are two types of activities: action and labor/work; power and violence are also polemic categories for her. The fact is that this dualism deprives the important connections between the distinguished facets of intelligibility. If action and power are treated as different kinds of things, as unique events, it makes no sense to ask how a particular violent practice or architectural form works to coordinate action and speech and, at the same time, it is perfectly logical to inquire how work brings into existence the conditions of possibility for people to gather together in order to act and speak, but these occurrences have no social relation to people's ways of being with one another as they act. To her understanding, power is mainly unrelated to materials where she bet that a small group of people with power can overpower huge and densely populated empires forever. This is evident in her assertion that power cannot be understood as a sum of one's brute force but in social organization.

Arendt's self-possessed dualistic picture resulted from her attentiveness on how one can build politics that would not be based on violence. About this she notes that revolutions if intended to do away with domination end up reproducing violent ways of ruling. For this reason, Arendt is worried when violence is employed in the course of political struggle, no matter how noble the cause might be, because means-end rationality replaces the genuine debate of ends. Whenever politics turns into the search for the best way to give ends, instrumental rationality of violence combined with the wish to realize given ends will make that the focus of politics and perpetuate a fateful cycle of violence. It seems that the discussion on power and violence presents a more moderated approach to conceptual analysis and concepts merely changes them in a way that is most beneficial for things that need to be influenced,

even though it sharply contradicts with the intuition about the utility of a concept. If violence is considered as a power, then the political action is likely perceived in the functional sense.

There is thus a need to demarcate power from violence, as well as means-end rationality, if one is to avert the repeated cycles of violence witnessed. However, there is a failure in Arendt's dualistic concern for power that effectively marginalizes probing of violence and built environment in the constitution of the political sphere. Because for Arendt power originates from a separate sphere of non-forceful and non-utilitarian interaction of people, her concept does not have a lot to say on force and its establishment of power within the political realm. She does that because she understands that violence in its different forms has set up the conditions in which the political community was conceived, and she accepts the suffering that is currently prevailing due to discrimination based on these conditions. But in her opinion, these social political problems are pre-political, and thus they do not directly concern how persons will relate to one another socially in political action.

The differentiation of power from violence is quite useful for understanding international relations and the nature of power but the dualist ontology of power that is present in the thinking of Arendt has certain problems. The ultimate question is whether the adoption of a dualist ontology should be considered obligatory for the serious attempt to achieve nonviolent politics. Through our analysis, we can decouple the two concepts: Thus, even if it is possible to distinguish between power and violence absolutely, it has to be admitted that violence can enter into the composition of power. This thesis, without negating Arendt's view, states that her opinion of power and violence as distinct entities should be reviewed as a positive method of categorization that gives an optimistic stance for approaching forms of politics that

are non-violent. Perhaps, attaining or at least aspiring to this goal is possible if power and violence are defined as two completely different and separate things.

When discussing power, a certain degree of stability is typically implied: it makes sense to talk about the power of an individual or a group only insofar as the actions on hand can produce a variety of effects. Arendt admits this need for a “sturdy earthly substrate” that can “in a manner of speaking harbour their ability to act together” (*The Human Condition* 176). This sturdy substrate, in her view, is not noteworthy material objects but the “force of mutual covenant or pledge” (177). Mutual pledges give some measure of order to the public while preserving enough openness to enable surprising and therefore free action. However, Arendt knows that this will not be enough, for “neither compact nor promise upon which compacts rest are sufficient to assure perpetuity that is to provide affairs of men with that measure of stability without which they would be unable to build a world for their posterity” (178). But how can the very communicative act of promising lead into some measure of stability? In the same manner, Callon and Latour explain that social linkages that arise from direct interaction of the agents are not sustainable enough to give rise to powers. These ties can be described as being “constantly decaying” and the connections have to be created all over again in every context (Callon 212; Latour 269). Without such social order, it is not possible to have any predictability in the behaviour of other people and firm social cooperation as well power relations generating structures are hard to come across. As this indicates power also cannot be defined by the situationally negotiated expectations and agreements and the things that are mutually accepted by the subordinates and the super-ordinates. Hence, the force when stating that “binding and promising, combining and covenanting are the means by which power is kept in existence,” it can be unequivocally only a part of the

power (Arendt, *On Violence* 175). Contracts have to remain valid so that people do not have to reaffirm the contract in every relational encounter. The longevity of objects makes it possible for other people's expectations, roles, and statuses to be enacted in various scenarios, making social relationships not merely confined to meeting individuals in person. It helps to avoid frequent reconstruction of the decaying social relations, thus allowing people to undertake long-term social cooperation. Thus, in the given proposal, the existence of an artificial world of stable objects is not only a conditional requirement for communication but constitutes and mediates communicative relations, and their materiality determines the structure of interaction and who can interact in this way with what and under what circumstances.

However, Arendt's dualist system of thinking prevents her from exploring the value of permanent objects in detail. She asserts that things like city walls and national borders are the material reality that renders action free, but they are not the free space of appearance that arises from action. To the extent that communicative relations are constitutively different, it seems pointless to ask how or whether this infrastructure might contour, facilitate, or secure them. Arendt simultaneously puts into question whether it is not, on the other hand, stabilizing to have authoritative founding deeds in the form of legislations and constitutions. However, in as much as the force of laws emanates from mutual agreements involving undertaking or promising, the present proposal does not directly touch on the concern of stability adequately enough.

It follows that only if the parties accept each other's promises, and if one of these promises can be authoritatively and, ideally, without much serious or prolonged contestation, identified as the relevant reference point of orientation, can mutual promises enjoy stability as a basis for social interaction. It is not clear how such an

authoritative interpretation can be set when one deploys them without referring to the materials' enduring edifices. Thus, in many modern societies, the material law enforcement means made a definite interpretation of the law an objective and authoritative base for the latter. This means that material infrastructures affect communicative relations in civilizing them and causing them to become more lasting and exist beyond the scope of social, temporal and spatial face to face encounters. Thus, to have a proper understanding of power, one must take seriously the materiality that constitute and inform those positions.

One of the demonstrative topics which can enlighten the relation between the violence and power is the aspect of public torture. In this sense, and despite the possible political effects that violence may have depending on its manifestations and circumstances, the case of public torture seems to suggest that violence is unable to contribute to the production of power. Thus, to confront and deconstruct Arendt's argument in which she advances the thesis of the inability of violence to produce power while at the same time acknowledging its capacity to annihilate it, it is pertinent that we shall determine how this specific form of violence may produce the specific configurations of power within which agents coalesce into alignments. Another philosopher, Elaine Scarry, provides another theory on how violence might equal power; and that spectacle of torture generates a "fiction of power" (93). Scarry asserts that torture ushers the completely exposed vulnerable figure of the tortured centred on pain; the torturer on the other hand, constructs him or herself as nearly omnipotent. Therefore, the aim of using such behaviour is not only to get information, which can be useful, but to submit an opponent or at least make him give a signal that he surrendered. This changes physical helplessness of the victim into an appearance of strength, because the torturer is physically above the victim and in a stronger

position to set the societal meaning of the incidents and ensure that their interpretation is the correct one; all the while the victim is in agony and cannot challenge this point of view. Despite the fact that torturers seem to generate only the illusion of power, the performance of torture might initiate formation of new stable power-constituting constellations. That is why Foucault identifies it as a public spectacle, where the torturers try to “exhibit their glory” (*Discipline and Punish* 3). Thus, public torture exposes power to the governed masses and tells them the need to adhere to it.

However, torture can by no means be regarded as completely mute. The physical effects and the implicit mode of inducing violence can produce politically significant speech: the torture victim’s submission is the formation as well as the reformation of a position subordinate to the torturer, which the audience perpetuates when they allow themselves engender from the spectacle. This can be in agreement with Foucault observation citing that power entails both force and submission. The existing literature offers factual support to bear witness to the fact that the power has always had its authoritative control and embodied habits as they claim to moral and social superiority. In terms of the audience alignment these depictions of the violence serve to reproduce a dominating social power relation. However, such effects are not promised because the display may merely initiate an awareness amongst the audience, different from fear and submissiveness. Consequently, though violence is capable of being an element of power, this is precisely where investigation of the corresponding social context becomes necessary. That is why violent public torture is not simply a means for achieving a particular political purpose, it can mean the creation of the concrete social spheres where the collective definition of objectives is realized.

According to Foucault, disciplinary power operates through the subjecting and ordering of people and their bodies: That is, by mapping, disciplining, and using the

matter of their bodies. By arranging the matter of their bodies and controlling the travels of their bodies. The techniques of discipline belong to anatomic-politics of the human body notably in relation to medical technology. What disciplinary practices do efficiently improve the functioning of bodies, not brutally pain them, force their movements or imprison them, which do not concern the functioning of disciplinary power. These practices extend the body's capabilities by bringing into operation new registers of the body, carving out new areas of the discursive terrain for evaluating and transacting about bodily performances and producing new knowledge about people. It is in this connection that Foucault refers to power's "directly productive function" (*Discipline and Punish* 170). Disciplinary Power does not keep people immobilized and forces them not to move their bodies, but it shapes new domains of the body as targets of normative regulation.

The material spaces are structured by social norms: They define who needs to be where and how that person is supposed to behave, use his/her limbs, and relate to others. These embedded standards directly influence the options that are open to the agents. Thus, in many cases, it is the subjects themselves who assess and modify their behaviour based on these standards, as they are established in a power relationship of which they themselves are the agents. Like Arendt who attributed speech to power, Foucault is also convinced that power creates places for doing things and talking. Nevertheless, the importance of the transformations of such sites, as well as the materiality of such spaces, is stressed by Foucault when speaking about the concrete characteristics of them. To attempt to reduce 'power' to 'violence', one would have to argue that the orientation of actions through the apparatuses of discipline involves nothing other than force, however veiled. Honneth, thus, notes that "the only thing that is left in this case with the interpretation of institutionalization of positions of

power is the continuous use of force” (121). However, disciplinary power does not operate through the physical constraint or putting into operation physical torment on the body. Instead, it informs actions by rendering particular aspects of bodies intelligible for normative regulation, and contributes to the formation of new sets of discursive practices regarding people’s bodies and characters, for instance, as criminal, sexual, or developmental. Furthermore, it depends on the subjects’ cooperation, where the subjects make judgments that reflect the disciplinary action to be taken; while this is not strictly agreement, it forms part of the co-action conception. Not even the political function of violent public torture can be exhaustively described in physical terms.

From the discussion it can be seen that for Arendt power can only come from communication, this means that violence or the use of force cannot generate power. However, it is an “impossibly restrictive reading of Arendt,” because she was concerned with the emergence of the social and coalescing modern politics with the administration of projects and processes of life that Foucault labelled disciplinary and bio power (Birder and Debris 32). In such a way, although Arendt clearly differentiates between power and violence, such a strict distinction can be dangerous as it might ignore how contemporary political power might work through control of life itself. Together with Foucault, her paradigm can rather be viewed as a way of enlightening the influence of communicative power on disciplinary and biopolitical forms of governance within contemporary politics.

According to Foucault, the seeming shift in the text between violence to civil politics is not a disruption but a reformulation of techniques of power. Foucault has always opposed the perception of power as something we have or as something we can only have and exercise through repression. It is “productive, relational, and

immanent to social practices” (*History of Sexuality* 92–95). Therefore, although violence is not the externality of power, it is not its only form or its most evident manifestation. But it appears in a most explicit way, where disciplinary, legal, and biopolitical measures are not enough to control bodies. The transformation of power over to power with as described in the thesis does not therefore indicate the absence of violence, but rather its decentralization into institutions, norms, and administrative rationalities, where it is no longer noticeable, but more prevalent.

Agamben drives this observation further when he reveals that the politics of modernity is organized according to the “inclusive exclusion of life” (*Homo Sacer* 18). The post-conflict order outlined in the thesis like peacekeeping forces, emergency forms of governance, managing refugees is being pursued in what Agamben refers to as a “state of exception”, a place where a violence is suspended but maintained in its operational form (20). The refugee, the demobilized fighter, and the internally displaced individual are the manifestations of the “bare life”, which is incorporated into the political order only because they are subjected to regulation and abandonment (19). In this sense, peace does not mean an absence of violence, but rather an expression of it through the rule of law where direct violence is turned into an established type of government.

The first point that seems to contradict this non-dual interpretation is Hannah Arendt’s strong distinction between power and violence and states that violence is “instrumental” and power is “collective and consensual” (*On Violence* 44, 45). However, critically understood in the context of the select plays for study in the thesis, the framework produced by Arendt shows its own stressful nature: violence appears when power is challenged or when it is not seen as adequate. The need to keep the peace with the forces of the state, the use of coercive law enforcement and

the use of forceful demobilization all prove that political power is never completely non-violent, even when it is the most participatory one. Civil politics, in turn, relies on a latent monopoly of violence that ensures its operations, showing the vulnerability of the normative distinction that Arendt seeks. Even restorative justice, apology and reconciliation are symbolic forms of force that regulate what violence is recognized, and those that are ingested into silence. Peace therefore is not the opposite of violence, but its legal extension.

In these philosophers, there is a convergence of understanding that violence and power do not work in a dual fashion. Violence is not an anomaly that can be defeated by politics but a constituent part of political order, now spectacular or normalized, direct or structural. The presence of violence does not change but the visibility, legitimacy and distribution of violence change. Thus, it can be inferred from the study of selected plays that existence is a continued circulation of force, rather than its removal.

The thesis, therefore, seeks to have a non-dualistic conceptualization of power in order to analyse politics of dissimilar forms of violence. This means that even violence, which is a traditional generator of power in their sense, is ruled out in Arendt's concept along with most material human activities and their products. However, it will be rather strange to ask how talk-infused violent practices might affect collective action if power is an exemplary *sui generis* communicative occurrence. However, we will be able to stay with this affiliation of power and violence without having to say that violence cannot be the constituent of power. The thesis outlines that one needs to accommodate the functions of bodies, material things, and constructed architecture in the reproduction and formation of powers. This kind of analysis can be applied to study violent and non-violent ways of exercising power.

A non-dualistic epistemological view on power enables one to learn how various forms of violence or dominant material structures are involved in the creation and sustenance of power instead of excluding such a possibility from the beginning.

Chapter Six

Recommendations for Further Study

The thesis has investigated the complicated interplay of violence and power by making a close reading of three present-day Indian English plays, employing theoretical outlines advanced by Michel Foucault, Hannah Arendt, and Joseph Nye. The study examined the interplay of violence, hard power and soft power in determining social as well as political actualities and individual agency under the regime of surveillance capitalism, occupation-based subdual, and corporate exploitation. While the current work has made significant contributions to understanding how power and violence function in dramatic representations, quite a lot of opportunities exist for advanced study.

Firstly, this research is limited to the selected Indian English drama. An extensive study can consist of vernacular Indian theatre traditions or local performances to comprise a detailed as well as inclusive portrayal of the manner in which violence and power are depicted across various regional languages and socio-cultural dimensions in India. This proportional approach has the capacity to reveal the various dramaturgical strategies or modes of theme which are rooted in local histories, traditions, behaviours and oppositions.

Secondly, the theoretical investigation of soft power has principally been engrossed on nation-state or corporate devices. Further research can see the role of exertion of basic soft power, how modes of resistance, Non- Government Organisations, and sidelined communities bring together influential modes like art, narrative account of events, and diplomatic outreach to neutralize authoritative discourses. The insertion of optional substitutes or undermining soft power plans can furnish a citizen-led outlook towards the present authoritative scrutiny.

Thirdly, the thesis chiefly involves with fictional depictions. A future study can be done exclusively in an interdisciplinary manner by connecting dramatic texts with actual cases. For example, associating the dramatized images of abuse in *The Laboratory* with the actual-life scandals of pharmaceutical trials in India or Africa. This will amplify the socio-political relevance of the research.

Additionally, this research has engaged with power and violence in a theoretical perspective. A cross- sectional analysis like integrating gender, class, or disability studies, can be introduced into the research to survey the manner in which power and violence have distinct effects on several social groups in the plays that have been selected for study here. This may reveal finer processes of domination and struggle.

As a final point, with the increasing significance of alpha numeric surveillance and bio- political control in the present-day societies, further research can be done on the surveillance capitalism focusing on its progressive mode, specifically in the evolving narratives of the post-pandemic period, intensifying the current study instigated in the scrutiny of *Untitled 1*. This will help narrow the divide in digital humanities, Theatre Studies, and Performance Studies as well as conform to evolving transnational apprehensions regarding information and its digitalized input, privacy, and technocratic governance.

In conclusion, further study can capitalize on broadening the current research work, incorporating integrated strategies, and implementing diverse theoretical approaches to fortify the awareness of the intricate dynamics amidst violence, different modes of power, and performance.

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