

**The Art of Governing Well:
Freedom and the Practice of Government in Modern India**

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THESIS

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To my mother and father, Frances and Ashok Pathak...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BMC	Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation/Bombay Municipal Corporation
CIDCO	City and Industrial Development Cooperation of Maharashtra
MARG	Modern Architectural Research Group
PAP	Project Affected Persons
TCPO	Town and Country Planning Organization

SUMMARY

This project studies the discourse of neoliberalism as it emerged in India during the 1970s against a backdrop of a crisis of Indian liberalism. Political-economic approaches have stressed the primacy of the market and its structural reforms in bringing about neoliberal transition in India. My project diverges from such analyses that locate political economy at the center of political transformation, and instead calls attention to the history of systems of political thought and how shifts in these have provided the epistemological rules of formation that undergird political and governmental change. In India, the transition from liberal to neoliberal government occurs not as a consequence of post-Fordist reorganization during the 1990s, but due to changes since the early 1970s in how Indians think and know themselves as free individuals. I find that these epistemic shifts in Indian theories of freedom are productive, generative, and constitutive of novel governmental practices in modern India.

The subject of Indian liberalism was the free individual secured through their newly gained political rights, and governmental practice was carried out in ways that coordinated compliance by respecting and relying on the rights of each and all. Liberal government was thus able to pursue the urgent work of nation-building in the post-colonial era by calling on this free individual whose rights obliged them to help develop a secular and composite (future) nation. But, by the late 1960s, this liberal discourse of freedom begets an internal critique and counter-discourse that will steadily replace it starting in the 1970s. The subject of Indian neoliberalism does not appear as a juridically compliant subject-citizen but as a free individual chooser and utility-maximizer. Neoliberal government thus abandons the work of nation-building, finding such projects to be inimical to free choice, and instead seeks to make individuals compliant to a

spontaneous ordering of human affairs according to the pursuit of their personal interests in their future self instead of the nation to come.

These broader discursive shifts in India are discussed on a case-basis by historically and ethnographically mapping political-theoretic changes in the Indian family, and the public and private sectors. These changes are themselves made possible through governmental crises within each of these sectors. And so, in the work of child and family psychologists in India, we note the family undergoing a crisis of authority due to a perceived inability to secure the compliance of young people. In the private sector, and in the work of Indian economic thinkers, we observe a crisis of central planning that has produced market inefficiencies of overproduction. And in the public sector, we observe a crisis of population through the work of urban planners who grow increasingly concerned with the city's inability to limit the number of people residing within it. Taken together, the crises of authority, of central planning, and of population betray a broader crisis of Indian liberal government. And we see governmental discourse respond to these crises by relying on and producing a new kind of Indian subject, i.e., the subject of utility-maximizing choice. Governmental discourse in these sectors assumes a more neoliberal register when it begins to think and know the free individual not as a subject-citizen but as this subject of choice.

Accordingly, young people are developed not in order to produce future citizens who will sacrifice their personal interests to those of the nation, but to encourage the adoption of and adherence to a rationality of utility-maximizing choice that will best secure them opportunities as adults. The individual in the marketplace is not assumed to be passive and waiting to consume goods deemed necessary to national economic development and industrialization. Instead, this individual is now understood as an active agent whose consuming interests and choices are placed at the center of all commercial thought and practice, leading to the rising status of market

research in Indian commercial thought and practice. Finally, the resident of the city is no longer thought of by urban planners as actively participating in the production of harmonious and fixed civic spaces, but as a voluntary and freely choosing part of a population whose spontaneity and flexibility must be matched by producing eminently flexible urban landscapes.

This dissertation offers an analytical, historical, and ethnographic study of governmental transition in modern India. Throughout this work, arguments and analyses discuss and respond to the important consequences of this shift as it relates to local issues of gender and class. This effort culminates in a final chapter that offers a reassessment of the rise of the Hindutva movement in India, which I see not as a recent reaction against but generated out of and in continuity with India's neoliberal turn since the 1970s.

1. THE ART OF GOVERNING WELL

Freedom and the Practice of Government in Modern India

This dissertation is a political-theoretic study of the discourse of neoliberal government in India, which emerged in the 1970s against the backdrop of a crisis of Indian liberalism. I map discursive developments in the family, the private sector, and the public sector since the 1940s in order to describe shifts in how Indians thought of themselves as free and how these made possible corresponding adjustments to governmental practice. Existing political-economic approaches that study neoliberalism through the lens of, for example, consumer citizenship, propose that structural and material changes in the relations of production crafted the neoliberal subject in India. This subject then moved into familial, social, or political spaces, which changed to accommodate transformed productive relations by appealing to the individual-as-consumer. I argue that such existing approaches often fall short by ignoring discursive productions and epistemological shifts that predate post-Fordist reorganization in India. They also tackle the study of sites that are distinctly different from the marketplace, such as the family or urban planning, with critical terms immanent to the marketplace. My project studies discourse within these sites and thus relies on concepts more appropriate to their particular milieus. This approach has the advantage of bringing into sharper focus changes that are not exclusively or even primarily political-economic in nature. I view these changes through a political-theoretic lens that is sensitive to how a shift in governmental discourse broadly speaking – in the terms informing the conduct of conduct – makes possible analogous changes in otherwise different sectors of Indian society.

By plotting and illustrating the historical changes in these sectors and relying on ethnography to understand how these changes have come about, my dissertation also makes plain a shared crisis of compliance in market activity, urban development, and the family during the 1970s and 80s. For the second and third quarters of the twentieth century, Indian governmental discourse circulated around a liberal-juridical reading of the individual's freedom. The individual's freedom was thought of in terms of securing rights in ways that would help realize the independent nation (or an idea of it). Examining B.R. Ambedkar and K.M. Pannikar's work, in particular, I describe how such a regime of rights enabled effective government, facilitating the individual and group development needed to make possible a nation-building project. But I also argue that this Indian liberal relationship between individual freedom, government, and the nation changes by the late twentieth century when it is recast in neoliberal terms that discourage group affiliations and encourage the maximization of individual choice. This other principle of government finds that the freedom of the individual reveals their choices, which must be encouraged and appealed to in order to govern each and all more closely.

The constellation of Indian governmental principles and techniques thus transitions from a liberal to neoliberal register. An important consequence of this neoliberal turn in India is that, starting at least as early as 1970, the link that fastened the individual's sense of self to the nation and its future is broken. Setting aside these nation-building concerns, governmental discourse now promotes the individual's sense of self according to their image of their future. Seen as a critique of (liberal) governmental discourse's failure to recognize this individual's inherent freedom to choose, the varied terms of this neoliberal recasting call attention to what was perceived at the time as a broader crisis of liberalism and that manifested as so many failures to secure the compliance of each and all and to coordinate conduct in various sectors of society. By

the 1970s, the family faces a crisis of authority, the private sector a crisis of planning, and the public sector a crisis of population.

And so, in the economic sector during the 1970s, the field of marketing began to shift away from a focus on developing efficient distribution networks for products prioritized by national economic planning and towards the discovery and analysis of individuals in terms of their preferences. In the same decade, the work of managing and raising young persons in the family was reframed from developing a future citizenry that would ensure the well being of the nation and its future, towards encouraging the individuality of each and a preoccupation with personal improvement of their future selves. Meanwhile, urban planners in the public sector were no longer planning cities to engender a civic and national vision of harmony and balance, but instead proposed measures that encouraged and responded to the venturing and choice maximizing affairs of the city's residents in order to design more flexible urban landscapes in India. I argue that this growing preoccupation with the individual, in terms of their preferences, decisions, personal identity, and so on, reflects an epistemological shift in Indian governmental thought, the primary concern of which is now to take seriously and articulate with the individual's freedom in terms of their choices. Through analytical, archival, and ethnographic work, I describe how these changes in India reveal both a reorientation in how individuals are thought of with respect to their freedom, and in how their freedom to choose (re)produces their governability in the marketplace, in public space, and within the family.

On a political-theoretic reading of the discourse of individual choice, one that resonates with political-economic critiques of neoliberalism but does not reduce to them, individual choice is not so much an expression of a consumer mentality but is instead an ethic of enterprising rationality that refines individual preferences through a matrix of gains, losses, efficiencies, and

optimal. For instance, the freely choosing individual does not solely (or even principally) take the form of a consuming agent who demands that public and private goods and services attend to their idiosyncratic wants. Instead, they are an enterprising or venturing agent who allocates scarce means towards certain ends and not others. This subject relies on an ethic that spurs them to perpetually imagine their interest by calculating ways to optimize their advantages and potentials, and accordingly govern themselves and others. It is this assumed self-ethic that also animates a wide range of governmental practices to more effectively engage with the individual's free choice in order to better secure their compliance and to manage and coordinate the conduct of each and all more closely.

I build on the assumption that individual freedom is constitutive, generative and productive of modern practices of government. A number of scholars have extended this insight from the work of Michel Foucault, including Nikolas Rose, Uday Mehta, Wendy Brown, Hagar Kotef, and Patrick Joyce.¹ More government, on this view, does not mean less freedom for the individual. Instead, the more individuals are free in a certain way, the more effectively they can be governed. Rather than limit the study of government to the activities of public officials and offices, I join these scholars to examine government as an everyday art of managing the conduct of self and others. And so, by extending the study of government beyond areas like urban development to include spheres such as marketing and parenting, I investigate a pattern of government through choice that does not emerge out of any one sector but is reflected in and transforms each. To this end, my project analyzes ethnographic findings from six sites: two major marketing agencies, two major urban planning and development institutions, and two parental counseling agencies. These

¹ Rose, Nikolas. *The Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Mehta, Uday S. *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth Century British Liberal Thought*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). Brown, Wendy. *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2015). Kotef, Hagar. *Movement and the Ordering of Freedom: On Liberal Governances of Mobility*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015). Joyce, Patrick. *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City*. (London: Verso, 2003).

findings build on and update my historical analysis, tracing continuity where otherwise distinct practices of marketing, urban planning, and the family continue to reorient themselves around the individual in ways that are nevertheless familiar, i.e., around their freedom to choose. I describe the specialized rationalities that inform theories of the individual in each site, and the techniques that professionals in each site rely on to better know and engage with individuals in order to secure their compliance.

This work is necessarily attentive to prominent features of national and social (trans)formation in India. The neoliberal governmental shift, by refocusing efforts to more closely observe individuals and encourage a prospective self-imagination in each and all, motivates a number of fields of practice to set aside any concerns about the idea of the nation and its future. I examine how practices of urban planning and marketing, in relying on the discourse of individual choice, successfully reconfigure and amplify class-based distinctions. My work also pays attention to the ways in which an increasing focus on the child's individuality reproduces and reshapes traditional modes of gender and sexuality, particularly for young urban women. In the final chapter, I reflect on how this epistemic transformation in governmental thought and practice has engendered the rise of the Hindutva movement in modern India. With this project, I offer a decidedly political-theoretical contribution to the literature on neoliberal transition in South Asia, which has heretofore been dominated by more narrowly political-economic accounts.

The present chapter starts with a historical and comparative study of the affinities and distinctions between nineteenth and early twentieth century English liberalism and its mid-twentieth century variant in India. It is intended to set the stage for a discussion of the rise of Indian neoliberalism out of a perceived crisis of liberalism in India. My analysis of English liberalism reads J.S. Mill, T.H. Green, and L.T. Hobhouse as broadly articulating theories of

individual freedom to advocate certain practices of government over others. My work on Indian liberal thought has a similar focus, and is concentrated on figures of mid-twentieth century Indian political theory, namely, B. R. Ambedkar and K. M. Panikkar. Bringing the work of these theorists, otherwise separated by history and geography, into conversation with each other illustrates how Indian and English thinkers share a liberal-judicial preoccupation with individual rights and the development of historically dominated groups. This encounter between English and Indian liberalism is presented as a political-theoretical comparison of their respective principles of liberal governmentality. More importantly, this comparative historical and theoretical analysis reveals that at stake in the Indian liberal rationality of government is neither a laissez faire regime nor a society of self-mastering individuals familiar from English liberalism, but a vision that by contrast fundamentally underwrites a nation-building project.

Individual freedom is the primary focal point for English liberal thinkers during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century. This is because they see individual freedom as the chief register through which governmental practice must understand itself. While it defines freedom in different ways, English liberal governmentality works in and through the individual's freedom in order to govern. That is, it works to secure the compliance and coordinate the conduct of each and all by assuming and utilizing freedom, rather than undermining it. Freedom becomes the very principle of intelligibility for government, and is thus juridically secured to prevent arbitrary governmental interferences by the state and society in the lives of individuals. In the final analysis, however, the goal of juridically securing freedom is not simply to facilitate self-development but to advance society. In other words, the reason we must ensure that individual freedom is the condition of possibility for government is that this freedom allows government to know what it can do, by respecting this freedom and working through the self-development of

each, to ensure social progress. This progress can manifest in different ways, as a society ordered around vital and lived truths and a diversity of opinions (for Mill), or as an enlightened society of rationally self-mastering individuals (for Green), or as social harmony (for Hobhouse).

Indian thinkers of the mid-twentieth century share many of these liberal governmental principles. However, and crucially, the exact relationship between Indian and English liberal governmentality that concerns my project is how Indian thinkers extend this English emphasis on social improvement, but in ways that are attentive to India's post-colonial context. I describe how Indian theorists were themselves concerned with questions such as a diversity of opinions, rational awakening, and harmony, but with an eye to (an idea of) the nation and its future. This means that the object-target of Indian liberal thought is not social progress *tout-court*. Rather, they argue that society itself has to be developed into the (future) nation. I find that English theorists, by contrast, stopped short of such nationalistic questions, perhaps because they have so naturalized their by then established metropolitan nation, or rather 'civilization'. And so the first half of this chapter is limited to a comparison of the relationship between English and Indian liberal governmentality in order to draw out this contrast. And this work is done with an analysis in mind, for the second half of the chapter, of the characteristics that make neoliberal transition in India so distinct.

Discourses of English Liberalism

I read J.S. Mill, T.H. Green, and L.T. Hobhouse as broadly representative of the negative, positive, and social strands of English liberalism, respectively. To do this is not to suggest these as the only important figures of liberal thought. Rather, it is to read their treatises as representative of different ways to think government, i.e., different ways in which the coordination and

compliance of each and all can be secured. And what makes these attempts liberal is the particular way in which the freedom of the individual, ensured through certain juridical securities, is seen as constitutive, productive and generative of government. What follows, then, is an introductory sketch of how liberalism theorized this relationship between freedom and government.

This sketch is by no means a detailed, much less exhaustive, account of the theory of liberalism. Instead, it is conducted to broadly map liberalism's major English variants between the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. On the one hand, and as a question of history, this geographic and temporal focus is especially appropriate when trying to understand how Indian thinkers writing in post-colonial India would have encountered English contributions to liberalism during the colonial era. On the other hand, and more comparatively, it allows me to introduce some of the basic analytical terms of liberal thought that inform both English and Indian liberal thinkers of the mid-twentieth century. To do this is not only to describe resemblances between liberalism in England and India. It is, more importantly, to pay attention to and describe certain crucial differences between liberal thought in nineteenth century England and its twentieth century Indian variant.

In "On Liberty", originally published in 1859, Mill makes a now famous case for liberty, through a consideration of "the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual".² Individual liberty, for Mill and for his liberal contemporaries, is turned into a principle for governmental limitation *par-excellence* and the register through which government must know itself and act accordingly. And the practice of

² Mill, John Stuart. "On Liberty," in *Essays on Politics and Society Part I, vol. 18 of The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), 231, Accessed: November, 2014, <http://oll.libertyfund.org/sources/4499-ebook-pdf-mill-the-collected-works-of-john-stuart-mill-volume-xviii-essays-on-politics-and-society-part-i/download>.

government (as the management and coordination of conduct) is not simply confined to the state but includes society, as well. Mill is thus sensitive to how both state and society can limit the freedom of individuals through governmental practice, and his advocacy for governmental limitation applies both to the state and society. What is needed, then, is a principle of liberty that limits governmental practice. And this is the principle that “the only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it.”³ I am free when I am not coerced, restricted, or interfered with by others. Interference is only warranted if someone’s actions, and never their thoughts or opinions, are likely to directly harm someone else. We thus arrive at a principle for governmental interference where “the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with *the liberty of action* of any of their number, is self-protection”.⁴

Liberty, for Mill, opens up and maximizes spaces where the individual cannot be interfered with, i.e., where each is left to think and do as each sees fit. Ideally, individuals are left to develop themselves and their individuality, and there are as many (if not more) opinions and ways of thinking and acting as there are individuals. And given that one’s thoughts or opinions must not be the object of interference (only their actions), and since individuals are free to engage with others (as long as their actions are harmless or consensual), then a climate is secured where free and open thought and discussion and creative practice can take root. This climate establishes the diversity of opinions, as well as various experiments in living, which helps usher in social progress. The argument for the free and liberal circulation and discussion of opinions, for

³ Mill, *On Liberty*, 238.

⁴ Mill, *On Liberty*, 236. The emphasis is my own.

instance, is based on their ability to augment or even redefine the truth and dominant knowledge society relies on in order to progress. Put another way,

“the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.”⁵

In embracing all (and not simply majority or prevailing) opinions, by letting individuals think and do as they please and engage in free and open discussion with others, society embraces the pursuit of a living truth and not dead dogma. This commitment to a living truth is one of a truth that is constantly being improved upon, and one that induces people to live this truth by always questioning it and improving it. It is a truth that is not simply vital in itself, but also encourages vitality amongst the individuals who engage with and pursue it. Free and open discussion is thus an important “aid to the intelligent and living apprehension of a truth.”⁶ Whether it is a freedom to think and discuss one’s opinions, or to experiment with different (non-conformist) ways of living, the objective in establishing such vigorous spaces of individual freedom is for people to govern one another through the freedom of each and in the pursuit of the truth and social progress. This is a non-coercive governmental regime insofar as it does not directly interfere with individual actions (as long as those actions do not harm others). Instead, government works indirectly, through individual liberty and free discourse, as an effective and mutual conduct of conduct and a means of truth-telling in the search for social improvement.

With Mill, we find that liberal freedom is individualistic. Specifically, freedom is a condition where the individual is not interfered with. But at stake in my freedom as non-

⁵ Mill, *On Liberty*, 240ff.

⁶ Mill, *On Liberty*, 257.

interference is not just that it affords me the opportunity to have my own thoughts, opinions, and ways of living, all of which contribute to my self-development (what Mill refers to as “individuality”). Perhaps more importantly, it is only through the individual’s freedom from arbitrary compulsion and to think and act freely that the overall advancement of society can be secured. This freedom makes possible the development of individuality, and “in proportion to the development of his individuality, each person becomes more valuable to himself, and is therefore capable of being more valuable to others.”⁷

We also find that liberal freedom works through a juridical mechanism. The rights of the individual must be secured, not only legislatively but by way of a cultural consensus about what these rights are, and in ways that clearly delineate spaces where each cannot be interfered with. And once individual rights are known and secured, government knows its field of operation, respecting the rights of each and working through the freedom that they secure. Good liberal government (be it through the state, society, groups, or individuals) works through such juridical self-limitations, in order to let individuals enjoy their freedom to think and do as they please. T.H. Green’s work also draws a relationship between freedom and a regime of rights and laws. Unlike Mill, however, Green does not think of legislation in the negative sense, as simply the juridical register government must rely on to prevent infringements on the liberties of each. Instead, Green sees legislation in the positive sense, as a mechanism that governmental institutions, and especially the state, can rely on in order to enhance individual freedom. Mill’s legislation is negative in the sense that it outlines what government cannot do, and what it can do, it must do indirectly (through free and open discourse) with an eye to how the pursuit of free and individual self-development provides the most vital path to social progress. Green’s take on legislation is

⁷ Mill, *On Liberty*, 269.

positive insofar as he sees it revealing to government what it can do, which is to more directly (rather than indirectly) develop the individual as a way to the advancement of society.

In “Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract”, a lecture delivered to the Leicester Liberal Association in 1881, Green considers the arguments of thinkers who reject governmental measures to legislate matters of labor, workplace safety, education, and public health as so many measures that interfere with the individual’s freedom to do “what he will with what he considers his own”, i.e., as an “interference with the freedom of contract”.⁸ Green finds that with the steady advancement of technical, social, and economic relations during the nineteenth century, the individual’s freedom to not be interfered with appears to have come up against “a great system of restriction”.⁹ It is this system of state regulation and the justification for it that interests Green. More specifically, he tasks himself with justifying a system of legislative intervention that does not so much limit the individual’s freedom as it does, in his view, improve and refine it.

Crucial to Green’s defense of legal restrictions is his argument for what Isaiah Berlin would later identify as positive liberty. While many liberals, including Mill, define freedom in the negative sense (as non-interference), Green is a proponent of positive libertarianism, where I am only free to the extent that I reason for myself.¹⁰ For Green, while legal restrictions often do limit freedom in the negative sense, such limitation is warranted when the restriction in question strives to enable and improve the individual’s freedom in the positive sense (i.e., as rational self-mastery). When we speak of freedom in the sense Green thinks it,

⁸ Green, T.H. “Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract,” in *Works of Thomas Hill Green, Volume III, Miscellanies and Memoir*, ed. R. L. Nettleship (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911), 366.

⁹ Green, *Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract*, 370.

¹⁰ Berlin, Isaiah. *Liberty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). On Mill see 171ff; On Green see 41 (footnote) and 53.

“we do not mean merely freedom from restraint or compulsion. We do not mean merely freedom to do as we like irrespectively of what it is that we like. We do not mean a freedom that can be enjoyed by one man or one sect of men at the cost of a loss of freedom to others. When we speak of freedom as something to be so highly prized, we mean a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying, and that, too, something that we do or enjoy in common with others. We mean by it a power which each man exercises through the help or security given him by his fellow-men, and which he in turn helps to secure for them.”¹¹

A proper system of legislative restrictions that prevents individuals from entering into certain types of arrangements (for instance, working twelve hour days, or in a factory with poor air ventilation, or not educating a child up to a certain age) can justify doing so because the prevention of such arrangements is not simply in the personal interest of each but the common interest of all. That is, these interferences are warranted insofar as they allow each and all to “make the most and best of themselves”.¹² The assumption Green makes is that, left to themselves, individuals who are free in the negative sense can enter into all kinds of obligations that do not have their best interest in mind, understood as their rational self-development. While these arrangements can be freely entered and exited, they can (and often do) lead to a degradation of the individual’s autonomy. Such contracts threaten the development of a higher order of freedom, or the capacity to reason for oneself in ways that facilitate the moral improvement of each and all.

For instance, laborers in nineteenth century England often agreed to employment in factories that were notorious for unsafe working conditions. And these laborers did so freely, i.e., without interference. However, such unsafe work conditions mean that “every injury to the health of the individual is, so far as it goes, a public injury.” This not only impedes the positive freedom

¹¹ Green, *Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract*, 370-371.

¹² Green, *Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract*, 371.

of each, but “is an impediment to the general freedom”.¹³ Hence, legislation is needed that might compel individuals to not seek employment at such facilities, or compel employers to bring their workplace up to certain safety standards. A more direct contrast with Mill (who was not averse to the regulation of commerce to prevent harm) concerns Green’s approach to intoxication. A negative libertarian like Mill will not support interference with the affairs of a drunkard, as long as he is not shirking his clear and assigned responsibilities to others (i.e., as long as his excessive drinking does not harm others, or interfere with his performance of freely undertaken duties toward them). A positive libertarian in the mold of Green supports interference with any and all drunkards because he sees the very activity of regular intoxication as a diminishing of the rational capacities required so that each and all can make the best of themselves.¹⁴ In such cases, legislatively limiting one’s negative freedom to do as one thinks and likes can arguably enhance what for Green is the individual’s true freedom (in the positive sense).

According to Green, “the ideal of true freedom is the maximum of power for all members of human society alike to make the best of themselves”.¹⁵ Positive freedom, in this sense, relies on the development of the capacities of the human mind, and in ways that align the interest of each with the common interest of all. Green sees the truly free individual as not simply self-interested. The pursuit of my apparent self-interest is not necessarily what is in my best interest. In the midst of Victorian era, Green argues that the positively free subject is instead meant to display an *enlightened* self-interest. This subject is “enlightened as to his own interest, which is also the interest of the public, and is sufficiently free in maintaining it”.¹⁶ The purpose

¹³ Green, *Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract*, 373.

¹⁴ Green, *Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract*, 383-84.

¹⁵ Green, *Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract*, 372.

¹⁶ Green, *Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract*, 380.

of legislation is to ensure that the pursuit of freedom in the negative sense does not come at the cost of extending this positive freedom. It follows, then, that the fundamental condition under which particular liberties “can be rightly allowed to the individual ... [is] that the allowance of that liberty is not, as a rule, and on the whole, an impediment to social good.”¹⁷

Taken together, Green’s liberalism, and the positive theory of individual freedom that it is based on, counts on a juridical regime to induce individuals and society to move into an enlightened age, where the interest of each and of the public are understood as one and the same and pursued with the requisite moral vigor deserving of such an age. This is a regime that reserves the right to limit the freedom of the individual in a negative sense in order to enhance and engender the development of individual freedom in the positive sense. If the “spirit of self reliance and independence” are the agents of individual freedom, then this is because they are exerted for “higher objects” and for “the play of our moral energies”.¹⁸ Green shares Mill’s governmental ends of individual flourishing and social progress. However, he also differs from Mill insofar as Green argues for a more direct means of reaching this goal. That is, if Mill’s liberal government is a more indirect means of governing individuals, Green finds that such indirect means do not always have the best interest of individuals and society in mind. Governing by letting individuals be can lead to thought and action that impedes their more enlightened development. And so, Green advocates a more direct and legislative means of government through freedom the tries to develop an enlightened character. In this sense, government still works by letting individuals freely think and do, but in ways that uses legislation to steer their thought and actions to their enlightened interest and a vision of the improvement of society.

¹⁷ Green, *Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract*, 384.

¹⁸ Green, *Liberal Legislation and the Freedom of Contract*, 286.

By the end of the nineteenth century, we find two major strands of liberalism. Both share a primary preoccupation with individual freedom, though they differ in their definitions of it along negative or positive considerations. For both, freedom of the individual must be juridically secured through a regime of rights and laws. And for both, there are crucial ways in which this freedom is expected to be generative of certain governmental practices, which work through this freedom. In the twentieth century, L.T. Hobhouse offers a possible synthesis of positive and negative liberalism, with his own take on what liberal freedom means. But Hobhouse still follows the familiar ways in which individual freedom must be juridically secured, and in how this freedom is the primary point of reference for governmental thought and practice.

In “Liberalism”, originally published in 1911, Hobhouse presents a brief but useful appraisal of liberalism by distinguishing between its destructive and constructive moments. As a political movement, liberalism has often been destructive and revolutionary. Destructive in this sense means that it works to overturn the old establishments of Church and State in order to secure the rights of free individuals. In Hobhouse’s estimation, the business of liberalism “seems to be not so much to build up as to pull down, to remove obstacles which block human progress ... it finds humanity oppressed, and would set it free”. Accordingly, liberalism has been “removing superincumbent weights, knocking off fetters, clearing away obstructions”.¹⁹ But as it succeeds in its revolutionary form, what is increasingly needed in conjunction with such destructive processes is a constructive project. In other words, what must immediately follow the removal of barriers to individual liberty are attempts to reconstruct liberty by thinking about how society must be arranged based on liberal principles. A liberal governmental framework is needed

¹⁹ Hobhouse, L.T. *Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 14-15.

to conduct the conduct and secure the compliance of each and all. For Hobhouse, freedom provides the rule of formation for this framework.

The first and most important condition of freedom is universal restraint under equality before the law. Legislation is a great equalizer among individuals because while it constrains me from doing as I please, it also restrains others from doing the same. Put another way, the law levels relations between those who are governors and are governed in ways that (at a minimum) ensure that those relations are non-arbitrary. And so, “there is no essential antithesis between liberty and law. On the contrary, law is essential to liberty.”²⁰ We are free to the degree that there are certain things that each and all of us are equally compelled against by law. Moreover, it is important to note that Hobhouse is at pains to pry the definition of freedom under liberalism away from thinking about it as endorsing individuals to live an atomistic life, i.e., a largely isolated life where individuals only associate with others for purely instrumental reasons. In part, this is Hobhouse’s attempt at a critique of the free subject produced by an economic liberalism, where associations only take place when each has something to offer the other. Once free and voluntary exchange occurs to the advantage of the involved parties, each goes their separate ways. All inter-subjective relations, then, are instrumentalized by self-interest.

Hobhouse is instead concerned with stimulating a congruity in relations between individuals and society as a means to the common good. This is not the classical economists’ natural harmony, spontaneously springing out of the activities of isolated individuals prudently going about their personal affairs. Rather, it is a social harmony that assumes a more “organic conception of the relation between the individual and society”.²¹ This social harmony admits

²⁰ Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, 17.

²¹ Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, 67-68.

that while society is made up of and relies on free individuals, the mental and moral life of individuals would be fundamentally undermined if disassociated from society and the common good. It follows then, that, “an individual right ... cannot conflict with the common good, nor any right exist apart from the common good.”²² On the face of it, of course, freedom is a matter of restraining government under the law. For instance, it is only through the presence of laws that require someone (or some group) not to make a slave out of another that everyone’s freedom can be secured. But that restraint, and the freedom we are endowed with as an effect of restraint, is not simply about security from arbitrary government by others. Universal restraint under the law not only facilitates the individual’s freedom, but endorses a type of individual freedom that is itself productive of a social harmony.

Hobhouse’s conception of liberal-juridical freedom and the harmony it strives for suggests,

“not that there is an actually existing harmony requiring nothing but prudence and coolness of judgement for its effective operation, but only that there is a possible ethical harmony, to which, partly by discipline, partly by improvement of the conditions of life, men might attain, and that in such attainments lies the social ideal ... to move towards this harmony is the persistent impulse of the rational being”.²³

We find Hobhouse advocating a liberalism whose juridical instruments oscillate between negative and positive libertarian considerations. On the one hand, it concerns itself with securing (the rights of) free individuals from arbitrary governmental interference. On the other hand, it relies on legislative mechanisms not to simply free individuals from arbitrary coercion, but to help produce each as free in the positive sense (i.e., as rational self-masters) and in ways that bring this individual freedom into (rational) harmony with the freedom of all. Unlike Green, however,

²² Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, 68.

²³ Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, 69.

Hobhouse does not think such harmony only manifests as a natural byproduct of governmental legislation that works to develop an enlightened character in each through their moral education. It is just as important that this harmony be produced through structural change.

There are two crucial conditions for this ethical harmony. The first condition, “discipline”, is a matter of the self-development of an individual’s rational personality. This is a question of self-restraint, and of encouraging the self-directing power of personality. “It is only through this [disciplinary] foundation that a true community can be built ... Liberty then becomes not so much a right of the individual as a necessity of society. It rests not on the claim of let A to be alone by B, but on the duty of B to treat A as a rational being”.²⁴ While the first condition of harmony is a matter of rational self-government, the second - “improving the conditions of life” - is a matter of the government of others through structural intervention.

How does one improve upon the conditions of life so that the individual is allowed to develop their own rational personality? Notably, such improvement does not mean direct intervention (via coercion) in the life of the individual. “To try to form character by coercion is to destroy it in the making. Personality is not built up from without but grows from within, and the function of the outer order is not to create it, but to provide for it the most suitable conditions of growth”.²⁵ As long as the individual is following the rule of law as such, direct intervention would only undermine the production of a rational and free subject. Thus, while Hobhouse agrees with Green on the nature of the free subject (as rational being), he subscribes to Mill’s warnings about how direct governmental interference can stifle individual and social development. The art of government must work through indirect rather than direct intervention in order to improve the

²⁴ Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, 66.

²⁵ Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, 76.

conditions of life in ways that promote the growth of rational subjects who take up social harmony as their object.

This indirect intervention, then, is not a matter of coercion or repression. Instead, it focuses on introducing conditions to the individual's milieu in ways that both respect the individual's freedom and that induce them to rationally develop themselves. This is the work of government and it assumes my freedom as a subject of non-interference is secured through a regime of individual rights. But once this is done, and since individual right cannot supersede the attainment of social harmony, government interventions are designed not simply to develop a rational subject out of me through my moral education, but to also craft an improved environment that prompts and leads me in directions that produce social harmony and the common good.

The English liberalism surveyed here has a number of implications for how mid-twentieth century Indian political thinkers contributed to liberalism. These thinkers share in the liberal-juridical focus of their English counterparts, agreeing at a number of points on the value of a robust regime of rights and laws to secure the individual against arbitrary governmental interference. At other points, and to varying degrees, Indian theorists also argue the major libertarian strands of English liberalism. But Indian liberalism, as it is treated here, is not simply a matter of working through individual freedom so that both individual and society can develop and progress. I find that a distinct point of departure for Indian liberals is the way in which neither the well-being of the individual *qua* individual nor a society *qua* society is at stake in thinking government through individual freedom. Instead, what becomes clear is that the individual's freedom is a way, perhaps the only way, to govern each and all towards an idea of the nation and its very future.

In other words, while individual freedom continues to be the framework for liberal governmental thought and practice in India, and while this framework largely expresses itself through a juridical regime, the object of government (and the freedom that makes it possible) is neither the self-development of each nor simply the progress of society, but the development and building up of the nation as a distinctly political and now sovereign entity. And this work is particularly urgent for Indian liberal thinkers who see in the Indian nation a way to overcome the enduring inequities produced in a society historically dominated by the Hindu majority. The freedom of the Indian liberal subject, too, is not just articulated through non-interference or rational self-mastery or some blending of these, but most prominently through the figure of the citizen, i.e., a subject-citizen whose freedom is then thought of as the very condition of possibility for a governmental project of nation-building. To say this is not to say that Indian thinkers were not interested in the common good, as the English liberals were. It is simply to say that any governmental preoccupations with the common benefit, or with the development of society and the individuals making up that society, are filtered through and subordinated to developing and advancing an idea of what the nation might be, and how to secure it.

One final point deserves emphasis. I am not arguing that Indian liberals were simply imitating ideas from the English. Instead, I follow C. A. Bayly and K. M. Panikkar and read Indian thinkers as *active* participants and contributors to liberal discourse. Panikkar is especially helpful here. He finds that far from appropriating liberal ideas from Europe, and having some accidental (and thus illegitimate) relationship to liberalism,

“India was an active participant and therefore direct inheritor of the revolutionary ideas of the 19th century ... Very few people realize that from the beginning of the 19th century, Indian thought, feeling and experience have been closely connected with the

developments in Europe, and this movement ... represented not the imitative capacity of the Indian mind but the genuine reflection of a world-wide intellectual process".²⁶

Liberalism and the Creation of the Indian Nation

In the mid-twentieth century, as India finally gains its independence from Britain, I argue that the epistemic register within and through which the concerns of Indian political thinkers were communicated was of a liberal sort. I approach this tradition through the work of two thinkers, in particular: K. M. Panikkar and B. R. Ambedkar. I do not want to suggest that these are the only figures of liberal Indian thought worthy of study. Indeed, as C. A. Bayly's rich history showcases, the Indian liberal tradition is deep, stretching at least as far back as the early nineteenth century. It is informed by several key theorists and is marked by major and minor mutations throughout this period.²⁷ My objective in studying Panikkar and Ambedkar's work is to focus on and describe one such mutation.

This mid-twentieth century Indian liberal variation relies on the individual's liberty in order not simply to secure and assert individual rights, but does so in a manner that obliges each to a project of nation-building. The Indian liberal governmental project is one that actively thinks about and works to secure this obligation out of each and all. And I propose that this is a project so significant that it can be seen permeating practices in the family, and in the public and private sectors since the 1940s and until the 1970s. Starting with a discussion of Panikkar's work, which I read as offering consensus arguments on this relationship between the individual's liberty, rights and a governmental project of nation-building, I then proceed to discuss Ambedkar who

²⁶ Bayly, C.A. *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Panikkar, K. M. *The State and The Citizen* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1956), 42.

²⁷ Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*.

develops these broader arguments in ways that are more nuanced and attentive to the idiosyncrasies of Indian society.

K. M. Panikkar was a prodigious writer, historian and civil servant. Internationally, he served as an Indian diplomat to China, Egypt, and France. Domestically, he served in the Upper House of the Indian Parliament and chaired the States Reorganization Commission in 1953. “The State and the Citizen” was published in 1956. In it Panikkar argues that, “in a dependent society, the individual is a subject. He has neither rights nor the obligations of a citizen. He obeys the law because he is forced to do so.”²⁸ Once society gains its independence and is no longer dominated by another, it becomes a free society. And in a free society, the individual is transformed from an unfree subject of domination into a free subject-citizen, endowed with rights that protect each against interference by others and, more importantly, with duties that oblige each to the burgeoning nation that this society is transforming into. In other words, free individuals must recognize their basis in and obligation to the nation that confers upon its individuals this freedom, and that codifies this freedom within a juridical framework. It is this recognition that also instills within the individual a sense of responsibility to that nation. It follows, then, that “the basic assumption in a free community is that each individual shares in the responsibility of government and has duties and rights towards the society and the state.”²⁹

This is not to say that the free individual is simply in service to the state. Panikkar argues that, “in a modern society the right of the citizen in relation to the state is the most complicated of all problems. Every state in the world today is totalitarian, in the sense that it claims the totality of powers ... It speaks with a million voices on the radio. It overhears our conversations

²⁸ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 1.

²⁹ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 1.

on the telephone. It pries into our secret thoughts by censoring our letters. It controls the water we drink, the food we eat, the lights we use, our modes of transportation, and in fact practically everything in our lives.”³⁰ This state phobia, a fear of an ever-expanding and modern state, makes the task of protecting the individual’s freedom an urgent one. The fundamental dilemma of modern free societies is the management of the relationship between protecting individuals and their liberty against the necessarily powerful modern state. The answer to this dilemma is that the individual must obtain juridical safeguards through a framework of rights that protect each from governmental interference by the modern state, and that allow individuals to think and act more freely. Accordingly, for Panikkar, the declaration of fundamental rights in the Indian Constitution “is a self-denying act by the state itself in favor of the individual”.³¹

On the one hand, the Constitution of India secures the liberty of the individual against governmental interference by others, including the state.³² On the other, the Constitution serves another purpose. It obliges the individual to the nation as a subject-citizen who bears the responsibility of sharing in the government and development of the nation. This is where the importance of the nation (and building it) really comes through, for Panikkar. While the modern state is a political and governmental representation of the modern nation, it has the capacity to undermine its compliant relationship to the nation. Society must be developed, not simply as a free society, but into a dynamic nation made up of free individuals whose individual interests align with those of the nation as a means to watch over the (possibly noncompliant) state. Accordingly, then, Panikkar’s liberal-juridical framework “postulates the widest measure of

³⁰ Panikkar, *The State and The Citizen*, 4-5.

³¹ Panikkar, *The State and The Citizen*, 6.

³² See, for instance: Government of India. “Part III Fundamental Rights” in *The Constitution of India*. Government of India Online, Accessed: May 27, 2017, https://www.india.gov.in/sites/upload_files/npi/files/coi_part_full.pdf.

freedom for the individual” at the same time as it “entrusts each [individual] with the duty of participating in the determination of such duties and obligations as are placed on him”.³³ These responsibilities placed on the shoulders of the free subject, and especially the youth of India, are based on “our ideas of not standing for privileges [religious-, caste-, or gender-based, for instance], our faith in the equality of man, of our conviction that humanity can march to its goal only through co-operative effort.”³⁴

And so these juridical protections take on a double function: to grant rights to each, and to call upon these rights in order to oblige each and all to the nation. Put slightly differently, once rights are conferred upon the individual, securing spaces of freedom where each cannot be interfered with, they simultaneously oblige each to the nation and to take a direct stake in its progress, thereby creating out of each a subject-citizen who is responsible for the nation and its future.³⁵ In either case, it is a matter of governing through the individual’s freedom. The conduct of each and all can be conducted as long as governmental practice respects the juridically secured spaces where individual freedom cannot be interfered with. But conduct is also governed insofar as each and all, through their rights and freedom, are obligated to assume responsibility for the urgent project of nation-building.

The subject of post-colonial India, then, is not simply an individual who is free to pursue their own interest in their own way. Government is less a matter of encouraging self-interest, and more about aligning the interest of each to the (future) nation and its interest. To be sure, and while he starts with early modern neo-roman assumptions, i.e., one cannot be free in a dependent or unfree society or community, the real crux of Panikkar’s arguments for liberalism can be

³³ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 2.

³⁴ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 46.

³⁵ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 5-6.

located within negative libertarianism.³⁶ For him, the liberal attitude is “an open approach to problems, a curiosity towards and interest in new ideas, and a continuous endeavor to evaluate them in terms of the individual’s position in society”.³⁷ This individualistic focus allows individual freedom to take on a negative libertarian aspect to the extent that it promotes the establishment of rights that secure a space for the individual to think and act as they please, without being interfered with by others. It allows each to self-develop and grow according to their personal interests, preferences, desires, and wants as long as their actions do not infringe on the rights of others.

But, and more importantly, Panikkar is also skeptical of the theory of individual freedom based in the doctrine of *laissez faire*.³⁸ Given that the individual’s very freedom is secured by a free society, Panikkar sees that the individual has a duty to this society as it develops into a nation. And this is not simply a duty that begins and ends with the act of voting. For example, it calls for the cooperative generation of ideas and policies through participation in voluntary organizations. That is, it requires an active role in public life, and “unless the citizens of a state take continuous interest in the development of ideas and their popularisation, democracy cannot function as a dynamic political system.”³⁹

The subject-citizen’s duty does not simply mean the economic and political well-being of the (future) nation. For Panikkar, post-colonial India will have to “build up a new life” that is not simply a matter of “economic betterment” or “the development and successful working of new political institutions” or the “building up of national strength in the material sense”. The most

³⁶ On early modern neo-romanism, see: Skinner, Quentin. *Liberty Before Liberalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³⁷ Panikkar, K. M. *In Defence of Liberalism* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1962), 120.

³⁸ Panikkar, *In Defence of Liberalism*, 100-101. Panikkar, *The State and Citizen*, 129.

³⁹ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 8-9.

urgent challenge for the free subject-citizen is to assist in “the creation of a new set of values, applicable alike to the individual and to the community, which harmonises the conception of individual freedom with discipline, charity and tolerance with firm convictions and, above all, a social consciousness which realizes that material wealth is for the service of the community.”⁴⁰

For Panikkar, four primary ideas formed the liberal basis of Indian nationalism, and are especially reflected in India’s constitution. Broadly speaking, these four ideas include measures for social justice to eliminate social inequalities, the maintenance of civil freedoms, a planned economy to eliminate economic inequalities, and a general reliance on a welfare state that “provides every individual with opportunities for their fullest development”.⁴¹ But we also find that “the fullest development” of the free individual takes on new significance in Indian liberalism. It becomes a liberal governmental question. And it means developing individuals into subject-citizens through their newly gained freedom.

This is as much a project of self-development where the individual must see themselves and their freedom in the nation, as it is a product of development through (for instance) the education of each that not only readies them for individual careers but invests a sense of national purpose in their career-pursuits.⁴² Indeed, Panikkar is alert to the possibility of a gradual weakening of national purpose, which he notes as a threat always lurking behind the formation of nations. It is a threat that can mean that the nation itself could be undermined by the modern state. And it is a threat that “can only be counteracted by the active interest of the vast mass of

⁴⁰ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 48.

⁴¹ Panikkar, *In Defense of Liberalism*, 14-15.

The latter two ideas - a planned economy and a welfare state - were in the mold of the Beveridge Plan in the UK, and the New Deal in the US.

⁴² Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 46-47

citizens in the policies of the state, their constant vigilance against back-sliding and continuous and unremitting pressure against any weakening of the national will”.⁴³

In Panikkar’s work, we locate a liberalism where it is perfectly consistent to be both concerned with the individual’s liberty and self-development, and the growth and development of the nation. But he was also suspicious of the establishment of a juridico-political regime that would simply work to prop up a governmental regime (in the area of legislation, for instance) that might further entrench the interests of a particular society, especially a political majority.⁴⁴ And while dominant social traditions and customs can be of value insofar as these are supportive of an individuality that sees its interest and future tied up with those of the nation, other customs “in the case of caste relationships, disabilities enforced against groups, subordination of women, operate against national life, or as in other cases go against our economic well-being, and have to be ruthlessly rooted out.”⁴⁵

This suspicion was not just shared but amplified by some of Panikkar’s liberal contemporaries. Perhaps none did so more strikingly than B. R. Ambedkar whose arguments at the time, and compared to the arguably more establishment and centrist positions of Panikkar, were notably insurgent but were nevertheless gaining intellectual and political currency. Ambedkar’s political activism takes this mid-twentieth century discourse of Indian liberalism seriously, understanding that securing the rights of free individuals opens up opportunities to build a more *inclusive* nation through the individual’s freedom. And so any vision of an Indian nation must make it so that it becomes the nation’s interest (and, by association, the interest of

⁴³ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 10.

⁴⁴ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 129.

⁴⁵ Panikkar, *The State and the Citizen*, 48.

the subject-citizens who make up that nation) to pay special attention to and serve the interests of historically subjugated minority groups.

Many know Ambedkar as a member and champion of the Dalit community in India. Some might recall him as the architect of the Constitution of India and the country's judicial system. Arguably, Ambedkar had a direct impact on the trajectory that Indian politics and society would set itself on following its Independence, even more than M. K. Gandhi. For Ambedkar, as for many Indian liberals of his time, if liberty for the Indian nation means independence from British rule, then liberty for the individual, if it means anything, "means the destruction of the dominion which one man holds over another".⁴⁶ This is especially true for the minority Dalit in India, who were not part of but subservient to the majority Hindus. Hindu doctrine mandated that Hindu society be divided into four castes (or *varnas*). These are, in order of importance, the Brahmins (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors), Vaishyas (merchants and farmers), and Shudras (laborers). Dalits are a minority group ostracized from the society of Hindus, classified as outcasts by the Hindu majority, and tasked with work regarded by that majority as impure. What possible recourse does the minority Dalit have against domination by the Hindu majority? Ambedkar answers that "the only safety against such people is to have the political rights which the Untouchables claim as safeguards against the tyranny of the Hindu Majority defined in the Constitution."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ambedkar, B. R. "Annihilation of Caste" in *Annihilation of Caste: The Annotated Edition*, ed. S. Anand (New York: Verso, 2014), 230.

"Annihilation of Caste" was originally published in 1936. Untouchable is another term for Dalit, and one that Ambedkar often used. Unless otherwise noted, and for the sake of consistency, I use 'Dalit'.

⁴⁷ Ambedkar, B. R. *Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables* (1943), Chapter 9, Accessed: May 27, 2017, <http://www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/42.%20Mr.%20Gandhi%20and%20The%20Emancipation%20of%20The%20Untouchables.htm>.

On the one hand, we have a discourse of individual freedom that once again takes some inspiration from a theory of neo-Roman liberty. Here, freedom for the individual means that each is not dependent upon and dominated by another. This must hold true not only for a Hindu in relation to their British administrators, or more generally for the natives in relation to their foreign rulers, but also for the Dalit in relation to the rest of the Hindus. On the other hand, and more importantly, the way one can secure this non-domination for the individual is by subscribing to and installing a regime of negative liberty. That is, the individual is no longer under the dominion of another when we recognize that this individual's freedom secures a space where each can do and think as they please without being interfered with by others. The individual's independence secures political rights that sets a governmental limit against such interference.

Indian liberal discourse dovetails with the position of negative libertarians like Mill and the American Federalists who argue that if liberty has a juridico-political correlate, it is the protection of the rights of the minority against the tyranny of the majority. Ambedkar, too, sees the problem of Untouchability in India as “a problem of securing to a minority liberty and equality of opportunity at the hands of a hostile majority which believes in the denial of liberty and equal opportunity to the minority and conspires to enforce its policy on the minority”.⁴⁸ Both the problem and its solution materialize in juridico-political terms, i.e., what the Dalits lack and what they require is a political regime that finds its basis in securing individual rights for each and all. And what these individual rights enable is the development and exercise of the individual's capacities. Certainly, the real benefits of individual freedom come through “an effective and competent use of a person's powers”, especially when it comes to charting out a desired path for

⁴⁸ Ambedkar, B. R. *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables* (1945), Chapter 8, Part 3, Accessed: May 27, 2017, <http://www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/41A.What%20Congress%20and%20Gandhi%20Preface.htm>.

oneself in their social, political, and economic lives. The problem for the individual Dalit is that they do not have the liberty to select their political affiliations or their social circles. But through the proper development and competent use of one's capacities, the individual is made alert to possible and unjust limitations to their political rights and social life.

Or consider the example of how individual freedom allows each to develop their capacities in a manner that permits the proper exercise of those capacities in order to acquire gainful employment. Here, again, the problem is a matter of limiting the individual's freedom to decide how a Dalit, for example, can earn a living. "The supporters of caste who would allow liberty in the sense of a right to life, limb and property, would not readily consent to liberty in this sense, inasmuch as it involves liberty to choose one's profession [:] to object to this kind of liberty is to perpetuate slavery."⁴⁹ And so, once the individual's freedom is interfered with, once the space where each can do and think as they please is unreasonably limited or eliminated, then the individual is no longer free, their rights are empty promises, and they can be dominated by another.

Negative libertarians like Mill wanted to secure the rights of the individual through their freedom in order to allow them to think and do as they please, in whatever way that might be and according to their own capacities and powers, as long as they do not violate the harm principle. This position allowed Mill to dispute, for instance, the historical and political subordination of women to men by proposing a legal equality between the sexes that would let women develop and improve themselves according to their interests and powers.⁵⁰ There is a close affinity between Indian liberals and their Western antecedents in this preoccupation with the

⁴⁹ Ambedkar, *The Annihilation of Caste*, 261.

⁵⁰ Mill, J. S. "The Subjection of Women," in *On Liberty and the Subjection of Women* (1879), Accessed: August 8, 2017, <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/347>.

improvement and development of historically dominated and dependent persons. Speaking against the argument that the caste system in India is more or less analogous to a natural or spontaneous division of labor in any society, Ambedkar argues that,

“...this division of labour is not spontaneous; it is not based on natural aptitudes. Social and individual efficiency requires us to develop the capacity of an individual to the point of competency to choose and to make his own career. This principle is violated in the caste system in so far as it involves an attempt to appoint tasks to individuals in advance, selected not on the basis of trained original capacities, but on that of the social status of the parents.”⁵¹

Tuned in to the specifically Indian context of the caste system, the liberal discourse of mid-twentieth century India points out that persons who are historically subjugated and dominated are unable to use their powers in an “effective and competent” manner. The majority Hindus might argue that it is because of their ‘character’ or ‘nature’ that the Dalits have made up what Ambedkar and others referred to as an historically depressed class, i.e., their constitution is such that they are fated to their depressed status and thus cannot overcome this fate. However, what is now argued is that the actual cause of their status is not due to some natural deficiency or flaw in their character. Dalits are historically depressed persons because they are the victims of an historical discrimination that has not just limited but outright prohibited political equality and opportunities for them that would help develop their capacities and powers. This being the case, such persons are fundamentally unfree because they cannot enjoy any benefits from this freedom.

Furthermore, such persons are denied what Mill identified as a fundamental aspect of modern life, which is “that human beings are no longer born into their place in life, and chained down by an inexorable bond to the place they are born into, but are free to employ their faculties, and such favorable chances as offer, to achieve the lot which may appear to them most

⁵¹ Ambedkar, *The Annihilation of Caste*, 234.

desirable.”⁵² And so, if Mill proposed institutional reforms along juridico-political lines in order to make it possible for women to develop and improve themselves according to their capacities and powers, liberals like Ambedkar go a step further and add that in order for Dalits to take full advantage of their freedom, their powers must be developed through special training and legislative assurances whereby they can gain competency and exercise their capacity effectively.⁵³

Importantly, and within the Indian context, the goal of securing the political rights of the free individual is not just to let the individual be.⁵⁴ Although Ambedkar does not subscribe to Green’s positive libertarianism, his work does echo Green’s concern that non-interference by itself is not a sufficient condition for freedom. Individual Dalits, left to think and act for themselves, will still be discriminated against due to the tyranny of the Hindu majority. Ambedkar sees this as a problem of society, and more specifically, of a majority religion producing an exclusionary society. This problem cannot be indirectly corrected, as Mill would have it, through free and open discourse. For Ambedkar, even if those who are dominated are free to be left alone and are made juridically equal to others, an historically exclusionary society (dominated by Hindus, for instance) can always find any number of informal ways to discriminate against and dominate those excluded. That is, even informal and indirect

⁵² Mill, *The Subjection of Women*.

⁵³ Arguably, Amartya Sen’s ‘Capability Approach’ finds an historical precedent in Ambedkar’s position here, insofar as this approach’s theoretical framework subscribes to an individualistic orientation that recognizes that the individual’s pursuit of well-being is determined by the extent to which each is capable of this pursuit. And so developmental policies, if they are to be effective, must be attentive to differences in individual capacities and work to promote opportunities to better expand these. Sen, Amartya. *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000). Nussbaum, Martha. “Nature, Function, and Capability: Aristotle on Political Distribution” in *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1988).

⁵⁴ C. A. Bayly’s work is especially attentive to this feature of Indian liberalism, i.e., it is far less individualistic and more suspicious of the doctrine of laissez faire than its British or American cousins. Bayly characterizes this as a more “communitarian” liberalism than one would find elsewhere, especially in the West. While my work is informed by Bayly’s research on Indian liberalism, it also differs from his work insofar as I approach Indian liberalism as a discourse of individual freedom, and one that has less of a communitarian focus but instead circulates more around the nation and an image of it and what must be done to bring it into being.

interference is inimical to the individual's freedom if society itself is fundamentally discriminatory. Such discrimination will, of course, mean that the self-development of a Dalit is always limited by society.

For Ambedkar, it follows that society itself must be overcome by creating an *inclusive* nation, the priorities of which supersede that of this society. Like Green, Ambedkar presents a liberal discourse that does not see legislation as the opposite of liberty, but essential to it. The objective is to not simply secure individual rights, but to actively use legislation to directly identify and reach historically depressed persons. It means to set up a nationally and legislatively enforced scheme that will enable both self-development and group development of such persons. This development is made possible through targeted training that would build the individual's competency in a way that effectively allows each to acquire social, cultural, and economic stability for themselves.

Taking a further step back, what Ambedkar's approach to freedom reveals about Indian liberal governmentality, more so than any other Indian thinker during the mid-twentieth century, is that only once the freedom of individuals helps secure their rights can the work of good liberal government really begin. Good liberal government does not protect the majority if that means the minority is or continues to be harmed, especially if that minority is historically subjugated. It secures and relies on the rights of the individual to establish a system of government that will help protect and uplift the interests and capacities of the minority, in spite of the majority's opposition to those interests. The rights of individuals, in other words, once acquired in and through their individual liberty are instrumentalized in order to legislatively locate and correct the injustices brought to bear on certain groups, thereby allowing individuals to effectively and

competently use their powers.⁵⁵ This system, for Ambedkar, most certainly means the establishment of separate electorates for such depressed persons, reserved seats in public offices and institutions, reserved land, reserved admissions in schools and universities, and so on.⁵⁶

It is worth noting that Hindus during Ambedkar's time objected to the separate electorate provision (and more generally to what they called the '*communal scheme*', insofar it was focused on uplifting a certain *community* of people). This objection was made on the grounds that such a provision would mean that the uplifting of the Dalits through the strict enforcement of legislation would distort the urgent project of nation-building in order to advance narrower communal objectives. Ambedkar's reply to such an objection was simple, but striking: "there is no nation of Indians in the real sense of the word. The nation does not exist, it is to be created, and I think it will be admitted that the suppression of a distinct and a separate community is not the method of creating a nation."⁵⁷

In the final analysis, the nation and its future is not set aside in order to benefit the individual or the community. Rather, the point of uplifting through institutional and legislative securities the most subjugated persons is to produce and sustain a more inclusive nation. Put another way, the only way the nation as whole could ever come together and prosper, the only way a truly nationalistic agenda could ever be effective, and more fundamentally, the only way to really create a nation, is when those worst off in the nation are recognized as such, are allowed to come together as free individuals, and are advanced through special juridical protections.

⁵⁵ Indeed, this is one major reason why even today in India so many groups continue to make claims to be designated under the scheduled caste or tribe category. Whether or not this was the intention of Ambedkar, it should be noted that Indian liberalism has always left the door open for such claims to be made.

⁵⁶ Ambedkar, *Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables*.

⁵⁷ Ambedkar, *Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables*, Chapter 5.

The intention, in arguing for this approach to government in and through the freedom of individuals, is a political double movement - the installation in the first place of a juridical regime of equality amongst Indian citizens and, in the second place, and crucially, to leverage this equality in order to uplift the persons who have suffered most from India's system of religious and social inequality, the caste system. But it is also the case that only through this double movement can the proper foundations be put down for a nation-building project that does not assume that the nation is a simulacrum of a society largely represented through an ethnic or religious majority. And so, to be sure, nationalism and the project of Indian nation-building is not abandoned by this mid-century discourse of liberalism. Instead, for thinkers like Ambedkar, such a project should be enthusiastically pursued as long as it is understood that the nation's interests and politics do not work simply to establish a regime where the interests of historically subjugated groups are cast aside in order to openly promote individualism, or simply to reinforce the interests and politics of society dominated by the majority Hindus.

In other words, the government and development of the individual through their freedom is not just for the sake of the individual or society. Instead, individual development is encouraged precisely to make the nation appear as an accessible, knowable, governable and governing entity. Each has to be developed in order to construct a composite of subject-citizens that can then be defined as a prospective and governable nation. And what defines this composite is not simply the sum of its activities and potentials in the economy, but also in the spheres of culture and in politics. Uplifting and developing the most vulnerable and historically subjugated persons certainly allows them to contribute to and be counted as part of the economy. But it does not mean that their contributions to society are now more important than they once were. In terms of their labor, as Ambedkar reminds us, the individual Dalit is an unrecognized but historically

crucial part of the Indian economy and society. What will permit each to see to their well-being and have their labor better recognized and remunerated is the establishment of a nation and a developmental regime that allows their cultural history and political rights to contribute to and be counted as part of a whole, i.e., contribute to the definition and vision of the nation. In short, Indian liberalism establishes a governmental dialectic between the individual and the nation in that both are mutually constitutive. It is only by properly governing the individual, organizing, managing and helping to develop their capacities that a more inclusive and durable nation can develop. But it is only in a well-governed and inclusive nation, where individual freedom is juridically secured and is the governmental register through which the development of each and all is undertaken, that the individual can best contribute to the nation's future and well-being.

Indian Liberalism in Transition

It is, perhaps, worth consolidating some of the primary themes of liberalism as it appeared in mid-twentieth century India. On the one hand, nineteenth century English liberals and Indian liberals of the mid-twentieth century shared an emphasis on self-improvement and the development of individuals through certain juridico-political reforms that assumed the freedom of each. On the other hand, and with it being a newfound nation reckoning with the legacy of colonialism, the caste system enforced through an historical Hindu majority society, and the ongoing Partition, the political climate of India helps introduce a novel wrinkle into liberal discourse and how it manifests in India. That is, mid-twentieth century Indian liberal discourse goes one step further than it was taken in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries by the likes Mill, Green, and Hobhouse, turning their attention on individuals and society's future into a more explicit emphasis on the nation (or at least an idea of it) and its future.

As the nation of India emerges onto the geopolitical landscape by the second and third quarters of the twentieth century, and as questions about what it means to be Indian and part of the nation of India are being considered and pursued for the first time, Indian liberalism takes its cues from particularly local experiences. In so doing, it reconfigures its thought and practice around the understanding that in a free society, where the rights of individuals are secured by a constitution, individuals and groups can still experience unfreedom. And this problem of unfreedom is framed in terms of the responsibilities of the free individual. If, for Panikkar, the free individual is to be endowed with a sense of responsibility to the nation, Ambedkar reminds us that it is still the case that the individual is nevertheless responsible for themselves even as they must contribute to the advancement of the nation.

“In a free social order the responsibility for survival in the struggle for existence lies on the individual. This responsibility is one of the greatest disadvantages of a free social order. Whether an individual is able to carry out this responsibility depends upon fair start, equal opportunity and square deal. The Untouchable, while he is a free individual, had neither fair start, nor equal opportunity nor square deal.”⁵⁸

Proper juridical and legislative protections are required to ensure a state of cultural acceptance and political equality for each and all. Only then can Dalits develop in a fashion that allows each to be effectively and competently responsible for themselves. Otherwise, each is unable to collect the fruits of their political independence and is therefore fundamentally unfree with respect to the historically privileged groups.

Taken together, we find that the discourse of liberalism in India introduces for the subject-citizen a double sense of responsibility. By virtue of their freedom, each individual is expected to be both responsible for themselves and to the nation-building project as a whole.

⁵⁸ Ambedkar, B. R. *Untouchables or The Children of India's Ghetto* (date unknown), Chapter 3, Part 3, Accessed: May 29, 2017, <http://www.ambedkar.org/ambcd/22A.Untouchables%20or%20the%20children%20of%20India's%20Ghetto%20PART%20L.htm#c03>.

Furthermore, the most impactful subject-citizen for this liberal regime is someone who can effectively balance these two demands made possible through their independence, i.e., each must be able to be responsible for themselves in a manner that aligns with their responsibility to the nation and its progressive aspirations. Once the individual is properly developed in their capacities (this is especially the case for the historically depressed persons in India), they will not only be able to enjoy the fruits of their individual freedom but, more importantly, they will be better equipped to appreciate and more effectively bear their responsibility to the nation-building project.

But it is precisely this relationship between the self and the nation that is subverted, starting in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century through a crisis of liberal governmentality. I propose that both the liberal discourse and its crisis are best understood where they distinctly appear in particular sectors - namely, the family, private sector, and public sector - rather than as macro phenomena first appearing as overarching events that then move into these sectors. In the coming chapters, I characterize both liberalism in India and its crisis as they manifest in these specific sectors. This entails a bottom-up approach revealing how, for instance, in the discourse of the family the individual is no longer thought of as balancing their double responsibility to the self and the nation's future. And it traces how in the discourses of market research and urban planning, the individual is not anymore linked in their consumption or city dwelling habits to a national economic and urban development project.

In each of these sectors, there is a contextualized and internal critique of liberal governmental thought and practice. But while this critique is contextualized, the reasoning behind the critique can be located in a shift in how individuals are thought of as free and how their freedom necessitates certain changes in governmental practice. The liberal subject-citizen

gives way to the neoliberal subject of choice who is responsible for themselves without any obligation to the nation and its future. In the family, the marketplace, or the city, individuals are now solely responsible for themselves and their personally-defined futures. This yields a liberal governmental crisis of authority in the family, of planning in the private sector, and of population in the public sector. This new sense of self-responsibility permanently undermines Indian liberal nation-building concerns and the governmental project that defined the first decades of the postcolonial nation-state. Accordingly, I describe and understand this broader crisis of Indian liberalism through these crises of authority, of planning, and of population. It is at the meeting point of these several crises that the parameters of that broader turning point become more clear. Simply put, such a study of specifics promises to reveal a general and yet more contextualized pattern.

The other, top-down study of the crisis of Indian liberalism might favor a more descending mode of analysis, where scholars study epoch-defining governmental acts and policies of a cadre of key actors and institutions. They might study how these actors characterized the crisis of liberalism in India, and how they marshaled the state to advocate India's neoliberal turn.⁵⁹ But in so doing, scholars miss the crucial ways in which the discourse of liberalism is always-already engaged in a critique of its own governmental thought and practice.⁶⁰ And they overlook how this self-critique facilitated the transition from liberalism to neoliberalism in India by appearing in the more quotidian and professional discourses of child psychologists focused on

⁵⁹ A number of scholars have conducted this type of analysis. See, for instance, Ahmed, Waqar. Amitabh Kundu and Richard Peet (eds.) *India's New Economic Policy: A Critical Analysis* (New York, Taylor and Francis: 2011). Oza, Rupal. *The Making of Neoliberal India: Nationalism, Gender, and the Paradoxes of Globalization* (New York, Taylor and Francis: 2006). Sharma, Aradhana. *Logics of Empowerment: Development, Gender and Governance in Neoliberal India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

⁶⁰ Foucault, Michel. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2008).

the Indian family, of market researchers engaged in the Indian private sector, and of urban planners tackling the development of Indian cities. Consequently, the points of articulation and emphasis in my study of Indian liberalism and its shift to neoliberalism are primarily given to several non-canonical figures of Indian governmental thought.

My analysis therefore refers to works by current and former family psychologists, market researchers, and urban planners. It also draws on insights from interviews conducted during 2015 and 2016 with presently practicing psychologists, researchers, and planners in India. These are the experts who every day, through reflection, reasoning, and execution, breathe new life into the discourses (and counter-discourses) of their field. These fields of family counseling, market research, and urban planning do not exist outside of the realm of Indian governmental discourse. Instead, such fields both reflect and are generative of that discourse and its epistemic shifts. It is in their critique of the governmentality in their own professional fields that these experts very much reflect a liberal tendency to self-criticism, eventually announcing the end of the Indian liberal regime and birth of the Indian neoliberal regime in these sectors.

What follows is a survey of the relevant arguments that frame the history of neoliberalism in the West, with special reference to American neoliberalism of the Chicago School and the work of thinkers like Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman, and Gary Becker. I refer to these thinkers to illustrate how neoliberal transition did not occur abruptly and separate from liberal discourse. Instead, this was a shift internal to liberalism itself. Both Hayek and Friedman shared a political philosophy advocating for and rescuing what they saw as the quintessential libertarian principle of liberalism, i.e., the defense of the free individual against coercion. But how these scholars think about and defend freedom also signals an impending and pivotal revision of how we think ourselves free and in how such theories of freedom are productive of a new

governmental regime. Similarly, my treatment of Indian liberal thought does not refer to Indian neoliberal thinkers *per-se* but to thinkers who, within the liberal regime, were critiquing that regime for not being freedom-friendly enough. By throwing liberal discourse into a governmental crisis, Indian thinkers disclose a reassessment of individual freedom broadly analogous to the Chicago School. But their new theory of freedom also calls for revisions to governmental practice that implicate it in a decidedly Indian and post-colonial landscape, setting Indian neoliberal discourse as distinct from its American counterpart.

In the next section, I analyze how American neoliberalism emerges as a critique internal to liberalism itself. I then describe how Indian liberal thinkers were active in the self-critique of liberal government, and in ways that signal the broader transition from a liberal to neoliberal regime in India. Like the previous survey of British liberalism, the objective of this survey of American neoliberalism is not to present a litany of neoliberal ideas through its most celebrated thinkers. Nor is it to argue that neoliberalism in India perfectly mimics the same points of emphasis and patterns of interaction as American neoliberalism. Rather, I rely on this survey to highlight the ways in which Indian neoliberalism will go beyond simply repeating such affinities and will, instead, produce a distinct iteration of itself. My treatment of specific Indian writing and thought also does not intend to place these into some canon of Indian neoliberal texts and thinkers. It proceeds from the insight that much like how the germ for Western neoliberal discourse is internal to the liberal discourse of government, Indian neoliberal thought manifested in the seemingly liberal writings of a variety of Indian thinkers during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. In this next section, I also present some of the reasoning behind neoliberal freedom in order to discuss how this theory of freedom produces its own permanent state of unpredictability and crisis of government.

The Freedom to Choose and American Neoliberalism

In his lectures at the College de France during 1978 and 1979 where he was examining the government of populations, Michel Foucault argued that liberalism is characterized by an internal mechanism of governmental limitation, where government means the management and administration of the conduct of free individuals. In general, Foucault argues, liberal thought finds that government has a tendency to over-extend itself, thereby governing too much.⁶¹ And this thought's response has been to locate the primary principle of governmental limitation in the juridically secured freedom of the individual. Freedom, then, is both the principle of intelligibility for government where government works through freedom in order to govern, and it provides a standard of governmental self-limitation where government knows that it governs too much as soon as it undermines or infringes upon the rights of free individuals. The freedom championed by liberal thought thus allows liberalism to "limit the exercise of government power internally".⁶²

In this sense, liberal governmental initiatives are always measured up against the criterion of intelligibility and limitation internal to liberalism itself, i.e., the free individual. Taken together, the freedom that is constitutive of and upheld by liberal regimes also supplies the veridical and epistemological basis for a permanent critique of liberal government. But it is also this permanent governmental self-critique that always holds out the promise of liberal governmental crisis because the governmental regime's very expansion over time will, by definition, carry with it the threat of minimizing individual freedom in one way or another. The difference between the liberal and neoliberal self-critique of government is that the former thinks of this minimization

⁶¹ Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, 17ff.

⁶² Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, 27.

of freedom through a juridical register and the limitation of the rights of free individuals, whereas the latter sees it as a matter of limiting the opportunities available to individuals to freely choose for themselves. As it happens, it is within liberal discourse that we find the germ of the counter-discourse that throws the liberal governmental project into crisis and eventually replaces it as the dominant governmental discourse.

Throughout its development, the neoliberal counter-discourse will argue that liberal government is not freedom-friendly enough, placing the libertarian basis of liberal government in crisis. And it is freedom-unfriendly not because government is contravening individual rights but because in the very act of securing individual rights the liberal regime potentially minimizes rather than maximizes individual free choice. The liberal-juridical plane of governmental intelligibility and limitation is thus altered to now reflect neoliberal-economic principles. Here, I use 'economic' in the classical sense of *oekonomia*, or that which concerns private life and the personally defined interests of private life. The epistemic adjustment made by governmental discourse no longer places the emphasis on knowing individuals as rights-bearing subjects but as choice-maximizing subjects. Gradually, liberal governmentality's subject-citizen makes way for neoliberal governmentality's subject of choice. One important implication of this shift will be that if the maximization of individual free choice is what matters for government to know what it can and cannot do, for government to govern well, then the maximization of individual choice necessitates that individual interests be known (to themselves and others), appealed to, and maximized. Consequently, neoliberal government will increasingly rely on techniques of surveillance in order to observe the free chooser and to better know the personal interests encouraging their choices.

While my study of liberal discourse in the West focused on British liberal thinkers, I follow Michel Foucault in studying neoliberalism as patently American in its epistemic development and practical deployment. For Foucault two major schools of post-liberal thought emerged in the West during and after the war years of the twentieth century: German ordoliberalism, and American neoliberalism.⁶³ The German approach came out of the Freiburg School of economic thought looking to extend the principle of market competition into the private and public sectors, while managing and ordering the ill-effects of this competition by protecting society through robust welfare programs. The American approach emerged out of the Chicago School of economic thinking (inspired by the Austrian School) that sought to extend the very rationality of the marketplace, grounded in assumptions about gains and losses, efficiencies and optimal, investments, exchange, and so on, into both market and non-market sectors. Neoliberal thinking finds that certain types of free relations among individuals solicit an economic form of analysis that can serve as the basis to know and direct human affairs in the least coercive manner possible. This form of analysis is based on novel assumptions about individual freedom that distinguish neoliberal from liberal theories of freedom. But what are these free relations, exactly, that are central to neoliberal thought and practice?

Recall that liberalism ordered the conduct of each and all in a manner that directed the personal interests of free individuals towards a greater interest (that of social progress, or nation-building, for instance). In this sense, liberal freedom gives individuals an ideally equal chance to develop and choose their means but with an eye to and for the sake of certain fixed ends and not others. Importantly, these ends could be defined by something other than and external to the

⁶³ Foucault cites a third, French school, which has similarities with the German school. But for the purposes of this project, I stress only the German school because it provides adequate points of contrast to American neoliberalism. Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Lectures of 7 March, 1979, 14 March, 1979, and 21 March, 1979.

individual that is not merely an aggregate interest, but a commonly defined good and outcome. Neoliberalism finds that governmental measures allowing all a chance to develop their means but not pursue their personal ends are destined to aid the freedom of some at the expense of others' freedom. Labor policy that requires companies to negotiate contracts that standardize employee wages certainly allows some workers to earn a better living. But such policy also limits the earning potential of other workers who might think that they can negotiate better employment terms for themselves. For neoliberal discourse, such policy unequally and intentionally places costs on all groups as it works to remove costs for certain groups. That is, even the workers who are seemingly earning a better wage are being limited in their potential future earnings by not being permitted to privately negotiate terms that better suit their personal ends. In promoting such policies, governmental thought and practice deliberately makes judgements that endorse a hierarchy of possible outcomes where certain ends are thought of as more valuable than others. Thus neoliberal discourse finds liberal government governing too much because liberal government does not fully understand freedom. Specifically, liberal government does not understand that if left to choose their own means *and* ends, free individuals will be productive of a matrix of relations through their freedom to choose that can better direct human affairs without the intentional and unequal distribution of outcomes.

A new type of individual freedom is therefore required, one where I am *free to choose* my own means and ends. This is because freely choosing relations will always produce value-neutral outcomes, no longer deliberately favoring the expansion of the freedom of some at the expense of limiting the freedom of others. Again, it is within the edifice of liberal discourse that we find its critique and this certainly applies to the early work of Hayek and of Friedman composed and

delivered in support of liberalism.⁶⁴ But both thinkers turn out to be liberal only in their defense of individual freedom as the guiding principle for governmental action. Their particular approach to freedom, meanwhile, holds out the possibility that governmental thought itself will have to change if liberalism is to be salvaged from growing governmental programs and policies threatening the freedom of all (especially, as they saw it, the welfare policies of the New Deal).

The type of liberalism that most interests Hayek is one that “derives from the discovery of a self-generating or spontaneous order in social affairs”.⁶⁵ This spontaneous order directs all human activity in a more effective way than would be possible if, for instance, such affairs were directed by a centralized authority like the state. The idea here is that “under the enforcement of universal rules of conduct, protecting a recognizably private domain of the individual, a spontaneous order of human activities of much greater complexity will form itself than could ever be produced by deliberate arrangements, and that in consequence the coercive activities of government should be limited to the enforcement of such rules”.⁶⁶ For Milton Friedman, a student of Hayek’s contemporary and colleague Henry Simons, liberal relations are marked by the ideal of *unanimity* where everyone, or at least a great majority of everyone (since perfect unanimity is impracticable), must agree to these basic rules of conduct.⁶⁷

These rules do not prescribe conformity but instead induce a responsibility in each and all to pursue options in such a manner that each sees as suitable to their personally defined means

⁶⁴ Following the received view, I do not identify Hayek as a Chicago School thinker or economist. But his underlying political philosophy is shared by and inspired thinkers from this school, like Henry Simons and Milton Friedman. Van Horn, Robert. “Hayek and the Chicago School” in *Hayek: A Collective Biography Part V*, ed. Robert Lesson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

⁶⁵ Hayek, Friedrich. “Principles of a Liberal Social Order” in *Studies in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1967), 162.

⁶⁶ Hayek, *Principles of a Liberal Social Order*, 162.

⁶⁷ Friedman, Milton. *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 22-25.

and ends. And so, if individuals have rights these rights protect their responsibility to themselves and to securing a private future for themselves. These rules and rights also reveal the terms of individual conduct that will produce a spontaneous ordering of all human affairs. While these authors reveal a liberal sensibility through a juridical position that individual freedom must be protected through a set of rules or rights, they also distinguish their theories as something other than liberal. They do this by building on that juridical stance to propose that once these rules are known and established, the work of government must be simply to enforce the rules of individual conduct and to not use the rules in order to deliberately arrange human affairs to meet certain ends over others. Any such intentional ordering of human affairs is potentially coercive, not simply because it prefers certain outcomes over others but also because in so doing it limits the freedom of individuals to determine their own ends.

Liberal government secured individual rights to know the domains where it can operate and set its expectations and efforts. Neoliberal government must only operate in the enforcement of a certain type of individual conduct. In other words, government is redefined in a more reactive rather than active capacity. It cannot be more assertive where, based on based on insights provided by secured rights, government proceeds to make judgments about the more valued and desired outcomes of human affairs. Instead, government must only respond when rules are undermined or rights are limited, i.e., when the pursuits of individuals are not personally determined and expanded, but determined by others and thus reduced. Indeed, the rules of conduct must always be upheld and individual rights, insofar as these imply an opportunity to freely choose one's own means and ends, must be protected because it is this underlying freedom that guarantees the order of freely choosing relations.

Friedman thinks of such freely choosing relations in the aggregate as a grand game played by each and all.⁶⁸ In a good game, umpires do not deliberately make the rules governing the conduct of the players. Instead, they simply enforce rules that exist in order for the game to be played well in the first place. But it is a *specific* game that must be played – a game where each player is responsible for themselves and how they personally allocate their means to attain their personal outcome. Government must ensure that it is this game that is played. As a result, government is not so much a rule maker but a surveyor of and observer to the interactions among freely choosing persons in a spontaneous order that reveals the rules of conduct for each and all. Government must surveil. In so doing, it simply ensures that the spontaneous order is maintained and extended by enforcing the conduct that makes this order possible to begin with. So crucial is it to maintain this order that government “must enforce compliance with the rules on the part of those few who would otherwise not play the game.”⁶⁹ Per neoliberal reasoning, this enforced compliance does not limit freedom precisely because such individuals are being made to assume and conduct themselves according to their freedom to choose.

If the rules of conduct are generalized and all individuals are left free to choose, then for Hayek the spontaneous order that appears out of the varied and rules-based interaction of freely choosing individuals is called the “catallaxy”.⁷⁰ The catallaxy does not assume that certain means or ends are more valuable than others and that free individuals must be directed accordingly. Instead, the catallaxy is the full range of relations among free and choice maximizing individuals, and thereby encourages and showcases a diversity of personally defined means and ends. Because there is no deliberate attempt to direct such relations towards some common and

⁶⁸ Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, 25.

⁶⁹ Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, 25.

⁷⁰ Hayek, *Principles of a Liberal Social Order*, 164.

unifying purpose, there can be “many different, divergent and even conflicting individual purposes”, and it is the aggregate of these personal results that forms an abstract (or unattached, unbiased, and non-deliberate) and always shifting idea of the common good.⁷¹ Consequently, the outcomes revealed from the relations of free choice are entirely accidental, unintentional, value-neutral, and thus non-coercive. It is the production and perpetuation of such relations that occupies neoliberal government.

“Catallaxy” is based on ‘catallactics’, which means to change or exchange. But catallactics is itself based on the Greek *καταλλακτικός* meaning to reconcile, presumably through change or exchange. This is one way Hayek understands market relations, i.e., as relations where individuals acting according to their own, often competing, interests come to mutually beneficial agreements.⁷² Crucially, in making such agreements, we also assume full responsibility for our choices regardless of the outcomes of those freely chosen agreements. The outcomes of freely choosing relations are value-neutral, favoring no one in particular but producing an aggregate and abstract idea of the common benefit. And so agreements among free choosers are by no means a guarantee of actual benefits to anyone in particular, even as the aggregate outcome of such agreements are generally positive-sum. This is of no serious consequence because, for Hayek, we all take risks in choosing freely. Risk and uncertainty is the price paid for the freedom to choose. If the outcome of an agreement does not work out in my favor, this is by no means an indication that I am more unfree. Instead, I am just as free as I was prior to the outcome because I can still freely choose. Even if my range of options are reduced due to an unfavorable agreement, my remaining options still reflect a maximum in my case. I am free as long as I still

⁷¹ Hayek, *Principles of a Liberal Social Order*, 163.

⁷² Hayek, *Principles of a Liberal Social Order*, 163.

have the opportunity to choose. And I am just as responsible for my future betterment regardless of the outcomes of prior choices and agreements.⁷³

Individual freedom does not ensure that the outcomes of the catallaxy will personally benefit me as a free chooser. It “provides merely the best chance for any member [of a free society] selected at random successfully to use his knowledge for his purpose.”⁷⁴ The free relations defining the catallaxy “do not enforce a unitary scale of concrete ends, nor attempt to secure that some particular view about what is more and what is less important governs the whole of society, ... the members of such a free society have as good a chance successfully to use their individual knowledge for the achievement of their individuals purposes as they in fact have.”⁷⁵ The crucial implication here is that the neoliberal individual’s freedom to choose means merely the *opportunity* to personally determine and select their own means and ends. While my freedom is not limited if my free activity does not yield advantageous results, it is limited when I do not have the chance to pursue my personally defined future. Conversely, freedom is expanded when there are more opportunities to choose. This is choice-maximization. The objective of the rules of conduct and rights of individuals is to protect and expand this opportunity to choose for each and all.

The rules governing conduct are subverted only in those instances when the free activities of others limit my chances of freely choosing and pursuing my personally defined future, which in turn threatens to undermine the libertarian relations defining the spontaneous order. The

⁷³ There are cases where freely chosen agreement might become a “threatened harm”, for instance, in monopolies over water supply or health care. Here, Hayek sees the monopolist not simply reducing choices but erasing the very opportunity to have a range of options (however minimal) to choose from. This is why certain monopolies over vital human resources must be assumed as potentially more coercive than others, and thus require governmental intervention (through legal and moral obligations) to ensure that a maximum of individuals have access to those vital resources. Hayek, Friedrich. “Freedom and Coercion: Some Comments on a Critique by Mr. Ronald Hamowy” in *Studies in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1967), 349-350.

⁷⁴ Hayek, *Principles of a Liberal Social Order*, 163.

⁷⁵ Hayek, *Principles of a Liberal Social Order*, 165.

possibility of such coercion is also why rules must be universal and enforced. But Hayek's libertarian reasoning leads to another implication, one that highlights the principal differences between liberalism and the discourse that eventually replaces it. This is that individual free choice must take precedence over individual rights precisely because rights and rules are now understood as being defined by the freedom to choose. In other words, if we want to know whether rights and rules are being enforced, we simply need to determine if the freedom of each and all is maximized, i.e., whether each has the opportunity to maximize their self-defined choices.

Under the liberal regime, it was government's responsibility to uphold rights and thus secure the freedom of each and all. Liberal government governed well because it respected the rights of each and all as its governmental projects gravitated toward a certain type of future over others. This future was one of social progress (through a diversity of opinions, or rational awakening, or harmony) in the case of British liberals, and of nation-building in the case of Indian liberals. Neoliberal government governs well by allowing each and all the best chance to pursue their personally defined future. That is, neoliberal government governs well when it maximizes the choices of each and all thereby offering everyone the best chance to freely define and select their own means and ends. The ultimate purpose of enforcing rule and rights is to ensure that the ground is always prepared for individuals to not only be free but to have the chance to expand their freedom through an expanded range of choices. Thus, it is by working to maximize individual choice that government fulfills its purpose as the enforcer of universally agreed upon rules and rights that secure the value-neutral and spontaneous ordering of human affairs.

Hayek's work seeks to promote freedom as "that condition of men in which coercion of some by others is reduced as much as is possible in society".⁷⁶ He continues that "by 'coercion' we mean such control of the environment or circumstances of a person by another that, in order to avoid greater evil, he is forced to act not according to a coherent plan of his own but to serve the ends of another".⁷⁷ This is coercion as domination, but it is not simply limited to mean state coercion. While the state tends to have a monopoly over governmental coercion, neoliberalism nevertheless seeks to reduce governmental coercion of a freely choosing individual by *others*, broadly speaking. These others can include both state and non-state actors and institutions.⁷⁸ The free chooser is everyday governed in and through the public sector, but also in and through the private sector, and the family. And so freedom, as a condition of non-domination that allows individuals to pursue their own ends in their own way, is deliberately individualistic since unfreedom or coercion can potentially occur at the most interpersonal level.

Moreover, any collective attachment (however small that collective might be) undermines the individual's freedom to imagine their own interests and pursue those. Even if we assume that the individual is using their own knowledge while in the midst of a collective, their ends will not uniquely be their own because they are being directed by their obligations to that collective. It is along these lines that Indian thinkers will argue that individual's freedom is being compromised by the governmental discourse of liberalism. While their liberal freedom permits them to build and use their knowledge, they are deliberately bound by certain nation-building imperatives directing their free conduct in their youth, or their market activity, or their civic residency. Indian thinkers, too, find that liberalism misunderstands freedom in a way that undermines what

⁷⁶ Hayek, Friedrich. *The Constitution of Liberty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 58.

⁷⁷ Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 71.

⁷⁸ Hayek, *Freedom and Coercion*, 349-350.

individual freedom really is according to neoliberal thought, *viz.* the freedom to choose (as a young person, or as a market actor, or as a resident of the modern city), in order to pursue a fixed outcome of the future nation.

This freedom to choose is the means to the ordering of human relations and conduct according to the catallaxy. The spontaneity of free relations implies a degree of risk and uncertainty that is necessary to any spontaneous order and the production of its value-neutral outcomes. The individual assumes the risk that their free activity might not yield the gain they imagined when they freely agreed to that activity. But if we are left alone to pursue our own personally defined futures, if we are not directed towards collective and general ends but each moving towards varying personal ends, then this also means that the aggregate effects of such individual freedom are unpredictable and must be so. In a strikingly counterintuitive manner, neoliberal reasoning arrives at the conclusion that the inherent unpredictability of the spontaneous order is what defines that order. Put another way, freedom's promise of a spontaneous order also (and necessarily) brings with it unknowable and unanticipated outcomes. In such a regime of unplanned planning, the aleatory is an always looming threat on the governmental horizon.

Hayek's and Friedman's arguments allow us to preliminarily outline some of the key features of neoliberal governmental discourse. Through the analysis of the coming chapters, I present a more contextualized sense of how these features emerge within three otherwise distinct Indian sectors of the family, along with the private and public sectors. For now, we are presented with a theory of freedom that promises a number of operating conditions for governmental practice. First, government must maximize free choice since this is proof of government's enforcement of the rules of conduct that produce the spontaneous order. This is the neoliberal

principle of governmental intelligibility and limitation: government knows it governs well if it maximizes the choices for each and all, thereby coordinating conduct in a manner that (re)produces the catallaxy. Second, government must not work to reduce the risk assumed by free choosers, nor must it try and reign in the unpredictability of the spontaneous order. It is here that neoliberal discourse produces a permanent crisis of government. It does not in fact resolve the inherently aleatory condition of the spontaneous order. Instead, it makes it permanent because it is the aleatory that promises the most freedom-friendly and value-neutral outcomes for each and all. This second operating condition, in its turn, has at least two important implications for the technique of government made possible by neoliberal discourse.

First, the aleatory establishes a novel regime of surveillance to direct and administer techniques of government moving forward. Indeed, government must always surveil. It must observe and know the interests of each and all in order to present individuals with offers that maximize their choices. But the uncertainty and unpredictability of the catallaxy also means that individual interests will constantly adjust to the always shifting relations of the spontaneous order. This means that government must perpetually work to track individual interests by investing in technologies of surveillance. It must rely on mechanisms of observation, such as personality tests and forms of digital and human surveys, to know individual interests and to compare these in order to discover an aggregate interest. This is because government must always govern in the aggregate. It must manage and administer the conduct of as many as possible in order to secure the spontaneous order. And, paradoxically, it must do this in spite of the unpredictable consequences of that order. It thus appeals to the interest of an aggregate of individuals who are arranged together because they share the same personal interest. Government must then deploy mechanisms of intervention that present individuals within this aggregate with options that both

appeal to their self-defined interests and maximize their personal choices while, at the same time, ensuring that the conduct of as many as possible is well coordinated and conducted to (re)produce the catallaxy.

This imperative to surveil, or to know and appeal to individual interest, carries a second implication for the technique of government. This appears as an economic form of analysis that provides the basis for government to know individuals and secure their compliance to the catallaxy. We thus arrive at the analysis of human capital. While individual interest is the locus of governmental concern and observation, this interest is not defined narrowly as a matter of selfishness and gain with respect to monetary wealth, in particular. For Gary Becker, a Nobel Prize winning Chicago School theorist, government must not see such narrow self-interest as the driving force behind the behavior of the individual free chooser. Instead, individuals are maximizers of utility and welfare “as they conceive it”.⁷⁹ That individuals are permitted to (re)conceive of their welfare and utility opens up the realm of thought and behavior to not only narrow self-interest, but also a broader range of feelings, tastes, and attitudes (including altruism, guilt, loyalty, masochism, spitefulness, and so on). In short, it opens up the entire affective spectrum to an economic rationality of optimals, maximums, minimums, exchange, and commensurability. Such a rationality measures the variety of individual feelings, tastes, and attitudes against competing feelings, tastes, and attitudes in order to determine the best course of action for the individual.

Becker’s proposed way to study and understand this rationality is called the human capital approach. “Human capital analysis starts with the assumption that individuals decide on their education, training, medical care, and other additions to knowledge and health by weighing the

⁷⁹ Becker, Gary. *The Economic Way of Looking at Life*, Nobel Lecture, December 9, 1992, <https://www.nobelprize.org/uploads/2018/06/becker-lecture.pdf>.

benefits and costs. Benefits include cultural and other non-monetary gains along with improvement in earnings and occupations, while costs usually depend mainly on the foregone value of the time spent on these investments.”⁸⁰ If costs and benefits can be defined in both material and non-material ways, then the conclusion we can draw from this is that every aspect of human life can be subjected to the human capital form of analysis. Moreover, if neoliberal government only governs well when it maximizes choices for each and all thereby expanding the private domain of freely choosing individuals as well as the realm of their interactions with each other (the catallaxy), then government too relies on the human capital approach. Government must rely on it in to better known individual interests in order to expand the range of options available to individuals that appeal to those interests.

It is here that Becker’s theory of human capital arrives at the conclusion that the economic rationality of the free chooser allows this subject of choice (and the government of that subject) to assess a whole range of market and non-market relations as entirely within the realm of the catallaxy. That is, “the human capital approach considers how the productivity of people in market and non-market situations is changed by investments in education, skills, and knowledge.”⁸¹ And so, for instance, parents do not raise children due to some sacrificial ethic that expects no remuneration for the efforts made towards child-rearing. Instead, the analysis of human capital suggests that parents raise children specifically because they are investing their emotional and material resources in the child to secure a source of future income. But this is not necessarily material income. It could be the psychic satisfaction of seeing their child mature into a self-sufficient and responsible adult. Or it could take on more material significance if their

⁸⁰ Becker, *The Economic Way of Looking at Life*.

⁸¹ Becker, *The Economic Way of Looking at Life*.

expectation is that, as an adult, their child will present a return on parental investment by taking care of them as they age. And so, this approach to the family interprets an entire range of familial relations such as “marriage, divorce, fertility, and relations among family members through the lens of utility-maximizing forward-looking behavior.”⁸² Each and all, then, govern themselves and others according to this economic rationality that seeks to maximize personally defined utility in order to arrive a better and future self.

Individual interest, thus, reflects something more than an instrumental rationality. If individuals are left alone in their freedom then each is capable of having multiple options to attach themselves to and pursue at any given time. Consequently, one has the freedom of choice. And this freedom induces individuals to assume and internalize a novel economic rationality. This rationality relies on the principles of the private sector and marketplace like commensurability and exchange, gains and losses, maximization and minimization, efficiencies, investments, and optimals. As Stephen Engelmann’s critique of this economic rationality finds, in a world where one can freely choose to act one way or another, the individual must reactively use introspection and imagination to a) make commensurable the different options available to her; and b) choose between these commensurable options the ones that are the most advantageous and aggregate them in order to form an interest. Interest, then, “subordinates this notion of plural attachments to a logic of commensurability”.⁸³ Engelmann calls this ‘monistic interest’, which is an aggregate interest that functions at the expense of specific interests and attachments.

Instrumental rationality, to be sure, seeks to find the most efficient means to a desirable end. Monistic interest is made possible through an economic rationality that seeks the most

⁸² Becker, *The Economic Way of Looking at Life*.

⁸³ Engelmann, Stephen. *Imagining Interest in Political Thought: Origins of Economic Rationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 5.

efficient management of the private self by looking to the most efficient means and the most efficient ends. In other words, the logic of monistic interest is subservient neither to means or ends. It is not impeded by those pursuits of passion where, for example, there is little to no attention given to 'costs'. Instrumental reason does think of costs but only pays attention to the cost of means in relation to other means, not the cost of ends in relation to other ends. Instead, monistic interest subordinates all means and ends to a standard of commensurability driven by an understanding of exchange and efficiency. But this economic rationality of the subject of choice also stands in contrast to the sacrificial rationality of the Indian liberal subject-citizen who must set aside certain personal wants that might optimize personal gains in order for the nation to be built.

Monistic interest internalizes the economic rationality of exchange within the self such that each individual deploys an internally guided calculus of tradeoffs and expectations. The subject's own means and ends internally trade off against one another in terms of choosing gains over losses and in relationship to an imagined future self. This self-prospectivism produces an imagined aggregate advantage within the self, a personally defined *interest*, that is expected to minimize personal loss and maximize personal gains. Moreover, interest is never static because it is always being internally altered and refined by the self in relationship to a constantly revised expectation of an imagined and future self, which is itself based on changes to one's immediate environment. This rationality of exchange and the calculus of tradeoffs and expectations is perpetually circulating within the neoliberal subject, determining new personal tradeoffs and expectations according to the always changing milieu of the subject. This interest, once personally formed, is always reintroduced to the internal calculus in order to measure it against

more advantageous means and ends that will further refine aggregations and expectations in terms of optimized gains and losses.

In this manner, interest is always personally optimized and re-optimized, with an eye to an imagined future (and better) self. It is individual interest that defines the choice I make in any given context and with a given set of options. As my interest in pursuing a range of options grows, the more I seek to maximize the choices available to me, thereby expanding my freedom and the catallaxy that this freedom helps (re)produce. This economic rationality propels freely choosing relations by introducing a sense of predictability in conduct. While the outcomes of free choice cannot and must not be predicted, conduct can still be made somewhat knowable through rules of conduct enforced by neoliberal government that encourage a certain type of subject. When internalized by each and all, economic rationality directs an analysis of the self where I better know my own interest in order to maximize available choices, and an analysis by others where others can coordinate my conduct by knowing and appealing to my interest and maximizing my choices. And this rationality is internalized by individuals as they go about navigating and engaging with others in the spontaneous order. In short, neoliberal governmentality requires and produces specific types of subjects. The liberal regime did this, as well, by producing the individual as a subject of rights invested with a juridical and sacrificial rationality where individual rights also obliged each to something other than and transcending their personal pursuits. But the neoliberal subject of choice is invested with an economic rationality that forms the epistemic basis for her to both know herself and others, and in order to best govern herself and others.

The preceding survey of American neoliberalism and the Chicago School calls our attention to four related features, which bear repeating as these will guide our analysis of the

family, and the private and public sectors in the coming chapters. First, government must maximize choice as proof that it is enforcing the rules of conduct needed to keep the catallaxy going. Second, because the catallaxy is made perpetual, government makes the unintended and unpredictable consequences of the spontaneous order a permanent condition. But while the conduct of each and all must be made compliant (by producing individuals as subjects of choice guided by economic rationality), the effects and outcomes of that conduct cannot be directed. And so the threat of the aleatory is something that always remains on the governmental horizon, making permanent the neoliberal regime's own crisis of government. Third, the threat of the aleatory compels government to increasingly rely on technologies of surveillance and the specific mechanisms of observation and intervention in order to know interests and maximize choices of each and all. Lastly, the techniques of government rely on an economic way of understanding and knowing individual behavior and human affairs, making it the rationality *par excellence* to manage both market and non-market domains.

In the final section, below, I describe Indian neoliberal thought not as a coherent canon but as a complex, diverse, and decentralized effort at an internal critique of the Indian liberal government. What follows is not a full review of Indian neoliberal discourse, which will be examined in greater detail in the coming chapters. Instead, the next section outlines some of this discourse's main points of emphasis as presented in the work of Indian thinkers. Better contextualized depth and detail to this discourse will be found in the coming chapters. Again, an ascending analysis of government means that these thinkers are professionals writing and thinking about the quotidian issues specific to their field at the time of their writing, rather than governing elites with their institutional and more comprehensive efforts to reshape the Indian governmental order. And while this outline will share points with American neoliberalism, I

propose that the effects of the neoliberal turn in India also make it a discourse distinct from its American version.

Indian Neoliberalism and the Crisis of Liberal Government

Neoliberal discourse assumes that individual choice always reflects a personally defined interest in venturing into a particular course of action. This self-interested and venturing ethic refashions the individual. The juridical subject of right gives way to an enterprising subject of choice. In India, this turn from the liberal to neoliberal subject begins by the last quarter of the twentieth century. It will mean that, moving forward, Indian government governs well when it works to know, encourage, and appeal to the interest of free individuals and their personally defined futures, rather than direct individual interest to better align with the interest of building the future nation. In so doing, governmental discourse steadily decouples individual interest from its attachment to national interest, which was linked by the individual's sense of responsibility to the nation and its future. And with this decoupling, the individual is made responsible solely for themselves through their choice maximizing pursuits. They must govern themselves and coordinate their conduct accordingly.

When the liberal discourse in India runs up against the internal counter-discourse of free choice in the late 60s and early 70s, it finds itself subject to a novel self-critique. In terms of freedom as free choice, it is now unable to justify how the choices of some are minimized in order to protect the rights of others. This is especially relevant to the policies of liberal thinkers like Ambedkar, which try to build the Indian nation by elevating its historically depressed social classes. For instance, in protecting the rights of historically dominated persons, liberal government pursues policies of affirmative action that will allow historically dominated persons

to be lifted up so that both they and the nation can develop. This is, in part, pursued by limiting the privileges historically available to India's majority Hindus. But the neoliberal critique of Indian liberal government, where freedom is less about the securing of individual rights and more about the maximization of individual choices, finds that such policies favor India's minorities and the pursuit of their futures at the expense of those in the majority and their private pursuits. The critique thus challenges the very libertarian basis of Indian liberalism.

This challenge, internal to the Indian liberal governmental discourse, throws Indian liberalism into crisis. Accordingly, the neoliberal counter-discourse in India finds the Indian liberal regime is governing too much because its libertarian basis in the rights of free individuals is limiting another, even freer, libertarianism of individual choice. The freedom upheld and defended by Indian liberals is not free enough, and is producing outcomes that expand the freedom of some by limiting the freedom of others. It follows from this libertarian critique that Indian neoliberal discourse will have to offer an alternative register to evaluate how well government is managing and administering conduct. And again, rather than rely on individual rights to know what it can and cannot do, government in India must look to the economic rationality of interest and choice-maximization as a means to evaluate and limit itself.

In the government of youth, the liberal governmental crisis will be articulated as what Indian psychologists Sudhir Kakar and Kamla Chowdhry refer to as an "authority crisis" where liberal institutions of the family, especially, "are rapidly losing their capacities to command the easy compliance of the youth."⁸⁴ And so, as early as 1970, Kakar and Chowdhry propose a revision of how to think about the freedom of young people in order to govern them more effectively. They offer a theory of youth autonomy, which implies that young Indians must be

⁸⁴ Kakar, Sudhir and Kamla Chowdhry. *Conflict and Choice: Indian Youth in a Changing Society* (Bombay: Somaiya Publications, 1970), 8.

thought of as free in and through the exercise of their choices. They must be assumed to be interested subjects of choice seeking to pursue their own future through their own means. And, their choice-maximizing pursuits imply that the government of the young persons must instill in them a sense of self-responsibility. The young person must assume a responsibility for personally defined choices they make, regardless of the specific outcomes of their choices.⁸⁵

It is by instilling this sense of self-responsibility through the work of child psychologists and counselors that young individuals are familiarized with and internalize a commitment to their choice maximizing activities and, by association, to the spontaneous order that ensures that the young people of India will follow the same rules of conduct to sustain that order. The liberal crisis of authority, where governmental institutions could no longer secure the compliance of young persons, will be addressed through the initiation of a new governmental order that allows individuals, and young people in particular, to choose their own futures for themselves and pursue these as they see fit. And to secure the compliance of these young people, to ensure that they follow the rules of conduct generative of the catallaxy, government must ensure that everyone has the opportunity to posit and pursue their own interests, and that each assumes a personal responsibility for this freedom to choose.

Analogous changes can also be observed in the domain of market economy. The very economic policymakers who spearheaded the market reforms of the 1990s in India were former members of the Indian liberal regime. But by their own account, they were becoming more critical of that regime as early as the 1970s. Now seen as luminaries of the 21st century Indian marketplace, the likes of Palaniappan Chidambaram, Megnad Desai, Jairam Ramesh, and Manmoham Singh were largely young and unknown students, activists, and young professionals

⁸⁵ Kakar and Chowdhry, *Conflict and Choice*, 83ff.

in the 70s. But it was in that same period that they raised concerns about their own liberal thinking on the marketplace. For them, the crisis of liberalism in the marketplace was a crisis of economic planning defined through a Keynesian orthodoxy that supported the policies of rapid industrial development and modernization through state spending and ownership of key industries. While central economic planning worked well in the two decades that immediately followed India's independence from the British in 1947, by the late 60s and early 70s, it was becoming apparent that this approach did not appreciate the enterprising ethic of free choosers who must venture to pursue and assume the responsibility for their personally defined interest.

This command approach also lacked “an effective incentive system” to encourage and enable opportunities that such venturing individuals might take in order to pursue their own ends.⁸⁶ Consequently, the rule of the catallactic order was fundamentally absent because individual freedom was being stifled by policies pursuing a deliberately planned economy. This was the crisis of planning in the private sector, analogous to the crisis of authority in the youth sector. And in order to address this crisis, the neoliberal counter-discourse argues that the market economy should no longer be seen as a planned sector, precisely because planning assumes it knows the best outcomes for the market economy. Instead, what was required was to let the market economy make itself through the spontaneous order, i.e., the enterprising interactions of free choosers with different interests coming to mutually beneficial agreements that will, in the aggregate, produce unbiased outcomes that promote the common benefit.⁸⁷

In the public sector, too, critiques of liberalism were circulating by the late 1960s at seminars and workshop hosted by civic institutions committed to the liberal project of nation-

⁸⁶ Desai, Lord Megnad. *Commanding Heights*. PBS, December 7, 2000.

⁸⁷ Desai, *Commanding Heights*.

building through an enlightened civic consciousness. If the crisis of liberalism manifested as the crisis of authority in the family, and the crisis of economic planning in the private sector, then in the public sector it appears analogously as a crisis of population. In 1968, at a seminar hosted by the Bombay Civic Trust, scholars and town planners J. W. Airan and R. M. Karani argue it is no longer possible, to assume as town planners once did, that the population of cities can be controlled by directing and obliging the city's residents towards ends that prioritized civic and national development.⁸⁸ Liberal town planners assumed that with a civic minded citizenry, the population of cities can maintain a harmonious balance, allowing the sustainable growth of the city and its residents. But the population of Indian cities like Bombay still swelled by the end of the third quarter of the twentieth century. This crisis of population provided the critical impetus to argue for an epistemic change in how the relationship between Indian cities and their residents should be thought of. And so the critique of liberal public sector planning argued that urban residents must be assumed to be driven by voluntary and spontaneous energies coming from a diversity of individuals pursuing varied personal ends, all the while assuming responsibility for their personal pursuits.

Rather than obliging the residents of the nation's cities to a civic consciousness that promotes nation-building, town planners must now assume that when individuals are left free to determine their own interests and make their own choices they produce an aggregate of spontaneous outcomes that benefit the city and the nation. This is why the population of cities must not attempt to be controlled by town planners but instead should be allowed to remain fluid and representative of the spontaneity of its activities and energies. They must no longer think of planning as fixed to the objective of building civic harmony. Rather, they must think of planning

⁸⁸ Airan, J. W. and R. N. Karani. "The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City," in *Bombay's Development and Master Plan - A 20 year's Perspective* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1970), 292-300.

as flexible and responsive to the fluid populations they seek to manage and administer. Whatever the contributions made by the city's residents through their freely choosing relations, these "cannot be otherwise than voluntary".⁸⁹ This is because they are not directed by interests outside of their own personal interests. And so the outcomes of their self-interested pursuits are not produced due to an overarching civic-mindedness or national directive. They are ultimately produced through the pursuit of personally defend directives. Accordingly, for cities to best coordinate the conduct of their residents, individual residents must govern themselves and be governed in a manner that maximizes the opportunities available to them to fulfill their interests. This means that the crisis of population is not so much resolved as it is made a permanent state in Indian cities, since the population in all its fluidity and uncertainty reflects the spontaneous ordering of the city's affairs and produces value-neutral outcomes for the city.

The arguments of the above Indian thinkers not only come out of the discourses specific to their sector, but also out of concerns that liberal government can no longer secure the compliance of each and all. Neoliberalism in India therefore appears as a response and counter to liberalism and the problem of its governmental discourse. And while Indian liberal government finds itself in crisis through a counter-discourse internal to it, this counter discourse makes the threat of an internal crisis a permanent state of affairs. Put another way, the crises of authority, of planning, and of populations do not just outline the broader liberal governmental crisis in India. They also point to the permanent threat posed by the revised libertarian order of the neoliberal regime. This libertarian order is defined by a different principle of governmental intelligibility and limitation, that of free choice. And the neoliberal regime's dependence on free

⁸⁹ Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 293.

choice always contains within it the threat of unpredictable and random outcomes that promise another type of crisis, i.e., a permanent crisis of the aleatory.

Under the Indian liberal regime, individuals were free to pursue a number of courses of action precisely because their interests were directed in a manner that ensured that the interests of the (future) nation were preserved. That is, liberal government worked to minimize the unintended consequences of free activity by managing individual interests to align with the interests of national development. In this way, free individuals and the outcomes of free activity were made somewhat predictable. But if individuals must be free to choose and government must work to maximize free choice, then the unintended consequences of freely choosing activity will always be present on the Indian governmental horizon. Government can never be sure what the effects of choice-maximization will be since individual interests are always shifting and unpredictable. As a result, Indian neoliberal discourse achieves its own doubling of the older liberal crisis: it duplicates the previous threat of limiting the expansion of its governmental regime through a libertarian principle (of free choice) internal to and constitutive of its government; and, at the same time, it adds the threat of the unintended consequences of its libertarianism (of free and maximizing choice). Of course, Indian neoliberalism shares this double-threat with its American variant. But it is distinct from American neoliberalism, as well. This difference is made possible due to the factors specific to neoliberalism's rise in the Indian context and, in particular, with respect to India's historical majority.

A Historico-Political Discourse Returns

Indian liberal governmentality's juridical regime posed a threat to government where government must not overstep the legal bounds that secure the individual's freedom. But this

juridico-political discourse also kept another, historico-political discourse at bay in India.⁹⁰ For this other, older discourse, the liberal governmental order is centralized through law and conceals a more historical and ancient, and thus more legitimate set of political and force relations. This historico-political discourse circulated underneath the formal juridico-political relations during the liberal orthodoxy in India, waiting for the moment that the legal restrictions placed upon it would loosen enough to allow it to reemerge and reassert itself onto the Indian political landscape. This moment arrives by the 1970s, with the crisis of liberalism and the rise of neoliberal governmentality.

In India, the threat of limitation compels neoliberal government to advocate for and support the individual and her personally defined future over the nation and its future. But it is the threat of the aleatory that causes neoliberal government to develop new measures to ensure that government in India always works to secure against the aleatory. In part, this means an increasing reliance on techniques of surveillance for government to know the interests of each and all. This knowledge will form the backdrop for governmental interventions seeking to maximize individual choice for everyone as an aggregate, or at least a majority, in order to perpetuate the spontaneous ordering of human affairs. But if securing the nation and its future drop out, then precisely what is Indian neoliberalism securing when it tracks and appeals to interest?

In general, it works to secure an aggregate of people other than the composite nation – it works to defend society. Here, I take the meaning of ‘society’ from the classical Latin *societās* which means a body of people allied and associated for a common interest and pursuit. But this is not a common interest understood as a general interest where personal concerns drop out to

⁹⁰ For more on the rise of the historico-political discourse in the West, see: Foucault, Michel. *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the College de France 1975-1976*, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), Lecture of 21 January, 1976.

arrive at a shared interest that will define certain outcomes as better for society and its future. Instead, this is a common interest as a simple aggregate of like-minded persons who share the same personal interests. And by tracking interests in order to know the personally defined utilities of at least an aggregate majority group, I argue that Indian neoliberalism returns governmental discourse to a specific idea of Indian society. To be clear, this is not the society envisioned by Indian liberals like Ambedkar when they argued for the nation as a secular, pluralistic, and composite association that defended the rights of historical minorities against the encroachments of the historical majority. What is more is that if Indian liberal policies can now be critiqued on the grounds that they are freedom-limiting, i.e., they expand choices for some by limiting choices for others, then what would the consequences of this be in India which has always had an historical social majority?

The final chapter will remark on this and related questions in more detail. But, preliminarily, we can say that with the undermining of the nation-building project in order to uphold the choice maximizing activities of free individuals, neoliberalism removes the very juridical obstacles that prevented India's historical majority society from asserting itself in any meaningful way. But neither does neoliberal government do anything to erect new barriers to prevent historical majoritarian encroachments. This majority is now allowed the space to reassert itself under the banner of a Hindutva movement that is defined by this majority society and its shared aggregate interests. With the epistemic shift from liberal to neoliberal governmental discourses, the interests of Hindus are thus revived bringing with them the rise of Hindutva populism. And neoliberalism tacitly endorses this resurgence, not because it inherently favors Hindu orthodoxy, but because it governs in the aggregate. That is, in order to govern well and secure the catallaxy, neoliberal government uses knowledge about the individual's interest and the

interests of other individuals in order to formulate an aggregate and shared interest. Again, this aggregation is an interest of like-minded persons and it is here that the interest of the historical Hindu society can once again assert its position in order to compel government to observe its interests and maximize its choices. The liberal legal regime only temporarily curbed this society's influence by obliging each and all to the imperatives of the secular and composite (future) nation over any local and tribal affiliations. But it is also when these imperatives begin to be critiqued, undermined, and gradually set aside, that we see the rise of the Hindutva movement in modern India. A strictly political-economic analysis of Hindutva might incorrectly construe it as a reactionary movement to neoliberal market reform. A political-theoretic study of governmental transition finds that, at least in India, what might be called "neo-populism" in the literature is wrongly interpreted if it is thought of as a backlash against rather than in continuity with neoliberalism.

2. GOVERNING YOUTH

The Development of Young People

This chapter studies practices of youth development and parenting in modern India. It focuses on the ways in which youth were discursively problematized in India, i.e., made the object of Indian thought and practice, how that discursive problematization changed, and what this means for practices of government in modern India. By government, I mean the art of managing, administering, and conducting the conduct of self and others. The period of youth that I focus on encompasses three stages: the time right before puberty, puberty, and young adulthood. I argue that youth development practices were informed by a classically liberal discourse of individual freedom during the mid-twentieth century. This may seem like a contradiction, as the relatively novel discourse of “youth development” seems to imply a doggedly collectivist rather than individualist orientation. But mid-century youth development in India grounded a project of nation-building in an individualizing and juridical framework of rights. The young person’s individuality had to be invested in them and developed in a manner that respected their rights as a way to the establishment and perpetuation of the liberal nation-state. I argue that the very future of this nation-state is what was at stake in the production of young persons as free and responsible subject-citizens.

But this governmental focus on producing the liberal subject-citizen undergoes changes by the 1970s. No longer are the practices of youth development and parenting informed by a classically liberal discourse that thinks of the free individual as a rights-bearing subject. Instead, a counter-discourse emerges at this time and in response to a perceived crisis of authority where young persons were increasingly seeking autonomy from traditional authority figures especially

within the family. This counter-discourse thinks of the free young person not as a rights-bearing subject-citizen obligated to a nation-building project, but as a choice-maximizing individual who only assumes responsibility for themselves and the choices they must make to secure their personally defined future. Governing practices, too, respond to this epistemic shift that signals the gradual passing of the liberal subject-citizen and the ascendancy of the neoliberal subject of choice. That is, government no longer remains reactive, relying on individual rights to know its domains of operation and intervention. Instead, it becomes more active and pivots to emphasizing and appealing to the individual's interest as a choice-maximizer. Consequently, at stake in the production of this neoliberal subject of choice is not so much the future of the nation, but establishment and perpetuation of a novel regime of subject-formation and surveillance that works to produce and know the individual down to their every interest, preference, want, and desire as a freely choosing subject. The objective of this regime is to more closely manage and administer conduct of each and all in a way that both appeals to the free chooser's interest and secures a value-neutral and spontaneous ordering of human affairs. It is not that the nation disappears with this shift. But neoliberal discourse does not work towards building and sustaining the nation or, more specifically, a prospective image of it (the future nation). Instead, this discourse fundamentally differs from its liberal predecessors in its object-target, which is now the individual and a prospective image of it (as a future self) that will enable and perpetuate a specific administration of human affairs.

Put another way, this chapter excavates and traces one aspect of the shift in governmental discourse that made possible the transition from Indian liberalism and its correlate in the subject-citizen to Indian neoliberalism and its corresponding subject of choice. The liberal subject was invested with an ethic that obliged them to the nation by encouraging those interests in them that

best aligned with those of the nation. This made them responsible for the nation's future. The neoliberal subject is invested with and animated by an enterprising ethic that works to secure a future for themselves that they are interested in and that they freely choose for themselves and assumes responsibility for. And so if the subject-citizen is ultimately made responsible for the sake of the nation and its future, the subject of choice is made responsible for themselves and their own personalized future.

I present and analyze this discursive shift using three methodological approaches: historical, theoretical, and ethnographic. Findings from historical and contemporary texts are blended with those from ethnographic fieldwork using theoretical analysis in order to bring to light a government of youth where, starting at the end of the third quarter of the twentieth century, the very terms of governmental discourse change due to a shift in how the individual young person comes to be thought of in terms of their freedom. As the individual's freedom in juridical terms continues to be dislodged from the center of governmental thought and practice, their freedom in economic terms begins to take its place. And so, I propose that an area where these shifts are best examined is in the discourse of youth development in India, with special reference to parenting practices. This is because, once again, what is at stake in the proper development of young persons is the creation of subjects who are invested with and manifest an ethic that will help to erect and reinforce a liberal or neoliberal governmental order.

The Responsibility to the (Future) Nation

In the mid-twentieth century, the liberal discourse of individual freedom begins to exhibit certain critical features that inform contemporaneous thought and practice around youth development in India. That is, like its Western cousins, this liberal discourse takes the freedom of

the individual as self-evident, establishing a juridico-political regime along individualistic terms even for the Indian youth. But it does so in order to move beyond the individual and their private concerns towards the more public and urgent matter of nation-building. In other words, with Panikkar and Ambedkar we find a liberalism in India that can be both preoccupied with individual freedom and with more extensive issues of the nation and its future. Accordingly, the free individual's rights do not simply help in securing them against governmental intervention. On the one hand, it is the system of individual rights that will allow government to better identify and categorize each and all in order to better develop the capacities of each and all, and especially those most marginalized. That is, the juridical regime helps set the field of governmental intelligibility and action. This means that one cannot build a nation without paying attention to the ways in which individuals within this nation must be developed in order to both benefit those persons and the nation as a whole (i.e., not simply the benefit of certain historically privileged groups within the nation). On the other hand, this system of individual rights invests within the free individual a sense of responsibility to the nation and its progress. And so the juridical regime also produces a certain type of subject because one cannot build a nation without creating the subject-citizen responsible to the future nation.

Taken together, effective nation-building cannot take place without individuals whose independence (enshrined in their rights) ensures that they can be developed in their capacities and in a manner that always works towards a unified, just, and cohesive national project. Good government must assume the freedom of the individual because what is at stake in this assumption is the very creation of a new nation through a new subject. And it is this concern, the creation of a new subject for a new nation, that drives thought about youth development in India beginning in second half of the twentieth century. Consequently, the youth and what must be

done about them preoccupies Indian thought because those very young people must be created and developed as responsible subject-citizens who will be, each and all, vital cogs in the machinery of the new nation. One important representative model of this thought around youth development is found in the work of R. R. Kumria, whose arguments are evocative of this particular moment of liberal nation-building in and through the the creation of responsible subject-citizens. Kumria was the Principal of the Government Training College in Jullundur and a professor at the Central Training College in Lahore. His book, “The Indian Child in Home and School” published in 1956, took seriously the challenge of defining the newfound nation by focusing on the topic of youth development. His broader scholarship was varied, investigating topics such as democracy, social justice, teaching pedagogies, and the psychological foundation of the state.

Kumria’s argument about Indian youth begins with a realist meditation. Sensing the significant effects of the Atomic Age, he finds that the world needs peace and safety on a global scale without jingoistic nationalism always threatening to bring a budding international arena to the brink of nuclear conflict. However, since countries are still wedded to the idea of the nation-state, and since India is a newly created nation, peace and security on a global scale is out of reach (at least for the time being). Less out of reach is peace and security on a national scale. In a new nation like India, and with Partition supplying an all too recent backdrop to these particularly nationalistic concerns, this is not yet the case and must be something that is worked towards for the sake of national stability. And so, if internationalism is not possible because the nation-state is here to stay for now, then the task of the time and especially for budding nation-states like India is to double down on an approach to democratic nationalism that looks to secure the nation against internal division and against an always potentially hostile world, while keeping

an eye towards fostering international friendliness when the opportunity presents itself. Importantly, this effort towards democratic nationalism must be directed at the Indian youth. This is because, again, it is the young people of today who must be developed to assume a responsibility to secure the future nation and, if the time is right, be prepared to usher the nation into an era of internationalism.

It follows, then, that the task of the parent and the educator is to ensure that young persons are developed in a manner that invests in them the ideals and mentality of democratic nationalism. “We must make him [the young person] a pucca [true] nationalist, with international friendliness.”⁹¹ “A nation”, Kumria argues, “is a whole having one economic, political, social and moral goal with quite a degree of uniformity in the modes of living, and free and easy communication among its members.”⁹² India is yet to become a nation, and a nation is not built by simply promoting unchecked individualism. To be sure, the young person must be invested with certain individualistic features. He must have a “desire to live well”, he must “engage himself in creating goodness, beauty, and happiness all around him”, he must “stand erect and ... not stoop ... achieve and not beg”. Each and every one of these individual characteristics must be informed by something more than self interest. He must live, but he “lives for his people and does not seek his own salvation.”⁹³ In other words, the object of youth development is to embrace an individual autonomy in ways that help produce a novel subject-citizen. And this subject cannot be produced without preparing the proper milieu for the individual’s education. That is, it is by infusing the immediate environment of the individual with

⁹¹ Kumria, R. R. *The Indian Child in Home and School - Building Democratic Nationalistic Character* (Jullundur: University Publishers, 1956), 5.

⁹² Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 3.

⁹³ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 5.

certain nationalist goals, ideals and knowledge that the subject-citizen is most effectively created and brought into society. There are social agencies such as schools and, especially, the home that must shape the individual into this subject. But there are also instruments that these agencies should use, such as speeches, books, the press, radio, television, and so on. Together, the agencies and tools of education make up an educational apparatus that will continually work on the milieu of the young person, according to the tenets of nationalism, in order to produce a subject whose thought and action are self-regarding but in a manner that upholds that subject's responsibility to the nation and its future well being.

Notably, the state is conspicuously absent from this apparatus. This is because the role of the state vis-a-vis this apparatus is presented as an indirect one. It is not itself an agency nor does it use any of the instruments at the disposal of these agencies to modify the individual. For Kumria, the state has only one occupation in relation to youth development, which is to "create appropriate conditions for other agencies to work".⁹⁴ This is a potentially notable feature of mid-twentieth century Indian liberalism because it suggests that the state is not concerned with directly administering and managing (i.e., governing) every single aspect of society. Schools, for instance, are public agencies. But the daily operation and management of the school is left over to the professionals in that school. The teachers, principals, and counselors are afforded the freedom to shape the individual into a responsible subject-citizen. And since the family is a non-state and private agency, it too is at liberty to shape the child's behavior in a manner that obliges them to the nation. The state only concerns itself with institutionally securing a regime of individual rights that, once secured, will allow for these various sectors of society to function. If the educational apparatus (as an amalgam of educational agencies and instruments) prepares and

⁹⁴ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 6.

administers the milieu through which the subject-citizen is developed, the state acts as a juridical facilitator preparing the legal framework within and through which that apparatus can most effectively operate. It is in this sense that the state assumes an indirect role in youth development. It is exactly one level removed from the task of developing young persons into useful subjects of a nation. The work of creating an independent subject-citizen out of young individuals, a subject who is responsible for themselves but in a manner that makes them responsible for the nation, is not a political task insofar as the institution of the state is a political representation. It is political insofar as it is a task for the public. And it is a classically republican matter that primarily relies on the dynamism of civil society, not the state, to pave the way for something other than itself, namely the (future) nation. The teachers, parents, and community leaders who are enlisted, by virtue of occupying these agencies and using the instruments available to them, will leverage an educational apparatus to usher in this new subject-citizen of the third quarter of the twentieth century.

The education of the youth is also about a moral education. Importantly, this morality is not a religious but a secular one. For Kumria, religious morality is a private affair, having no place in the state or the public life of the subject. An education, at home and school, in a secular morality is preferred as it is based on scientific and philosophical principles that inform and work towards charging the subject with a responsibility to the nation through social-scientific agencies and instruments.⁹⁵ On the one hand, Kumria's moral education is one that is based on principles that govern the conduct of each. In this sense, it proposes an ethic where certain standards and norms of conduct are expected of individuals. But in standardizing the conduct of each by investing this ethic in them and creating each as liberal subjects, it becomes possible to

⁹⁵ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 34 and 94ff.

standardize the conduct of an aggregate of subject-citizens, i.e., the nation. The target of this preoccupation with morality is not simply the self but a nation to come, one made possible in and through an education of the young individual. The ethic that each individual is then endowed with makes them both responsible for themselves and for the nation. As a subject-citizen they must feel a responsibility towards themselves. For example, they must desire to live well. But their desires are always mediated by their responsibility to the nation. Here, again, the individualistic discourse of liberalism in India concerns itself with a balance between a responsibility to the self and an obligation to the nation's well-being.

One of ways that this balance is achieved is by investing an ethic of sacrifice in the individual through their education. Indeed, the very condition of possibility for the nation that this liberalism is interested in, and the marking characteristic of the subject-citizen, is sacrifice. The liberal subject will sacrifice their own desires for personal advancement and gains because they accept national moral standards and ideals of "Friendliness, Truth, Justice, Non-exploitation and Service".⁹⁶ In Aristotle's "Politics", what differentiated human beings from other animals was our capacity for politics through speech. The Indian subject will "differ from animals" not simply through a capacity for politics and speech, but crucially, through their capacity to sacrifice.⁹⁷ In short, the individual in liberal India is a subject-citizen in and through whose sacrifice a responsibility to the nation is sustained and encouraged. While this person is a sacrificing subject

⁹⁶ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 11.

⁹⁷ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 11-14.

when it comes to managing their desires, they are also a sacrificial subject who is produced in order to forward and reinforce a vision of the nation and its future.⁹⁸

Importantly, this sacrifice does not mean that their interest, wants, preferences, and desires are discouraged or rejected. Indeed, these are arguably encouraged more and in ways that they were not before (under the administration of the British, for example). But while the individual is encouraged to have desires and pursue opportunities to live well, this does not mean it is an unchecked individualism. Once again, and more explicitly than its Western counterparts, mid-century liberalism in India finds a way to bridge a focus on individualism with a broader national project and makes pursuit of individual development entirely consistent with nation formation. And one of the important ways this gap is bridged is by introducing an ethic of sacrifice into the development of the individual. The liberal sacrificing subject is someone whose subjectivity will not simply encourage them to pursue their desires for their own sake, but will make it so that they constantly attend to and filter their desires through nationalist ideals. It should therefore be noted that a subject invested with this sacrificial ethic is not unfree. Indeed, the individual can only develop into a subject-citizen if they are independent. This is, of course, one of the goals of their development through their education at home and school, i.e., to familiarize them with their independence. It must not only be assumed that they are a sufficiently independent person with desires, wants, individuality, creative urges and so on, but they also must

⁹⁸ Wendy Brown has argued that the neoliberal subject is a sacrificial subject who can always be sacrificed at the alter of the market economy and its regime of financialization. This subject is responsible for themselves and securing their future, but is also always already threatened by policies of austerity that they cannot control but must nevertheless succumb to for the sake of the economy and capital accumulation. This sacrificial subject differs from the sacrificial subject of liberal India. The liberal subject-citizen sacrifices their self-interest to that of the nation. They do this willingly, with full awareness of a project greater than themselves that has partly to do with economic development but little or nothing to do with unchecked capital accumulation. Brown's neoliberal subject might not be willing to be sacrificed through, for example, mass unemployment, but they will be regardless if conditions call for it and each will also have to bear the personal responsibility of what happens to them as a result. The Indian liberal subjectivity calls for a conscious and active role by the subject in their sacrifice. If they must suffer unemployment, they do so willingly and with the understanding that their sacrifice helps the nation develop. Brown, *Undoing the Demos*, 210.

know themselves as such. This is because their individuality can only be effectively directed towards national well-being if they assume and know an identity that they believe is their own. The creative urges of the young person must be “given a full chance to make whatever contribution it can towards the welfare of society. That is why we ask for freedom for the child in the home and school.”⁹⁹

In other words, it is not a matter of coercing the individual or restraining their thought and actions to adopt nationalistic garb. In investing them with the identity of a liberal subject, their thought and actions are not restrained, but constrained. That is, they are shaped by a certain ethic towards a specific end, rather than being altogether muted or entirely subject to personal whims. Moreover, if “it is true that individuals make a society”, then “it is more true that a society makes individuals.”¹⁰⁰ Consequently, their individuality and independence are not rejected. Instead, they are explicitly encouraged but along specific lines, i.e., not for the sake of the establishment of a society of self-concerned individuals but with the aim of assembling a nation out of a society of subjects morally obliged to work towards a national unity and progress in and through their individuality and independence. With this end in mind, their personality must be understood and known by the parent or the educator to better tailor their development. And if their education and training is managed and administered correctly, they will be free to build themselves up according to their individuality and their independence - the freedom to make whatever contribution they can according to their individuality - will always already be mediated by a sense of responsibility and an ethic of sacrifice to a national project, i.e., “the welfare of society”.

⁹⁹ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 38-39.

¹⁰⁰ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 16.

The independence of the post-colonial Indian subject is intimately tied to and reflected in the nation's independence. Kumria's program resonates with Panikkar's reminder that this subject is independent precisely to the degree that the nation is independent because it is only in an independent nation that their individual rights mean anything. So if their development is at once dependent upon a national juridical regime of individual rights, then at the same time their development reinforces this regime and its visions of national advancement. This virtuous cycle, which is so by design, is an important product of an effective program of youth development in the home and outside of it. Independence is also linked to economic, social and political equality. We are all independent from each other insofar as we are equal, but it is also our very independence through our condition of equality that connects us to each other and secures the conditions for an anticipated nation. Independence, then, is juridically guaranteed to each and all in order to secure both a vision of the self as a sacrificing subject-citizen, and a vision of the nation as one built on certain ideals and principles, both of which bleed into each other.

This sense of independence and equality among liberal subjects becomes a little more complicated in terms of gender relations among men and women. As Kumria sees it, in the kind of democratic society that he imagines, "women have the same economic, social, and political rights as men" and, while there are biological differences between the two genders, "we firmly believe that women are in no way inferior to men ... given education and training they can work in every sphere of life as efficiently as men."¹⁰¹ It would then appear that the development of young people into independent subjects concerns both girls and boys. But it turns out that the burden of being a responsible subject-citizen is much greater for girls. In spite of ascribing equality and independence to the sexes, Kumria still feminizes the curial work of youth

¹⁰¹ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 137.

development at the home, since he finds that women possess a biological “endurance and fortitude” to give birth to and care for the child (especially in its early years).¹⁰² But this “does not condemn [women] to the kitchen. It makes them guardians of a fundamental sphere of human living [i.e., the home]. It does not preclude them from entering professions, if they choose to do so.”¹⁰³ The vital conclusion to draw here is that if, for Kumria, the child’s development occurs especially in the home (of which the mother is the only apparent guardian), then the work of developing the child into a subject-citizen largely falls on the mother at home even as she must juggle professional pursuits and demands. That is, women and girls must be developed and must strive to align their professional pursuits with the interests of nation-building. In addition to this, however, women have the unique burden of being solely responsible for the home and the practices within this sphere that must yield a child who will also be a responsible subject-citizen. And so the female subject of liberalism must not only assume responsibility for herself and the future nation. Her responsibility to the future nation must double upon itself, i.e., she must be responsible to the future nation both in terms of her own private pursuits and in her “home-craft”.¹⁰⁴

Even as the entire development project enlists and relies on the vital work of women at home, Indian thinkers on youth development (like Kumria and those discussed below) do not appear to think the free individual of liberal India as a gendered subject-citizen. This is because as a juridico-political discourse, liberalism is interested in assuming and investing a juridically informed freedom within all individuals. This means that it is ideally about the freedom of persons rather than men or women. For Indian liberal thinkers, the nation is built by securing the

¹⁰² Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 137.

¹⁰³ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 137-138.

¹⁰⁴ Kumria, *The Indian Child in Home and School*, 138.

rights of these free individuals (rights that in their turn fasten each to a nation-building spirit). Indeed, this is what allows liberals like Ambedkar to defend the equal development of women to men. And so, when it comes to developing young persons into responsible subject-citizens, both men and women are equal targets for an approach that creates responsible subject-citizens out of free individuals. Formally speaking, the Constitution of India explicitly grants special provisions to protect and develop Indian women. The franchise was extended to both men and women in 1947. And the Indian Youth Congress, for instance, elected Ambika Soni as its third president, and was founded by future Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. But explicit measures in service of equality do not always curb implicit social and cultural biases. Given that Indian boys were often (and continue to be) educated more than girls and that Indian society was (and continues to be) generally patriarchal, it is arguably the case that the liberal subject-citizen who eventually emerged out of the population of young persons was more likely to be an Indian male.

For the liberal regime of youth development, the goal of securing the relationship between the young person and the nation is, in the final analysis, to foster a national spirit and mentality. And it is women who are largely obliged to and enlisted in this effort, especially in the home. Even so, this is a spirit and mentality that others like research scholar from the Department of Sociology at Deccan College in Pune, P. H. Reddy, former vice-chancellor of Sardar Patel University, I. J. Patel, prominent sociologist and economist at Lucknow University, D. P. Mukerji, and national security specialist, psychoanalyst and journalist B. N. Datta, have also cited as the goal of youth development. For Patel, the aim of understanding the interests and capacities of the young persons is to “channelize youth energies in national activities” through, for example, educational programs that will direct students to pursue their educational interests

in other states within India through interstate student exchanges.¹⁰⁵ National unity, Reddy proposes, can be attained by making it so that young persons from different local and communal backgrounds interact and empathize with each other, facilitating a national identity and discouraging a more local-communal one. What makes this idea possible is the understanding that the goal of the development of young persons is not necessarily or even primarily to produce individuals who do whatever they want, rather it is that in the first place this development can and should be designed and enlisted to serve certain nationalistic objectives. Accordingly, Reddy can argue that rather than suppressing the actions and movements of young persons, these should be enlisted for the purpose of “strengthening national unity or integration”.¹⁰⁶

As early as 1946, at the Presidential Address to the 8th Session of the All-India Student’s Conference, D. P. Mukerji proposed that the education of young persons must “give new content to the meaning of nationalism”, recognizing that the idea of the nation after Independence can slip into meaningless abstraction, or it can be enlisted in order to promote the interests of the majority at the expense of minorities. And so education in the nationalism of the burgeoning nation must be filled with “social justice, [and] equity to all classes and communities.” As the twilight of the Raj drew nearer, it was even more important for young people to close ranks and unify as a nation.¹⁰⁷ Discussing youth unrest in the 1960s, Datta echoes the sentiments of Kumria, arguing for national integration and proposing the establishment of a “common high standard of ethics and morale, with a good campaign against money-mindedness and bigotry, by inculcating [the] true image of synthesis of body, soul and science and essential needs for keeping

¹⁰⁵ Patel, I. J. “Foreword,” in *The Indian Youth: Emerging Problems and Issues*, ed. Prayag Mehta (Bombay: Somaiya Publications, 1971), V-VI.

¹⁰⁶ Reddy, P.H. “Inter-State Movement of Student Youth and National Integration,” in *The Indian Youth: Emerging Problems and Issues*, ed. Prayag Mehta (Bombay: Somaiya Publications, 1971), 184.

¹⁰⁷ Mukerji, D. P. *The Problems of Indian Youth* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1946), 16.

them together, for the tranquility of mind, peace in society, and security of the country, with efforts to advance towards a world order.”¹⁰⁸

Additionally, the activities of the Indian Youth Congress (IYC) offer themselves up as model for the institutionalization of this liberal discourse of youth development. Between the late 1940s and the 1960s, as a distinct department in the All Indian Congress Committee (AICC, the governing organization of the Indian National Congress), the IYC was actively involved in nation-building through various literacy and educational programs.¹⁰⁹ U. N. Dhebar, the president of the Indian National Congress between 1955 and 1959, argued for the crucial role that young persons have to play in nation-building projects.¹¹⁰ There were publications by the IYC on how this could be accomplished such as the “Youth and Nation Building”, a 1956 report based on a AICC Youth Training Camp that took place between September 24-30, 1955. “Educational Reconstruction”, by Jawaharlal Nehru was published by the AICC in 1956. In 1962, the Youth Department at the AICC published a text by one of the founders of the IYC, Puran Singh Azad, on the obligations of young persons towards national independence.¹¹¹

To briefly recap, then, the liberal approach to developing the Indian youth is concerned with the interests of young persons. One again, however, this concern has nothing or very little to do with investing and affirming an individual sense of self in young persons in order to exclusively assume and cater to their self-interest and personal ambitions as such. Instead, it has more to do with making each sufficiently free and fostering an identity in them that feeds into,

¹⁰⁸ Datta, B. N. *Youth Unrest: Causes and Cures* (New Delhi: Self Published, 1969), 50-51.

¹⁰⁹ Indian Youth Congress. *History of Indian Youth Congress*, Accessed: May 27, 2017, <http://iyc.in/en/About-Us/our-history>.

¹¹⁰ Dhebar, U. N. *Youth and National Reconstruction* (New Delhi: Indian National Congress, 1956).

¹¹¹ Azad, Puran Singh. *Historic Role of Indian Youth to Defend Freedom of Motherland* (New Delhi: Youth Dept. All India Congress Committee, 1962).

drives, and takes its direction from a project of nation-building. However, by the 1970s, thought that focuses on issues of youth development begins to shift away from a core preoccupation with the nation and its future and towards the individual and their future, no longer taking entirely at face value the consistency within Indian liberalism between individual development and nation-building. An analysis of this shift, I argue, is animated by and informs a broader transformation in the discourse of individual freedom in India. The individual is no longer assumed to be independent so that the limits of government can be known and the nation can progress, i.e., in order to establish the rights that will protect each and all from excessive state intervention and will oblige each and all towards the urgent task of nation-building. Instead, the individual's independence is assumed in terms of their choices, i.e., they are free to choose according to their interest, whatever that interest might be. I propose that this is no longer a juridical discourse of individual freedom circulating around the rights of individuals, but an economic discourse circulating around the individual as free and maximizing chooser (here, economic discourse is understood in the more classical sense of the art of managing and administering of private affairs). The emergence of this alternative approach betrays a discursive break that, since the 1970s at least, has slowly unfolded over the course of the last forty years in India and is still burgeoning.

If the liberal subject's individuality must be known in order to effectively produce and sustain the subject-citizen, the neoliberal subject's individuality must be known in order to usher in a more novel subject, the subject of choice. The subject-citizen is both governable and governs in and through a regime of individual rights. Their rights both establish the realm where their conduct and the conduct of others can be conducted (i.e., where it can and cannot be interfered with), and invites each to contribute to and partake in the task of governing themselves and being

governed by others as part of and with a view to the betterment of the nation. The regime of neoliberal governmentality understands that the free chooser can only be governed well by appealing to their interest and maximizing their choices. Their individuality, preferences, wants and desires must be known to both them and others, not because the well-being of the nation is at stake, but because it enables a mode of governing in and through the individual's freedom to choose in ways that (re)activate a spontaneous ordering of human affairs.

The Obligation to the (Future) Self

By making the argument for a shift in the discourse of youth development, I do not mean to suggest that the end of the third quarter of the twentieth century also saw the end of the liberal subject-citizen. The transition from this subject-citizen to the neoliberal subject of choice is neither conclusive nor abrupt, especially in the 1970s. Indeed, many of the terms of mid-twentieth century liberal discourse continue to inform thought and practice about youth development well into the late twentieth century. Arguably, this was still the dominant discourse in India during the 1990s, and perhaps even today.¹¹² However, a counter-discourse emerges by the 1970s that positions itself against this older discourse and that betrays a broader crisis of Indian liberal government at this time through developments in the area of youth development. In other words, it contributes to this sense of a broader national crisis by revealing its double, i.e., its analogous crisis and correlative in the sphere of youth development. In the following chapters, I describe related governmental crises in the private and public sectors, respectively. Certainly, these crises of government are differentiated by the specificity of their particular spheres. And so, the private sector crisis of economic planning differs in many respects from the public sector

¹¹² See, for example: Bhandarker, Asha and Pritam Singh. "Parenting Transformational Leaders". *The Journal of Business Perspective* (Jan-June 1999) 1-12.

crisis of population. In the discourse of youth development, this crisis manifested against the command-based model of authority and government. Taken together, however, I argue that these crises help frame a broader crisis of Indian liberalism during the 1970s. The neoliberal discourse of youth development is still emergent, even today. But through a discussion of my ethnographic findings, I intend to suggest that this counter-discourse should not be understood merely as emergent. Rather, and in urban areas especially, it is burgeoning. Indeed, I stress that an important feature of this counter-discourse is that it manifests most distinctly in urban settings. This is because it formulates itself not simply around the issues of youth, but of youth in India's urban areas in particular.

After India's independence the youth and what must be done with young persons was a growing concern in the subcontinent since the fate of the newly formed nation was intimately linked to the proper development of young citizen-subjects. It was along these lines that young persons and their development was made the object of early-Indian thought and practice. But this preoccupation with the development of the Indian youth especially concerned itself with the educated, urban youth of India at the end of the 1960s. Here was a group coming of age in the post-Independence period, in a country that was chiefly prioritizing national development, and in cities where that development was at its most pronounced.¹¹³ This was a group that was increasingly positioned in the midst of a surge in technological progress, with all the associated domestic potential that could be released if young persons were carefully paired with the ongoing technological expansion. But this was also a group for whom the verve and volatility of the Independence movement was reduced to their school history books.¹¹⁴ Their relationship to their

¹¹³ For instance, as Chapter 3 describes, a key national development priority was the rapid modernization of industry and manufacturing in India. And India's cities were a chief focal point for large state investments in manufacturing.

¹¹⁴ Kakar, Sudhir and Kamla Chowdry. *Conflict and Choice: Indian Youth in a Changing Society* (Bombay: Somaiya Publications, 1970), 4.

nation was not grounded in the same sense of nationalism possessed by the young people of the 1940s. Nor were their concerns necessarily linked to those of their freedom-fighting predecessors, i.e., of giving new content to the meaning of the nation and its citizens. Nevertheless, they were part of a rapidly growing corps of young persons in India. By 1971, half of India's population was below 25 years of age.¹¹⁵ In Bombay, the Demographic Research and Training Center projected that in the same year, over half of the city's population (52.9%) would be below the age of 25 years.¹¹⁶

During India's initial foray into the realm of sovereign nationhood, the individuality of the subject-citizens was to be encouraged and channeled into the urgent work of national reconstruction. This meant that the education and development of the youth needed to endow the individual with a freedom and sense of self that was filtered through a more nationalistic awareness in order to support the demands of national development. As a result, while the interests, activities and freedom of young persons were invariably acknowledged and, of course, juridically secured, these were also encouraged and mediated by a mechanism that always worked to secure conditions necessary for a post-colonial planned society and economy.

Rather than mapping youth development onto such a nation-building project, the counter-approach that manifests at the end of the third quarter of the twentieth century couched its attention on the disputes, sentiments and activities of the youth - what we might broadly refer to as the interests of the youth - in an analysis of an authority crisis between the young and the social, political, cultural and economic institutions that have hitherto managed and administered the conduct and development of the young. As it turns out, the very mechanisms and institutions

¹¹⁵ Patel, *Foreword*, V.

¹¹⁶ Khandekar, Mandakini. *A Report on the Situation of Children and Youth in Greater Bombay* (Bombay: Tata Institute Of Social Sciences, 1970).

that were designed to produce the liberal subject-citizen are now unable to govern young persons and direct their development. At the heart of this crisis of authority, then, was what would be seen as a governmental failure to secure the compliance of young people because of an epistemic oversight, on the part of governmental thought, to know and appeal to the young person as a free chooser. It is on this count that Sudhir Kakar and Kamla Chowdry's "Conflict and Choice", published in 1970, is especially insightful.

Kakar and Chowdry argue that "our familial, educational, religious, social and political institutions are rapidly losing their capacities to command the easy compliance of our youth".¹¹⁷ There is an authority crisis at the core of this tension, as young persons increasingly seek autonomy from traditional authority figures. This autonomy means that the individual is seeking independence from their parents in matters of their private affairs, whereas before their private life was entirely mediated through their interaction with their family. It means that they want independence from priests in matters of their faith. It also means that they strive for more of a say in their education as an individual, rather than simply following the nation-building directives of their instructors. And it means that they seek independence from policymakers in matters of their profession, whereas before they might be entirely dependent on such policymakers to direct their development to a degree where they can obtain gainful employment that advances national economic interests.

This crisis of authority is also the central issue that parenting counselors, who I interviewed in Mumbai, point to as still existing between young persons and their parents and families. As one counselor put it, part of this tension comes from the issue of overbearing parental authority that does not attempt to know or respect the freedom of the young person. "A

¹¹⁷ Kakar and Chowdry, *Conflict and Choice*, 4-8.

lot of parents are not able to distance themselves, or distance the child. They're too clingy sometimes. And that's something we do, in fact, work on with [parents]. That they have to let go on certain things, and they have to let the child be, sometimes."¹¹⁸ This notion of 'letting the child be' comes from the approach of "mindful parenting" where parents are called on to be more aware of their child's interest in order to better know and respect their freedom. The previous generation's lack of mindful parenting practices has only reproduced outmoded approaches to parenting, failing to track the ways in which the individual's interest and outcomes are no longer understood as determined by the interest of a group (family, community, nation, state, and so on). The failure of the previous generations of parents, since the 1950s, is that a command-based parenting technique has run amok with the ways in which it governs the young. Consequently, "the child is an obsession for [the parents]", who fail to recognize that their individuality can no longer be tied to anything but their own sense of self.¹¹⁹ I will argue that what being "mindful" means, and what previous generations of parents were lacking, is a certain attentiveness to the individual that does not instrumentalize them in order to effect certain impersonal goals (of the family or the nation), but to affirm and redefine the individual along very specific lines of their interest and their choice in order to instrumentalize them in ways that make them more governable.

To put it another way, it is not a question of, for instance, directly investing a specific set of skills in the child through their education and their upbringing, determined by an identified and fixed set of skills that are necessary to shore up vital segments of the nation. What now becomes crucial to the development of the young person is not that their interest and capacities

¹¹⁸ Interview with parenting counselor MT. June 07, 2016.

¹¹⁹ Joint interview with parenting counselors KP and NR. June 11, 2016.

be known in order to be advanced in a manner that directly secures the needs of a national plan. Instead, what matters now is the autonomy of the individual to personally determine and invest in their means in order pursue their goals as they sees fit. It is not reasoned self-mastery, in the positive libertarian sense, that helps the individual perceive and assert this autonomy. The individual does not arrive at or sustain this freedom through an asceticism where they strive to overcome their irrational self through a more perfect exercise of their reason. Independence, in this sense, does not mean freedom from their (unreasonable) self. It means not being dependent on others by being wholly dependent on the personal self and its available means.

While there is a familiar neo-Roman tone to this independence, one that is shared with the earlier liberal approach to youth development, it is not a republican liberty or a classically liberal freedom to which this counter-discourse to youth development subscribes. In spite of its more recent neo-republican iterations shifting towards adopting a more individualistic discourse,¹²⁰ neo-Roman liberty has typically managed to maintain a relatively stable position on the relationship between the individual's autonomy and that of their larger society. It admits that, in the final analysis, the autonomy of the individual is only worth anything in an autonomous state - only in an autonomous state that is secure and stable enough can rights be secured that will ensure that both state and society do not interfere with the thought and activities of the individual.¹²¹ Again, this is a position that the Indian liberals of the mid-twentieth century are sensitive to. But this is not how the neoliberal counter-discourse to Indian liberalism approaches the question of autonomy.

¹²⁰ Pettit, Philip. *A Theory of Freedom: From the Psychology to the Politics of Agency* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).

¹²¹ Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism*.

Rather than link the autonomy of the individual to something outside of the self, to the nation, society, or the state, the counter-discourse of youth development exclusively and firmly lodges the individual freedom within an image of the self now understood as an interest-bearing subject of choice. Kakar and Chowdry find that “autonomy ... implies the exercise of choices; choices imply the assumption of responsibility for decisions made; and responsibility implies a commitment to the decisions made”.¹²² The individual becomes autonomous when they are no longer dependent on anyone other than themselves. The crucial feature of this autonomy, the thing that makes it a more novel individualistic discourse of freedom than previous discourses, is that this non-dependence (and, thus, freedom) is made possible in and through the exercise of individual choice. The individual reveals, perceives, and asserts their autonomy by exercising their choices. But what is more is that this mechanism of choice and the manner in which it articulates itself through the individual’s independence also fastens their independence to a sense of responsibility. In other words, the individual’s freedom to choose does not mean one is free to do as one pleases. As in the Indian liberal discourse, a sense of responsibility is inseparable from an understanding and evaluation of individual freedom in this more novel approach. However, this is not a liberal responsibility where the individual is responsible for themselves in a manner that compels each to assume a responsibility for the nation. Instead, the very framework within which responsibility is now understood changes with the rise of this neoliberal counter-discourse.

If the autonomy of each is aligned to a sense of responsibility, then in order to be autonomous the individual must exercise choices. The more choices they make, the more freedom they enjoy. But they also assume more responsibility for every choice they make. And

¹²² Kakar and Chowdry, *Conflict and Choice*, 83.

this sense of responsibility means a commitment to their choice. But this new discourse does not refer to choice in terms of the choices they make that can better advance the nation, where their freedom to choose activates a direct circuit between their interest and the interest of the nation. Such interest alignment can only limit, rather than expand, the possible outcomes available to the freely choosing individual. Now the individual assumes a freedom where the exercise of their choices and the assumption of responsibility for every choice they make go hand-in-hand, whether or not the end result of any given choice achieves a broader objective for the nation or is to their advantage. The outcomes from their freely choosing activity are thus unpredictable. What matters is they chooses for themselves.

Indeed, in associating a sense of responsibility with their freedom to choose, whether or not a choice is to their advantage is besides the point when thinking about what exactly makes the young person free. What makes them free is not how effectively they use their choices to secure advantages for themselves. The individual is free simply because they are able to choose. If their choice is to have less wealth, and the outcome of their choice means that they are less wealthy, then that does not mean they are being unfree. Nor are they being unfree when they reduce the choices available to them, as long as it is their choice to do so, based on their interest, and consistent with their own sense of utility. Their freedom is established simply by the opportunity to choose - being free means having the chance to choose for themselves. Of course, the more they choose and the more effectively they choose, the more free they will be as the range of choices available to them expand. But the *raison d'être* for their freedom is not the number of choices or the particular outcomes of those choices (positive or negative). It is simply that they can choose. And they are free to choose to be more free or less free.

But by the same token, however, if the young person chooses to have less wealth or to limit the choices available to them, then they must also assume a responsibility for that choice. More generally, whatever choice they make and whatever the end result of that choice might be, they are responsible for both. That is, while each is an agent who is expected to maximize utility in all sorts of ways by a maximization of their choices, any given choice may not necessarily secure an advantage for them.¹²³ The objective of this neoliberal discourse of youth development is to produce a subject out of a child who adopts an enterprising ethic that lodges two governmental mechanisms within them. The first mechanism makes it so that each is always working towards the life they are interested in through their freedom to choose. That is, it produces each as a subject of choice. The second mechanism understands that the outcomes of freely choosing activity are often aleatory and can be to the disadvantage of specific choosers. It therefore responds to the uncertainty of the first mechanism by producing an individual who must also assume responsibility for their choices, and by observing them in their choices in order to better know their interest and appeal to these in ways that ensure that their choices are always maximized so that they are always free. And together, these two mechanisms not only appeal to and maximize choices for free choosers, they also ensure the permanence of the catallaxy that such freely choosing activity (re)produces.

In “A Theory of Freedom”, Philip Pettit argues that for an individual to be free, is for them to be fully fit to be held responsible for their actions, their self, and their person. And to be fully fit to be held responsible “for a certain choice is to be such that no matter what you do, you will fully deserve the blame should the action be bad and fully deserve praise should the action be

¹²³ Gary Becker makes this very distinction, arguing that a preoccupation with maximizing utility does not equal one with maximizing wealth. Becker, *The Economic Way of Looking at Life*.

good”.¹²⁴ However, while my freedom is about my fitness to be held responsible for the choices that I make, my choices themselves are based on interests that I am willing to be held responsible for. Indeed, Pettit’s theory of individual freedom is closely bound up with a particular approach to individual interests. The choices that I make might be mine or they might be offered to me by someone else. But each choice that I make is based on an “avowable interest”, i.e., an interest that I have openly disclosed and accept full responsibility for. I am able to assume responsibility for my choice because I assume responsibility for the interest that informs my choice. In short, I am free because the interests that inspire my choices are avowable. But if I want to expand my freedom, I would have to expand my avowable interests, and in so doing, the choices available to me would also increase. That is, any effort to increase individual freedom implies a nearly concurrent maximization of individual choices.

The neoliberal approach to youth development in India, then, is not simply concerned with individual autonomy as non-dependence. Crucially, it is thinking about the individual’s autonomy in relation to their individual interests and choices. That is, if the the young person seeks to be more autonomous, they must do so by expanding their interests and choices, thereby assuming more responsibility. Pettit, however, is careful to argue that things are slightly more nuanced in cases such as the development of young persons. We might tell a child that they will be held responsible in order to induce a sense of responsibility in them. In this case, the point is not to hold the child actually responsible but to simply teach them a lesson and more or less excuse their choice by treating them as if they could not foresee that their choice would have had a negative effect. This is different from when we hold them responsible because they failed to foresee the negative consequence of their choice, i.e., by treating them as a “person with the

¹²⁴ Pettit, *A Theory of Freedom*, 12.

capacity to foresee” that consequence. For Pettit, it is in this second sense that a young person might be assumed to be properly fit to be held responsible.¹²⁵ And this is precisely what the neoliberal discourse of freedom in India means by responsibility. It is an ethic where the individual is always obligated to a self-defined version of their future self. It not only assumes that individuals know themselves along the lines of their personal interest and choices, but assumes and endows each with a specific “capacity to foresee” or a prospective rationality.

This prospective rationality, the ability to foresee the consequences of one’s actions vis-a-vis a future self and to be treated as someone who has done so, is what is now part of the ethic of the independent and responsible Indian youth, especially the urban youth. For Kakar and Chowdhry, “the importance of the adolescent phase...” might not lie in channelizing youth energy towards national activities, but...

“...lies in the many significant steps that the individual has to take, steps that influence the choices, responsibility and commitment to the future which, in a sense, also foreclose the future. The process of becoming an adult, of ‘growing up’ is not simply exhausted in a series of unconnected steps in the present but includes meaningful actions which not only help in the resolution of past conflicts but also in the sketching out of an image, however blurred, of a relevant, personal future.”¹²⁶

One counselor echoes this thought in her approach to counseling parents and their children: “What we’re trying to do here, is to help [each child] unfold their own lives in a better fashion”. This is accomplished by “slowly making them more aware of the consequences [of their interest and choices], so that they can look more long term than short term, and how they could take on more responsibility.”¹²⁷ Another counselor’s approach invites the young person to

¹²⁵ Specifically, note his discussion of the “developmental rationale” towards responsibility versus the “proper fitness to be held responsible” rationale. Pettit, *A Theory of Freedom*, 16-17.

¹²⁶ Kakar and Chowdhry, *Conflict and Choice*, 83-84.

¹²⁷ Interview with parenting counselor MT, July 19, 2016.

imagine their future self by investing them with a mentality where for any given interest they will “think about the various other consequences which might happen” and whether they are “able to face them”.¹²⁸

If the liberal subject-citizen’s sense of responsibility was invested in them to obligate each to the future nation, the neoliberal subject’s responsibility sheds any preoccupation with any such obligations and is instead invested in them to induce each to become liable for themselves. Every choice they make as a young person, in the process of becoming an adult, is informed by this sense of responsibility to a future self and forms their future self (in the sense of foreclosing their future in and through the choices they make). And the more choices they make, the more they are working towards a future-self who is more free, and who is more responsible for themselves now and in the future especially because their choices open up prospective avenues for them to take but also prevent others. Broadly stated, what begins to change in the 1970s is the way in which the individual’s freedom is thought about and how that independence alters what it means for each to be responsible. It is this relationship between the individual’s freedom to choose and their responsibility to their (future) self, and the enterprising ethic it entails, that is the key interaction informing the tactics that both parenting counselors employ and that parents are trained in and recommended by their counselors. Moreover, as the individual’s independence and sense of responsibility shift away from a focus on the welfare of the nation towards the well-being of the self, the discourse of youth development doubles down on the family, the home, and the immediate milieu of the individual. Since the practices of the home become the renewed focus of this discourse, the work of parenting counselors takes on added value precisely because they specialize in advising families on how to best secure the well-being and future of the young

¹²⁸ Interview with parenting counselor NR. June 27, 2016.

person. With this redoubling of the family and the home as a key site for neoliberal youth development, the previously assigned “home-craft” of women to help produce liberal subject-citizens does not fade away but gets reassigned, this time to produce a neoliberal subject of choice. Women, now, must not only function as choice-maximizers in their private pursuits, but also are still largely responsible for the work that must be done to help produce young children as (future) free choosers. In other words, whereas before the demands of securing the future nation enlisted women’s work in the home, now the demands of securing the future self (of both the mother, and her child) obliges Indian women to work in the home and with the family. And so, it should not be seen as mere coincidence that every counselor that I spoke with during my fieldwork was a woman, and almost every family that these counselors worked with was represented by the mother and the child. Fathers would occasionally appear at the counselors’ offices, but never just with their child, and not as frequently as the child and the mother. Among the children, the number of boys versus girls was generally equal on any given day.

The core strategy that counselors (and eventually parents) use to go about governing young people as free choosers is one that relies on the technique of surveillance, especially through mechanisms of observation and testing, and of intervention. The counselor/parent takes the young person’s freedom to choose as self-evident in order to be able to test them in a manner that reveals their interest to themselves and the counselor/parent. As I will describe shortly, it is the observation and acquisition of this knowledge about their interest that permits the counselor/parent to intervene in a manner that presents them with options that are based on and appeal to their interest and that, more importantly, make them more compliant in and through their interest and freedom to choose. The intervention is itself evaluated based on whether or not the young person chooses an option that is offered to them, or whether the options chosen produces

the desired result in terms of modifying their behavior. Interventions deemed ineffective, i.e., not producing the desired results, are themselves modified based more testing that work to better reveal the young person's interest. Knowledge of their interest is then used to develop and deploy modified interventions that try and attain the desired conduct. This strategy establishes a secure circuit between levels of testing and of intervention, both of which are mechanisms of policing youth that maneuver in and out of their most quotidian details in order to secure against the consequences of their burgeoning freedom to choose. And once activated, this is a governmental ordering that more or less reinforces itself automatically.

Why Ethnography?

I propose that the stakes of this epistemic and discursive break are best studied through a theoretical analysis that pieces together historical textual evidence, however limited these might be, with findings from ethnographic fieldwork. While the novelty of this thought around youth development might be gleaned from early scholarly treatments of it in published texts, my fieldwork describes how this thought has informed practice and gained greater currency in India, particularly in urban settings. More specifically, I argue that the peculiarity of this approach can be most effectively examined through a study of the appearance and growth of professional parental counseling services in Mumbai. Such an examination of parental counseling can prove rather insightful, but not without first stressing why exactly the practice of parental counseling is notable in the Indian setting, and describing some of its relevant features.

Parental counseling agencies began to emerge in Mumbai at the turn of the twenty-first century. As one counselor pointed out, "even now there are still very few [parental counseling

agencies].”¹²⁹ But for most of the twentieth century, these agencies were not a service that parents would have demanded. The most common explanation that the counselors gave for this lack of demand is that it is because the dominant approach to parenting during the last century was more command-based, i.e., it relied to a significant degree on the manner in which the family (through the head of the family) asserted its authority on each of its members. For example, the child was simply told what to do in any given circumstance without much in the way of an attempt to help them understand why they must do what they are expected to. Given that these counselors place a good degree of emphasis on learning and using proper parenting strategies, when that strategy is more command-based, then the inviolability of the parent’s directives (typically of the father, but not always) is all the counsel that is needed regarding parenting tactics and practices. The assumption here is that not only is the child incapable of understanding what they are being told to do or think, but “that it’s okay to not explain it to them” precisely because all that matters here is that the parents assert themselves in a manner that obtains the desired effects from the child.¹³⁰ While the child is expected to be independent and responsible as they mature, the meaning of these characteristics and their adoption of them are carefully filtered through a parenting strategy that (at least since the nation’s Independence) was guided by the authority of those in the family who commanded the compliance of child. But it is also the case that, by the 1960s and 1970s, the urban youth were beginning to push against this command-based approach to developing youth. This youth reaction formed the backdrop for the student unrest movements in India at the time and for discussions from the likes of Kakar and Chowdry

¹²⁹ Interview with parenting counselor MT. June 7, 2016.

¹³⁰ Interview with parenting counselor MT. July 19, 2016.

of a growing crisis between the Indian youth's demands for autonomy and traditional structures of authority.¹³¹

Another common explanation, though not a mutually exclusive one, for the lack of demand for counselors is that when it comes to finding or altering ways to raise a child, parents have until recently almost exclusively relied on mimicking the practices of their own parents or a kinship network, consulting with an inner circle of close friends or family members, in order to avoid any possible broadcasting of issues outside of their family. This relates to what one counselor called the “stigma” that parents felt when outsiders found that there are issues in the family, and which betrays a sense of competitiveness with those outsiders where one mark of a successful family is that it gives outsiders the impression that there are no issues, especially when it comes to raising children.¹³² There is also a lack of “mindful parenting”, where for instance, parents will reproduce the tactics of their own parents rather than think carefully about the efficacy of those tactics or their appropriateness given changing culture. “[Parents are] not thinking about what it is that [they’re] trying to do. [They’re] just sort of implementing what [their] parents did that [they] probably hated as kids, and are hoping that the results will be different or that it will work.”¹³³ Again, the expectation is that the mother conducts this parenting work in the home. Nevertheless, the directives that both parents follow are influenced by others, i.e., by consulting with this inner circle of confidants rather than outsiders who might be professionally trained to assist parents.

Scholarship on the family and youth development tends to confirm and expand upon these insights about the role of the family. Typically defined in terms of the extended family,

¹³¹ Kakar and Chowdry, *Conflict and Choice*. Datta, *Youth Unrest*. Mehta (ed.), *The Indian Youth*.

¹³² Interview with parenting counselors KP and NR. June 11, 2016.

¹³³ Interview with parenting counselor KP. June 27, 2016.

scholars have noted that in India “the family is a key social institution that exerts a definitive influence on the lives of all its members”.¹³⁴ This influence is characterized in terms of the command of the family on its individual members, and especially its ability to define those members vis-a-vis the family. Some have argued that this ability of the family to define its members helps explain why Indians are more group-oriented, with a bias towards collective activity and interdependence, even in urban settings where Indians are assumed to be more individualistic.¹³⁵ For instance, research finds that even educated professional Indians working in the high-tech industry in New Delhi, in spite of expanding individualistic career aspirations, have exhibited collectivist tendencies in the workplace.¹³⁶ In other words, by developing individuals in the home in a manner that has them defer to others in the family, these individuals continue to value deferring to others outside of the family once they leave the home. Deferring to others does not necessarily compromise the independence of the individual. Echoing the liberal discourse of the second half of the twentieth century, the goal is to raise young persons who are not simply independent for the sake of the self but whose independence is always already mediated in and through an affirmation of and obligation to a certain set of inter-subjective relations.

Given the preeminence of this authority model of parenting in and through the family, why did urban parents started looking outside of the family for parenting advice from professionals? This is the question that has motivated my ethnographic focus in this chapter, and

¹³⁴ Tuli, Mila. “Beliefs on Parenting and Childhood in India”. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*. 43, no. 1 (2012): 82. Gupta, Rajen K. and Abhinash Panda. “Individualized Familial Self: The Evolving Self of Qualified Technocrats in India”. *Psychology and Developing Societies*. 15, no. 1 (2003): 10. Kakar, Sudhir. *The Inner World: A Psychoanalytic Study of Childhood and Society in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978). Mantena, Karuna. *Alibis Of Empire: Henry Maine And The Ends Of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

¹³⁵ Roland, A. *The Search of the Self in India and Japan: Towards a Cross Cultural Psychology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

¹³⁶ Gupta and Panda, *Individualized Familial Self*.

The same research also notes that the trend seems to be moving towards individualistic propensities and away from collectivist tendencies, without investigating why or what exactly is bringing about this shift.

it allows me to examine the appearance of parental counseling agencies in India, stressing the significance of their emergence within the context of a broader shift in how individuals are thought of in relation to their freedom and in how their freedom makes possible a novel ordering of the affairs of each and all. Perhaps this move to professional advice might simply represent a break in the trend of keeping matters in the family, so to speak. However, I argue that this turn towards professionals does not occur without a change in how parents themselves think about their children and the work of parenting. Not all parents, of course. But one counselor goes as far as to characterize the many parents who are her clients as part of a “particular section” of society that is simply motivated to change how they think about their child and their parenting practices.¹³⁷ That is, urban parents are employing parenting counselors because of a change in how both parenting practices and the child are being thought of and problematized. This is a change away from a command-based approach to parenting that corresponds with the discourse of youth development in India’s early decades, and that required the production and development of young people who defined their personal goals with those of nation-building. And it is change towards a choice-based approach that relies on a more economic discourse of youth development that appeals to and encourages the pursuit of private ends and outcomes. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, parents in urban India are seeking advice from counselors not to reinforce some inherited style of parenting or to build compliant subject-citizens out of their children. Instead, they aim learn and use more novel parenting strategies focused on knowing and producing their child’s as a free and choice maximizing subject who must, learning how to choose well, secure a personally defined future for themselves.

¹³⁷ Interview with parenting counselor MT, June 07, 2016

By analyzing the work of Indian writers on this matter, the previous section offered an important illustration of the type of thought supporting this new approach to youth development. I now proceed to examine the fate of this new approach by presenting findings from ethnographic research on Indian parenting practices through the practical advice provided by professional parenting counselors in India. These findings are based on participant observation and informal and semi-structured interviews conducted with parenting counselors during the summer of 2015 and 2016. The counselors work full-time at one of the two bustling parental counseling agencies in Mumbai that allowed me access. Not only was I able to speak with counselors employed at these two agencies, but I was able to speak with the agencies' proprietors who also worked there as counselors. A major challenge for those seeking the services of counselors is their ability (or lack thereof) to pay for the time and advice of counselors. Another major feature is the level of education of the parents who seek these services. These are two important reasons why many who do acquire such services are from the educated, middle classes of Mumbai. Nevertheless, one agency did cater to a more diverse cross-section of society, with clients coming from both the lower and middle classes. The manner in which this agency accomplished this is by simply reducing the fees for families with lesser means, and employing members of staff who can communicate with non-English speaking or reading families. The other agency admitted patrons from more exclusively upper-middle class backgrounds because their fee structure more or less precluded any less-than-affluent clientele. Accordingly, these ethnographic findings and my analysis of these findings from my time at these two agencies might be interpreted as, by and large, a treatment of the thought and practice of the urban Indian professionals and of urban Indian middle class. But stories about clients from the lower classes as much as the middle informed my conversations with these professional counselors. And

this is arguably because lower classes around the globe must aspire towards middle class life, and therefore seek solutions not traditionally available to them as members of a lower class.¹³⁸

Furthermore, like the liberal discourse on youth development, this counter-discourse also implicates gender relations. Strictly speaking, it is interested in investing a freedom to choose in all individuals, regardless of their gender. And so boys and girls are equally the object and target of this new approach because it casts as wide a net as possible when it comes to creating a subject of choice out of free individuals. But according to counselors, and almost every time, the parent that accompanies their child to these agencies is the mother. And so, once again, the work of raising the subject required to sustain the (now neoliberal) governmental order is largely assigned to women. Nevertheless, Indian women are also entering this subjective fold as girls are now being educated more and, in many middle-class families, are as or more likely than men to contribute financially to the family. She is not only expected to carry out the work of child-rearing at home. Her wages often help run the household and pay for housework that women of the family have often been tasked with without pay. Given this perpetually elevated burden on women, the stakes of producing the girl child as a subject of choice are much higher. This is because, unlike men, women's choices both secure a personal future for themselves and direct how well their child will be raised in the art of free choice, i.e., how well that child chooses as an adult to secure a future for herself. These more recent developments in India, where girls are as well-educated (if not more) than boys and are more likely than before to succeed professionally and raise successful free choosers, motivate parents who come to counselors for parenting advice, and inform the advice that counselors offer these parents.

¹³⁸ Heiman, Rachel., Carla Freeman and Mark Liechty (eds.). *The Global Middle Classes: Theorizing Through Ethnography* (Santa Fe: SAR Press, 2012).

Each of the counselors that I spoke with had at least a master's degree in psychology, with a focus in counseling or clinical psychology. Their work experience requires that they have counseled different types of adult populations in relation to issues of parenting, and young persons in relation to the issues of youth (especially the period of puberty). The role of psychology and psychological therapeutics in this line of work is quite important (Kakar and Chowdry, too, are psychologists by trade). For example, counselors use a battery of psychological tests or assessments on young persons to identify and understand the child's personality.¹³⁹ Some of these tests, counselors admit, are rather controversial. For instance, one assessment used with children under the age of 12 years asks them to horizontally fill a blank page with different colors, the only other requirement being that there should be no blank spaces left on the page. The counselor then makes preliminary judgements about the child's state of mind based on the colors they might choose to use (some colors suggest more aggressive feelings than others), and the manner in which they choose to color-in the piece of paper (are there long and aggressive strokes of color, for example). While this technique might strike some as a rather arbitrary, including the professionals administering them, counselors rely on them not as a definitive statement on the child's personality, but because they help establish a baseline through which counselors can recommend initial parenting strategies and evaluate the effectiveness of previously recommended strategies.¹⁴⁰ As I will describe in the next section, this approach of testing in order to intervene and then testing the effectiveness of the intervention in order to intervene better (then testing again to intervene even more effectively, and so on), is the chief policing technique that counselors use and teach their clients (parents). This interaction between testing and

¹³⁹ Interview with parenting counselor AC. June 27, 2016

¹⁴⁰ Interview with parenting counselor NR. June 27, 2016

intervention has important consequences for parenting practices and offers important and broader insights in relation to this discourse circulating around the governing through the individual's freedom to choose.

The role of psychology in informing the practices of counselors might be an obvious point. But the role that psychology plays in the rise of this new discourse of youth development might be less obvious and cannot be overstated. Psychology, and its many related fields, would not be possible without the epistemic category of 'the individual'. It is important to not only remind ourselves that the primary unit of psychological analysis is the individual, but that this is an individual who is assumed to have an identity that might reveal some truth about who they are in terms of their wants or preferences and their interest. In this sense, the discourse of psychology proves to be an exercise in veridiction (or truth-telling), i.e., in revealing some quality about human beings that is taken as essential, self-evident, relatively stable, and true. And in trying to reveal this quality, it necessarily invests it within the human being and produces them as an individual with a particular identity. Psychology, then, not only proves itself to be particularly useful as means to study human beings who are produced as individuals and then assumed to have an individual identity, but also informs a discourse of individual freedom because at the heart of this manufactured individual and their identity is the ability to have an interest and to rely on this interest in order to make choices. In other words, what must not be understated is the work done by the field of psychology to help (re)produce the individual as free chooser, not out of some inherent fondness for freedom but because it recognizes the more rigorous manner in which human beings can be made both knowable and governable once they are invested with and

assumed to have an individuality that circulates around an individual interest and a freedom to choose.¹⁴¹

The Terms of Training

Docility, Disobedience, and Discipline: Michel Foucault, in “Discipline and Punish”, describes and analyzes why and the ways in which the body of the modern subject was made prisoner to their soul. The underlying suspicion in this particular work by Foucault is towards any claim that the soul is the stable, self-evident essence of the human being. Instead, he argues in this text that the soul (and its correlates of identity, subjectivity, individuality and so on) is produced by a modern regime of power-relations that is preoccupied with creating a subject out of the human being. This is an individual who is produced as both useful by increasing the forces of their body in terms of productivity, and docile by decreasing the forces of their body in terms of disobedience. In other words, once the soul is invested within the human being, it creates a certain type of subject, and it becomes the perpetual target of governmental alterations and innovations. This is done in order to encourage a certain type of subjective identity and individuality that is located at a nexus of docility and utility, and to discourage others. More crucially, once the soul is invested within the subject, it permits the automatic functioning of power.¹⁴² That is, the production and operations of the soul within the subject ensure certain ways of being that enforce and reinforce power-relations and modes of governing according to those relations.

¹⁴¹ Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994). Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1978). Descombes, Vincent. *Modern French Philosophy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

¹⁴² Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 30 and 200-201.

The first point, for Foucault, is that far from the soul being trapped by the body (as various ecclesiastical, ascetic, phenomenological, or folk-existential positions might suggest), it is more likely the case that the body is trapped by the soul, which when once introduced into the human being directs the forces of their body towards docility and utility. Of course, this is not to suggest that power is repressive. And this is his second point. Rather than reinforcing an otherwise popular argument that power is negative in that it represses and restraints, Foucault's arguments propose that power might be better understood as positive in that it is productive and constraining.¹⁴³ Power not only produces the soul within the human being, but in so doing it produces that human being as a subject whose capacities can be directed in ways that make them more governable. In other words, power is productive because it produces the subject and the individual out of a human being. It is also productive because it develops the human being in certain ways that encourage certain modes of conduct and discourage others.

Power performs this productive function by ordering practices and relations in any given setting according to certain governmental strategies and with the techniques that are particular to those strategies. One strategy is that of hierarchical observation, which involves the techniques of surveillance, documentary compilation, and knowledge building. There is the strategy of normalizing desired behavior through techniques of punishments and rewards. There is also the strategy of the examination, which calls for a combination of the techniques from hierarchical observation and normalization, entailing individualized surveillance, individualized documentary compilation, and individualized punishment and rewards based on an hierarchical ranking of an examined collective. In short, these strategies and techniques turn the human being into a case study. They can then be worked upon through a series of procedures in order to be endowed with

¹⁴³ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 194.

an individuality that conducts their conduct in a manner that directs them to towards docility and utility. Importantly, every single minutia in the life of its target is a concern for such means of disciplining. Power must work to make the smallest detail about the life of a target observable, knowable, and subject to normalization and examination. To put it slightly differently, in order for it to automatically function, power must penetrate its target to at its most micro-physical level.

In Foucault's work, this disciplined subject is originally a creature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in the modern disciplinary regime's production of a docile and useful subject, docility is a matter of making obedient by reducing the forces of the body that are susceptible to resisting (disciplinary) power. But I propose that what has been occurring since at least the second half of the twentieth century can be described as a shift in the understanding of docility vis-a-vis power-relations and its usefulness as a subjective characteristic. This shift both feeds into and is informed by the shift away from disciplinary power that is focused on directly intervening in the body of the human being in order to produce them as a subject, towards biopower that is invested in indirectly intervening in and regulating the life of the human being in order to produce each as a subject who can become part of an eminently governable population. Under neoliberal government, the affairs of this subject-population must be filtered through a choice-maximization regime that gives form to and perpetuates a value-neutral and spontaneous ordering of human activities. I argue that one of the features that sets this new approach apart from the approach of the disciplinary regime is that it engenders docility by producing a strategic use for disobedience.

Rather than working towards altogether dismissing it, disobedience becomes one way that the interest of the individual and of young people, in particular, can reveal itself in and through their free choice to resist authority. Disobedience, insofar as one is free to resist and thus to

disobey, is now encouraged by governmental power because that power must know what it is up against and then try to make strategic adjustments within its own calculus based on that knowledge. This knowledge and the adjustments that rely on it allow government to present the free subject with intervention that invites their resistance to capitulate and thus reenter the confines of power-relations. It follows that even resistance to the spontaneous ordering of human affairs and the inherent uncertainty of this order must be encouraged, so that the precise terms of the subject's resistance can be better known and appealed to in ways that will nevertheless secure the catallaxy. This freedom to resist is both encouraged and comes through in the strategies and techniques of parenting counselors and parenting practices informed by their counsel. The child's freedom to choose allows them the opportunity to resist the authority of their parents. But it is also through the child's very resistance that their choices are most clearly revealed and their interest can be best understood. Their freedom to choose to resist and disobey allows government to better know them and to use that knowledge in order to manage and administer their conduct more closely.

The important implication here is that the old crisis of authority (namely, gaining the compliance and obedience of young people) that reveals itself through young people's refusal to comply to familial authority is not necessarily resolved. Instead, it is actively encouraged because it can reveal important governmental insights about the best ways to secure the compliance of the young person in ways that encourage each to assume more responsibility for the choices they make. However, under the new government of youth, this resistance to authority (and the disobedience it is based on) is more supervised, monitored, regulated and directed. It is invited to speak its complaints, which are then tested and subjected to interventions. The neoliberal art of governing youth makes it so that the force of the subject's resistance is subverted in a manner that

makes it constitutive of the subject's self-government. Indeed, young people are not simply policed by adults (counselors and parents). Ideally, they will police themselves in and through their freedom to choose in order to assumed responsibility for and secure a better future for their personal selves. And since this future is presented on the horizon, never fully attained but always within reach, the freely choosing young person must always observe themselves and be observed to ensure they are optimizing their freedom to choose. That is, this person is an always policed subject. In this sense, the new discourses of youth development differed markedly from the old. If the old subject-citizen was a sacrificing and sacrificial subject in service to a (future) nation that will be a composite of regional, ethnic, and religious diversities all the while transcending these, the new subject of choice will be a perpetually policing and policed subject as such demands to nation-building steadily give way to the uncertainties and anxieties of being solely responsible for building a relevant and personal future for themselves.

Once the underlying assumption about the child's freedom to choose takes root within them, the human being can be produced as an eminently governable individual and subject of choice through a number of strategies that can now come into play. Each person can be individualized along certain terms and conditions, and treated as a case study. The mechanisms of testing and intervention with the instruments particular to them can then be deployed in order to gently 'nudge' their behavior in a desired direction that is based on an understanding of certain universal rules of conduct each and all must follow. Again, these rules do not prescribe conformity but, rather, ensure that insofar as the individual is a free chooser their conduct always (re)produces the value-neutral and spontaneous ordering of each and all. The field of intervention is no longer their body or its forces, but their milieu and the malleability of its

various components. And so the most effective government intervention will not be of the direct-anatomical variety, but instead acquires an indirect-environmental design.

Discipline, too, does not disappear. Parenting practices are still largely about disciplining the child. But this discipline no longer assumes a model of punishment that finds its basis in limiting the freedom of the young person. Instead, the young person can only be disciplined by respecting their independence because it is only through their freedom to choose, for instance to choose to break away and resist, that they reveal their true self. Once again, it is the knowledge of this ‘self’ that must be made possible insofar as their interest, preferences, wants, and so on are observable and knowable. And I argue that once this is accomplished, the conduct of each can be managed and administered more effectively than before. But discipline is not simply directed at the child. Indeed, in the final analysis, the counselors are also focused on moving parents away from a state of indiscipline in their parenting practices, re-training them to become better disciplined vis-a-vis a persistence in their strategies and techniques according to certain assumptions about the child’s freedom and individuality. As much as counseling concerns securing the compliance of freely choosing children, it also concerns securing best practices for the governors of those children. In short, counseling is about guidance in better governing practices that help produce an eminently governable subject of choice out of each and all.

Testing and Intervention: Every young person at these parental counseling agencies is subject to a set of evaluations or tests. For one agency, the starting point for evaluations is often a drawing test, called the HTP test. “The first visits [the child will] do the HTP test - the house, tree, person – they draw a house, a tree, a person, and it’s for any age group. It doesn’t matter, unless they are so young that they can’t hold a pencil to draw, or they’re too infirm for whatever

reason.” The young person is asked to draw on a piece of paper using a pencil, and their drawing is then interpreted using certain norms and guidelines that can be used to identify the child’s interest and concerns.

“For example, in a tree ... the roots, whether they are there or not. What’s the foliage? Is the foliage thick? Is it less? The trunk, is it very shaky? How are the lines? How are the strokes? These are some elements we look at. Fruits, flowers. Is there a nest in the tree? Is there not a nest in the tree? How much surrounding scenery has been added? We don’t tell them to add anything, we don’t tell them not to add anything. We tell them to just draw a house, draw a tree, draw a person. And then they can add or subtract whatever they want from it. What elements have been added, what elements have been omitted, those are the kinds of analyses that are done.”¹⁴⁴

The assumption here are that the child must independently draw their scenery. This makes it so that there are any number of ways that a child can choose to go with their drawing, they can add a nest, change the size of the tree trunk, the size of the house, and facial expression of the person, and so on. Crucially, however, the way they choose to go with it reveals something about themselves, about who they are and their interest at that particular moment.

The next step with such drawing tests is that the more salient aspects of the drawing, as observed and interpreted by the counselor, are brought to the attention of the child who is now invited to speak and it is here that the real work of getting to know each child begins. Through their responses, the child’s drawing choices are interpreted as based on an interest, and it is this interest that is then investigated and verified through further conversations between them and the counselor or parent.

“We make some interpretations which we then check with the [young] person. As we listen to their history, things start clicking [for the counselor] if we haven’t gotten to it. Like ‘Oh yeah. I can see why that particular element was showing up. I can see, yeah, there is totally a correlation. This is working, this isn't working’. Whatever it is. So you would start correlating that with your clinical findings, what is the history that’s been shared with you. In case of a parent-child unit coming in, the parent is telling you one

¹⁴⁴ Interview with parenting counselor KP, June 27, 2016.

thing, the child another, you have the drawing, you're trying to correlate all of that information and see what the common threads are.”¹⁴⁵

In other words, the conversation between the counselor and child is a back and forth, fashioned along the model of the ecclesiastical confessional. In the confessional, the object was to reveal the sins of human being as their truth in order to absolve them of those sins. There is a similar regime of truth-telling at play in the counselor’s strategies. In the counselor’s office, the object is to reveal the interest of the young person as their truth. The young person is questioned about their interest based on the choices they freely make. Their responses are then taken into consideration when determining possible interventions that can be made in order to modify their conduct in and through offers that can appeal to their interest. Moreover, it is also understood that the initial choices and interpretations of those choices might not adequately identify the interest of the young person. “[As the counselor or parent] you’re always coming up with hypotheses that you’re checking out. I would say that it is not as discrete as ‘A’ has been accomplished, now move on to ‘B’. I don’t think psychotherapy moves along that neatly, there’s a lot more back and forth happening. So you do need to understand. You might start thinking ‘Oh. I know what the problem is’, and then as you go ‘Oh. Wait. That's not what's going on’.”¹⁴⁶ Accordingly, the counselor or parent must then adjust their estimations of the child’s interest in order to present better offers to them that they are more likely to respond to.

In addition to the HTP test, there are other projective tests such as the River, Tree, Bridge test, which is a similar drawing test, as well as IQ and apperception tests. Not all counseling agencies use these particular modes of testing in order to evaluate and know the interest of the

¹⁴⁵ Interview with parenting counselor KP, June 27, 2016.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with parenting counselor KP, June 27, 2016.

child according to the choices they make. For the agency with clients coming from both the lower and middle classes, and given the sheer volume of clients coming in, such tests also prove to be exercises in saving time and setting the initial terms by which to know and observe the child. By contrast, counselors at the more exclusively middle class agency are much more clinical in their approach, insofar as their approach is simply a matter of speaking with the child and noting what each chooses to speak about regarding how they conduct themselves and how they choose to respond to certain lines of questioning about their conduct. All of which is then interpreted as a reflection of an underlying and unique interest that was not being acknowledged by their parents but now needs to be recognized and appealed to. Indeed, demographics and class matter when it comes to the types of testing being deployed in a given clinic. But whether the tactic is a particular drawing test or simply a conversation *à la* traditional therapy, these techniques inform and work for the strategy of testing and its double objective: make the child observable, in order that they can be knowable.

The assumption of this strategy is that the child is independent enough to reveal themselves in a way that makes them observable and knowable. But, and as a direct consequence of this assumption, I make the argument that they are observed and known through the terms of personal interest, which they arrive at by relying on an economic rationality of utility-maximizing choice. Independence is interpreted as a freedom to choose where each of their choices reveals an interest. Accordingly, every test is a projective test regardless of the clinic because through their freedom to choose each is expected to project or reveal their identity, their present state of mind, and crucially, their current interest. These tests assume and invest the child with an individuality, producing them as a subject of choice and interest, in order to collect data and information that helps build a knowledge-base according to their individuality. But in so doing

they frame their understanding of their individuality, foreclosing other ways of knowing oneself, in order to bring them to recognize themselves as subjects of interest and choice.

To put it in slightly different terms, through these tests each has the freedom to resist and to express their ‘self’. But the ways in which they can resist and express themselves are configured and informed by a specific rationality that understands their individuality as a one that is concerned with their freedom to choose according to their interest. And so in resisting and expressing, they come to know themselves and are observed and known by others as a being with an interest and as an individual whose every choice is both informed by and reveals something about their interest. It is only when each themselves knows their interest that they can then reveal it to others. And only when their freedom to choose and their interest are respected and appealed to can interventions be made that will help manage and administer their conduct more closely in and through their interest and choices.

What follows is a particularly insightful comment regarding these novel parenting practices and relations by one counselor. And so I’ve taken the liberty of quoting it in its entirety.

“Typically, we will first sit with the child it is to help us identify ... what is the child thinking, what is the child wanting? Because ultimately, if the child is not convinced, it doesn’t matter what else the parents do and don’t do. So try and get the kids on to the program. Okay, your parents are demanding, you feel like they’re asking [too much]. What do you think is useful? What do you think are the consequences? The pros and cons? Sometimes, there are times when we will say that you know what, I hate to say this, but your parents are right, you are not doing enough. Maybe you don’t want to do as much as they’re saying, but I think you need to step up your game. Then accordingly work on, okay, what are they saying? what are their complaints? Listening to them and letting them share their side of the story makes them feel that okay, this isn’t just another adult who is imposing their will on me, they are willing to see my side of the story. So it helps to identify why they’re not doing it. Maybe it’s boring. Maybe it is that they just don’t know how to do it. Maybe they have developed bad habits, spending too much time playing video games or games on your mobile [phone]. So identify what it is, help them reason out okay, you want your parents off of your back, what’s the quickest way to have that happen, and what control do you feel you have in this situation, because sometimes kids will feel like they have no control in the situation, and we’ll work on that. Well let’s see. What do you think? We’ll give you a week. I want you to try something, and see if you

can get your parents to change what they're doing. And they catch on pretty quickly. Usually, they're like, okay, if I do this then I'm going to get them to back off on this. Yes I have the power to change what my parents are doing. So you know, teaching them some responsibility, teaching them the concept that okay you want to be treated as an adult. That comes with a certain set of responsibilities, not just freedom. And so that concept you really need to get it, and get well. Again they may get it on a cognitive level, but the emotional follow-through takes a little longer. But we work on identifying, in each case, whatever the challenges, the obstacles are. What is stopping them from following through in that case? If they get on a logical level, then what is it that is stopping them? Then we come up with some plans. We do have study skills, like proper material for that. So okay, I don't know how to study, or this is boring for me, I don't get it. So we talk about how can we make it more interesting. What are your strengths, and how can we use those strengths to pick up on the point that you're not so good at. That I'm not so good with geography for X, Y, and Z reason, but I'm really good at this, so how can you transfer some of those skills to pick up your geography enough to where it doesn't become the big obstacle in your path. It's just another thing. I can get it done. You don't have to excel at it, but you have to get it done.”¹⁴⁷

It should be noted that what is absolutely crucial to this mode of government is that the child must be complicit and invested in their own regulation. The only way to accomplish this, the only way to ensure that they are going to get with the “program” and will be “convinced” by it, is if their independence is assumed and respected, along with their interest. But there is much more to their independence than their freedom to choose. Once again, this freedom is intimately tied to a sense of responsibility and a prospective rationality. Through these strategies of testing and intervention, not only are they made aware of their desired ends, they are made aware of a sense of responsibility that works in tandem with their newly internalized and recognized freedom and interest. In other words, the young person is not made aware of and invested with a freedom simply because they want to be free. Instead, they are also invested with this freedom so that they can be made responsible to the spontaneous order that neoliberal government must perpetuate. That is, what it means for them to be responsible is that while each is free to choose, for any given choice that they make based on their interest they must always look to the well-

¹⁴⁷ Interview with parenting counselor KP and NR. June 11, 2016.

being of themselves in the long run. It is in this sense that their conduct is normalized with the conduct of other young people to observe the rules of conduct that promise the spontaneous regime. On the one hand, their interest is affirmed as self-evident and unique. This is done in order to better know their interest. But, on the the other hand, their interest is known in order to develop and present them with offers that will alter their conduct towards a range of behavior that follows the rules of conduct prescribed by that order. The norm in this sense is understood as being obliged to submit one's thought and actions to a prospective and economic rationality of max-choice. If the liberal subject's conduct was normalized by obliging each to the nation, the conduct of the neoliberal subject is normalized through their free choice to become responsible for their future self and outcomes of their choices. This type of normalization impels each and every young person to become free choosers for the sake of their imagined and personal futures.

Here is how one counselor describe this prospectivism.

“So with kids, I will tell them, ‘Okay, see. I'm not going to tell you that this is what you're going to do. I'm going to help you explore. Ki [so] let's see, if you follow this what do you see as the future or the consequences, or both.’ Let them think about it. ‘What is it that you want from your life? Is this choice taking you closer or further away from where you want or where to be? And what about this? What about this?’ Have them explore multiple possibilities ... and then have them choose what they want to do. ‘Okay, you want to do this, these are the consequences. Then don't cry about it. You have to accept that you've chosen these consequences’. Obviously, you wouldn't say that in the first session, in this particular way, with those words, but you work towards it.”¹⁴⁸

Governing the child well does not merely train them in balancing the demands of an independence with those of a sense of responsibility. It does so in a manner that also trains them in a prospective self-awareness when it comes to their freedom to choose. This requires persistence when it comes to interventions that attempt to modify and train the child's behavior along such lines. In negotiating what must be done to change their conduct, i.e., in negotiating

¹⁴⁸ Interview with parenting counselor KP, June 27, 2016.

the terms of the interventions that will train them, the young person is often made to come up with their own plan. This must be so, as it makes each aware of their freedom to choose and of the counselor's/parent's trust in their ability to be a free chooser. The child has "to come up with a plan" and has to "figure out how to do it. And if [they are] not able to come up with a plan, then [the counselor or parent must help them] come up with one." This compels them to further reveal their interest to the counselor and the parents, who then negotiate the terms of the child's modification with them and according to their interest. But it is not simply about appealing to the interest of the child for the sake of their "immediate pleasure and gratification". It is about showing them "the long term consequences" of their interest and helping them "take responsibility for certain things ... helping [them] look at scenarios for [themselves] in the future. So helping [them] see as to, if you don't study, then what's going to happen, and then what's going to happen, and what is it going to lead to. So in the long run, what all it could lead to, really, [if she doesn't study]. And if [she does study], then what is it going to lead to."¹⁴⁹

It is through such interventions and negotiations too that the interest of the child becomes even more clear. These negotiations with them are not only based on what their parents want for them, which is for them to become more responsible by making effective choices, but they are also based on their interest and where they want to be more independent. Every proposal made as an intervention to modify their conduct not only assumes and treats the child as an independent subject of choice and interest, but does so to coordinate their conduct in a way that enlists their freedom and interest in order to make each into a subject who is at once responsible for every choice they make and the interest that their choice is based on. However, if an intervention turns out to be ineffective, not sufficiently addending to the interest of the individual

¹⁴⁹ Interview with parenting counselor MT, July 19, 2016.

and thereby not compelling them to change their conduct, this does not mean the counselor or parent must give up. Instead, what is required is a constant persistence. As one counselor put it, “persistence is the most important thing” when it comes to such interventions that work to make them more governable.¹⁵⁰ If an intervention does not get the desired results in the child, it is not the child’s fault. It is because that intervention is not sufficiently appealing to the child’s interest. It is a failure of governing where the interest is not estimated properly during the testing and evaluation phase and therefore the interventions based on those tests and evaluations are based on inadequate information about the child.

Moreover, the very failure of the intervention itself signals that there is something about their interest that might not have been known before. The very inefficacy of the intervention is taken as an opportunity to better know the interest of the young person. If the child resists the terms of the intervention because the offers presented to them prove unappealing to their interest and freedom to choose, the point is not to punish them, but to recognize that their resistance itself conveys something more about their interest that might not have been observed in initial conversations and testing. Resistance, again, is an exploitable interest that can be operationalized in the service of securing their compliance. And because it must always be understood that the child’s interest is either not fully known or that it can change over time, there is a necessarily persistent cycle of policing that calls upon techniques of testing and of intervention. This means that every intervention is itself evaluated against the criteria of whether or not it appeals to the child’s interest enough to compel them to change their behavior. And if that intervention fails this test, then the task is to find out what is being missed about the child’s interest through further

¹⁵⁰ Interview with parenting counselor MT, June 7, 2016.

testing, in order to develop a more focused intervention that can be expected to better govern the conduct of the child.

Indeed, the model of punishment in order to secure compliance is not rejected on moral grounds (that it is inhumane, for instance). It is dismissed because it is found to be a rather ineffective technique of intervention to engage with and develop young persons as free choosers. Rather than simply punish the child for not changing their behavior, counselors recommend alternative techniques of intervention that more expediently and effectively secure compliance. These alternatives are based on the assumption that the child is a free chooser, whose interests can be appealed to through offers that are tailored to their interest and that can better conduct their conduct. One technique is that of the ‘token economy’, which is a negotiation tactic often used with younger children. A counselor described this method rather succinctly: “for every good behavior you [the child] get a star. And after so many stars you get a reward. Or you can exchange that for something you want.”¹⁵¹ Note that the purely transactional basis for this technique is the assumption that the child is a free chooser. They can freely choose good behavior, and if they do so it is not because they inherently value good behavior, but because they value their interest in the potential reward they will get in the future for their good behavior now. In other words, this technique is transactional insofar as it does not really help the child internalize the value of good conduct in-itself and thus normalize their conduct according to that good behavior, but instead helps them internalize the value of their interest vis-a-vis securing a future payoff or reward.

¹⁵¹ Interview with parenting counselor KP and NR. June 11, 2016.

The other technique of intervention, which is often used with older children, is one “where you in increasing approximations are nudging the behavior to where you want it to be.”

The counselor described this technique of nudging where,

“essentially, you're saying that this is where I [as the parent or counselor] want you to be. But I know that if I tell you to do that, it's not going to go over so well. So you [as the parent or counselor] gradually direct them [the young person], nudge them gently in the direction you want to go. Initially, of course, it's harder. But then it's always the movement of inertia - once you gain momentum, you just keep going. ... You know, just let them take the first step, and if they get habituated in doing the first then gently suggest the second, and before you know it, they're kind of on their way”.¹⁵²

In this technique, it is once again important to get the child on board with their own modification, to get the child to buy into their own shaping by letting them take the first step, which has them both assume that they are free to do so and are doing so based on their own interest. With the more punitive model, and even with the token economy tactic, counselor's admit that “things get done. But the moment you stop the reward-punishment cycle, things go back to where they were ... you don't know whether the change is superficial or if it's actually been internalized. The change needs to be internalized for it to be sustaining in the long run.”¹⁵³ This is where the technique of nudging proves to be most effective, because it enlists the child in their own modification thereby ensuring that they internalize those changes in the long run, i.e., once again, with an eye to their future.

Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein use the term ‘choice architects’ to describe those who “nudge” individuals and groups towards desired behavior and conduct.¹⁵⁴ The object for such architects is to (re)organize the milieu of the individual or the group in a manner that affects their

¹⁵² Interview with parenting counselor KP and NR. June 11, 2016.

¹⁵³ Interview with parenting counselor KP and NR. June 11, 2016.

¹⁵⁴ Thaler, Richard H. and Cass R. Sunstein. *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009).

behavior, how they can be conducted and how they can conduct themselves. Indeed, the intervention techniques recommended by parenting counselors can be understood along these terms. While the child might often be presented as the problem by their parents, there are also “problem houses and problem parents ... the problem needn't be with the child. The problem could be with her surroundings.”¹⁵⁵ For such professionals, it is about designing the immediate environment of the child, their milieu or their surroundings, in a manner that brings their behavior into compliance with the rules of conduct expected of free choosers acting within the catallaxy. Indeed, such interventions are not brought to bear directly on to the body of the child in order to restrain their movements, for instance, but indirectly and on to their immediate environment in order to modify it in ways that will align their conduct with those of a responsible subject of choice. That is, as far as parenting practices go for counselors, this is a problem of undisciplined and ineffective governmental practices that do not work on the milieu of the child by taking their liberty as a free chooser into consideration. In order to govern the young person more effectively, one must take the interest that informs their choices into consideration and design offers that can be deployed into their everyday and immediate surroundings and that appeal to their interest, but that also can inform the choices that they make in a manner that secures the conduct required to extend the neoliberal reflexive order.

Conventional architecture - the stuff of brick and mortar - once designed is very difficult to alter. And once it is determined that a certain architectural design has not had the desired effect, it is too late to adjust it because it is literally set in stone. Thaler and Sunstein's ‘architecture’ does not suffer from such a malady. In terms of choice architecture, if a given set of offers does not have the desired effects, then the design can be re-evaluated and a new

¹⁵⁵ Interview with parenting counselor NR. July 27, 2016.

intervention can be implemented in the milieu of the individual, i.e., new offers can be presented. If traditional architecture is set in stone, the behavioral-economic foundations of choice architecture invite perpetual and persistent ‘tweaks’ to better affect desired changes in each and all. This is because the context within which the choice architect works, the individual’s milieu, is much more malleable, and the target of the architect, the individual’s interest, is ever present. And this makes it so that the immediate environment of the individual can always be shaped and reshaped with subtle nudges - i.e., changes in the offers that are available to the individual in their milieu - according to always present and often changing individual interest, wants, preferences, and most crucially shifting governmental priorities.

Under the punishment model, the young person only modifies their behavior as long as the threat of harsh punishment is present and palpable to them. With the tactic of the token economy, each alters their conduct only because they value the eventual short-term payoff more than they value the desired changes in their conduct. However, the approach of nudging proves itself to be the intervention technique *par-excellence* for the parent and the counselor precisely because it takes into account their interest and their freedom to choose, and develops offers that can be presented to each in their everyday settings. And no matter the offer that they choose, it will accomplish two things. First, it will appeal to their interest and, second, each offer while appealing to their interest will be designed and presented in a manner that no matter their chosen offer, it will have the desired effect on their conduct, i.e., it will keep them conduct in line with the rules of conduct required from neoliberal subjects. The tactic of nudging behavior has a more lasting effect on the young person’s conduct strictly because they value every change to their conduct since it appeals to their interest. In other words, there is no disconnect, as within the token economy, between valuing the conduct in itself and the individual’s interest. With the

technique of nudging, their interest and their freedom to choose are appealed to in a way that is mediated by a sense of responsibility. They therefore recognize the value of the conduct in itself in terms of an interest in securing the well-being of a future self. In short, the modification and development of young persons can be made to last precisely when they themselves internalize their own regulation. Once this 'soul' is invested within young people, where each is assumed to have an interest that can be appealed to through their freedom to choose and in order to govern them, the automatic government of each and all is made possible. Year after year, as these young people enter adulthood in India, they help the neoliberal regime maintain the rules of conduct and free choice required to produce and sustain the catallaxy in areas outside of the family and home, such as in the private and public sectors.

Governing More Tenaciously

Recalling Kumria's work, the liberal approach to youth development was also concerned with the milieu of the individual. However, this concern was more intent on modifying the individual's surroundings not with their interest in mind, but with the interest of the nation in mind. Any concern with the individual's interest was simply to bring it in line with the demands of nation-building. The neoliberal approach to youth development, and the technique of choice architecture that counselors and parents are now using, understands that the most effective way to govern the individual in and through their immediate environment is by assuming and understanding their interest and then developing offers and deploying them in their surroundings in a way that both appeals to their interest and perpetually nudges them to follow the rules of free choice. In the final analysis, and in place of a concern with satisfying a national interest or

project, these more indirect interventions work tirelessly to secure the ability to govern each and all more closely and relentlessly.

Good government for Indian liberal discourse knows its limits in the rights of the individual. It is the very juridico-political regime of rights that direct governing practices insofar as government knows where it can and cannot intervene in the life of the individual. It is the system of rights that makes the liberal subject-citizen governable and allows each to govern. The individual's rights create the space where they can be governed, and enlist them into the project of governing themselves and being governed by others with a view to the betterment of the nation. Within those juridical limits, it also allows government to better recognize and represent each and all with an eye towards developing the faculties and capacities of each and all. And the rationale that is always behind this liberal developmental discourse is that the nation cannot advance unless each and every individual's capacities are advanced to promote their self-development but in ways that always-already augments national spirit and well-being.

Consequently, the liberal Indian youth was not developed in order to internalize an individuality that only concerned itself with the well-being of a (future) self and their interest. Their individuality was always directed towards something outside of them. It was guided by a sense of responsibility to the nation. Insofar as their own well-being was a concern for them, insofar as they were able to pursue their own interest(s), it was always in a fashion that worked to better the prospects for the nation. Once the nation became independent, the liberties of each were affirmed and juridically protected. But, once again, the point of securing individual rights was not simply to encourage a care oneself with little to no regard for the larger community and nation. Rather, their well-being was intimately tied to the well-being of the nation. This is one reason the development of the young person was crucial for liberal India. It was only by

producing the liberal subject-citizen through the education and development of the young person that the interest(s) of the each and all could align with the interests of the nation and the work of a planned society could be pursued.

In other words, the liberal youth of India is also invested with a 'soul'. But it is invested in them to produce each as subject-citizen, to infuse each with an individuality that informs, directs, and takes its cues from a juridical regime that inspires the urgent task of building up a newfound nation. It is precisely along these lines that the liberal subject is governable. That is, each is developed and their conduct is conducted in and through a sense of 'self' that is both mediated by a regime of rights and perpetually works to develop and bolster national unity, planned development, and social cohesion. And so if there is a *raison d'être* to the project of youth development for liberal discourses of government in India, it is that the Indian youth must be produced as subject-citizens because this subject's conduct can be managed and administered in a way that is better suited to the principles and objectives of nation-building.

This is very much the Indian youth development project during the third quarter of the twentieth century. But by the 1970s, a new project of youth development comes to light and positions itself as a counter-approach to the liberal model. The neoliberal project of youth development understands that in order to govern well, human beings must be invested with knowledge about themselves as choice-maximizing individuals, for whom every choice is based on an interest. This regime of neoliberal governmentality understands that in order to govern well, the human being must be thought of and must think of themselves as a free chooser. It is only then that their every interest can become the target of observation and knowledge building, so that their conduct can be conducted in any number of ways by appealing to a given interest at any given time.

Liberalism in India was preoccupied with developing individual capabilities because these must be nurtured in ways that promote a mode of self-development that always accommodates a broader national agenda. The neoliberal approach to youth development is not concerned with the task of developing individual capacities in ways that accommodate a national project. This is because it understands that the task of governing well is not executed by fostering the individual's capacities through legislatively mandated national programs, but by investing them with and relying on their freedom to choose to both know their interest and to use this knowledge in order to govern them more closely through everyday choices. In other words, if Indian liberalism understood that a project of individual development can be made consistent with that of nation-building, then neoliberalism reopens a gap between the growth of the individual and that of the Indian nation.¹⁵⁶ However, the opening of this gap does not mean that the practice of government will be restricted. Instead, what neoliberalism manages to accomplish is the objective of governing each and all more closely and relentlessly by relying entirely on a discourse of individual freedom (i.e., without any need to fall back to nationalistic appeals and the discourses of nation-building, for example).

If liberalism was interested in governing all as an aggregate of subject-citizens, i.e., as a nation, then neoliberalism is invested in governing all as an aggregate of free choosers. Liberal governmentality made it so that the aggregate of subject-citizens were juridico-politically commensurate, where each and all had equal rights and liberties along with an obligation to the future of the nation. Neoliberal governmentality produces the individual in the mold of an economically knowable subject, invested with an enterprising ethic that allows each to know

¹⁵⁶ In the final chapter, I further reflect on the consequences of this gap and argue that it does not necessitate unchecked individualism and egotism. Instead, I find that this gap allows for a return to Hindu society now that the nation has fallen by the wayside. Rather than developing the nation, this return signals a preoccupation with securing and defending the interests of the Hindu majority society and the individuals within it.

themselves and others as a subject of choice and interest. This makes it possible to produce an aggregate that does not so much form a nation, but a population that now thinks of itself and can be thought of as somewhat predictable. That is, this aggregate can be known and measured along very particular standards (that every subject has an interest and is a choice maximizer) that makes the government of this population more unyielding and intimate than before.

Liberal government was not interested in penetrating the everyday fabric of the family or the home. It was more interested in establishing the institutional conditions that will help direct the individuals, especially the youth, within the family towards a nationalistic agenda. This is Kumria's educational apparatus, comprised of institutions armed with the tools that ensure that the liberal subject-citizen emerges out of the youth of any given family or home. This formed a basis for the program to create a liberal nation out of a well-planned society where, for example, the nation and its future relied on planning and developing a subject-citizen. In the next chapters, I describe how this work of planning the nation and its subject takes place in the private and public sectors, through the consumption habits and the civic mindedness of the liberal subject. But with neoliberalism, individuals are made governable with a reach that was not possible before in a such a planned society. This is because in this planned society, the individual's freedom and rights placed explicit limits on and provided clear directives to governmental practice. In a neoliberal order of things, the absence of such deliberate planning does not mean that the free individual cannot be governed. Instead, what it means for them to be free changes from before, and this occurs in ways that make possible a regime of government that now has a more acute hold on the conduct of its subjects.

Put another way, neoliberal government as an economic discourse is always working to penetrate the everyday fabric not of the family but the individual, or rather the individual

through the family and the home. The individual must be known down to their every interest, preference, want, desire, and so on. In the development of the young person, their every interest is the potential target of observation, documentation, and intervention. As such an active governmental regime, neoliberalism operates with far fewer limits than its predecessor, as it is interested in lodging itself firmly within each and every person and within every sector of society not to reaffirm a system of individual rights, but to ensure a governmental regime where each and all can be governed more effectively in and through their freedom to choose. In terms of developing neoliberal youth, the individuality, preferences, wants and desires of the young person must be known to both themselves and others, not so that their rights can be affirmed and secured, but in order to enable a novel and more tenacious mode of governing in and through their freedom to choose. And once youth are produced as enterprising subjects of choice, neoliberal governmentality can secure the everyday and spontaneous regulation of each and all by simply appealing to the subject's interest at any given point in time.

3. FROM PLANNED DEVELOPMENT TO UNPLANNED PLANNING

The Rise of Market Research

The neoliberal shift in the area of youth development parallels similar developments in the economic and commercial sector in India. On the one hand, and through the last quarter of the twentieth century, neoliberalism manifests in the affairs of the family and the home according to terms that are internal to the discourse of Indian youth development. On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to think that changes in the family and home are not also tied up with changes in the economic sector. If young persons are being produced as enterprising subjects of choice, then this will certainly have consequences for economic activity in terms of how they consume and how they are understood as consuming individuals by producers. In the same way, if the emergence of neoliberal governmentality in the economic realm means that these individuals are increasingly problematized as freely choosing subjects, then this is sure to have effects in the affairs of the home as well. This chapter, while aware of the ways in which developments in the family and the economic sectors might be at once mutually exclusive and mutually constitutive, will focus on the particularities of how neoliberal governmentality enters the economic and commercial sector in India.

The Indian liberal private sector from the 50s through the 60s, and even into the early 70s, was primarily focused on the urgent task of nation-building. This was the Nehruvian vision of planned economic development, and it was grounded in the assumption that in their consumption interests, the free liberal subject was not only responsible for their own well being but also for the nation and its economic well being. However, by the late 60s, this model of planned development comes to be critiqued by a post-liberal shift away from the nation and its

future towards individuals and their sense of self. This neoliberal counter-discourse to the hitherto dominant liberal discourse argues that rather than focusing on planned production and economic development, commercial affairs should concentrate on the individual as a free chooser and subject of interest.

I argue that this more novel discourse dislodges the place given to national production at the center of economic thought and practice and replaces it with the individual and their interest. And I argue that the primary vehicle or engine of this shift is the rise of market research. Until the late 1960s, market research was a rather limited and obscure subset of the marketing side of economic activity. However, by the 1970s, it is reconfigured as the primary technique for the pursuit of knowing individual interest. And it is now not simply ordering marketing practices but all commercial affairs. The individual's interest, too, is no longer accountable to the nation and its economic priorities, but is rather problematized as constantly shifting and changing. In other words, this interest is now assumed to be unpredictable. With the neoliberal turn, then, what is placed at the heart of all commercial and economic thought and practice is not the planned production objectives of the nation but the aleatory and the always already shifting interest of the freely choosing individual. The goal of this chapter is to map out these historical developments and illustrate terms of this shift in order to describe and analyze its consequences. What does it mean for economic practices of production and distribution when planned development is replaced by unplanned planning? How are individuals now governed through their commercial activities? What is the precise nature of this governmental regime that now must assume and rely on the unpredictability and spontaneity that emerges out of freely choosing economic activity?

Marketing as the Art of Wise Distribution

Mid-century Indian liberal discourse is interested in building the nation and its future in and through the individual and their freedom. The vital task of national building was carried out by juridically securing the independence of individuals so that each could be developed in their capacities and in ways that produced them as subject-citizens responsible for the nation and its future. It was on the basis of a population of responsible subject-citizens that various developmental measures could then be pursued on a sector-by-sector basis. In the economic sector, activity was based on policies of economic planning that pursued national economic self-reliance by, for instance, aggressively modernizing industry to build up domestic production capacities in order to pave the way for mass-production. But planned mass-production could only be safely carried out on the assumption that there is a market for mass-produced goods, i.e., a population of citizens who will consume goods that are deemed critical to independent economic development. The needs and wants of the individual consumers had to fall in line with production priorities of the national economy. It is precisely here that the liberal subject's responsibility is a condition of possibility for national economic development in and through personal consumption. The responsible pursuit of personal consumption meant ensuring that the subject's consumption interests and resulting purchases are designed to absorb mass-produced goods that were designated as crucial to national economic activity.

This is not to say that the individual's interest did not matter, but that they were more directly administered by broader national production objectives. In the second and third quarters of the twentieth century, the interests of individual consumers are more or less defined by the interests of national production. This defining of individual interests is furthered by the fact the competition in major industry and manufactures during this period was heavily regulated to

ensure that the goods that were produced were accessible to as many people as possible in the domestic market. Moreover, since lack of full-scale competition meant that producers did not have to compete with each other for the patronage of buyers, there was no incentive on the part of producers to really appeal to the individual consumption interests as something distinct from national interests. As long as national production targets were met, it was safe to assume that consumer interests would also be satisfied. But again, it is the free liberal citizen and their responsibility to the nation and its future that makes possible nation-building in the economic sector through a planned market economy. It is also on the basis of an assumed population of responsible subject-citizens and their predictable consumption potentials that economic planning from the 1950s until the 1970s concentrated on the nation-wide development of production based (or supply-side) capacities and networks.

The field of marketing proves rather insightful in bringing to light these liberal-economic developments in India, i.e., the ways in which, based on the assumption of a more or less predictable market made up of individuals as responsible-consumers, the post-Independence objective of nation-building was pursued in the economic sector in terms of supply-side or production-based priorities and improvements. These priorities and improvements are the focus of mid-century Indian thinkers writing about marketing and economics. They introduce the field of marketing not as a way to appeal to innately generated interests of consumers, which are again assumed to be (in)formed by the production interests of a burgeoning nation-state. Instead, and based on that critical assumption, these authors advance marketing primarily as a field that finds more efficient ways to distribute and transfer goods produced by industry. Marketing, in this sense, is primarily a matter of developing networks of distribution from producers to final consumers, and the logistical solutions needed to establish an efficient national distribution

infrastructure. Simply put, marketing is thought of as the art of wise distribution. By describing and analyzing how this field is problematized during 1950s and 1960s and how, by the 1970s, that problematization changes and according to what specific terms, I propose to trace a broader shift from liberal to neoliberal governmentality that discursively manifests within India's economic sector in field of marketing, in particular.

J. N. Chaturvedi was a student of distinguished planning economists C. N. Vakil, M. L. Dantwala, and D. T. Lakadawala, working under them as a graduate student at Bombay University. In "The Theory of Marketing in Underdeveloped Countries", Chaturvedi argues that marketing can be defined as the process by which the producer's goods reach the final consumer. This definition, however, is itself an attempt to change the practice of marketing as it previously existed in underdeveloped countries like India. For Chaturvedi, this prior practice of marketing assigned a crucial role to middlemen, those who facilitated the distribution and transfer between producers of goods and final consumers. The institution of middlemen has developed into one that neither works to further the interests of the producer nor the consumers. Speaking with reference to the marketing of agricultural produce, this institution of middlemen is one whose normal operation is "to purchase most of the marketed farm produce of a vast majority of producers at depressed prices in the post-harvest glut reason [sic] and sell the same, to the consumers generally at above than normal prices."¹⁵⁷ These sorts of price gouging practices in the operations of middlemen within the market economy introduce all kinds of inefficiencies into the nation's economic sector as it was moving to establish a well-organized and functioning domestic distribution infrastructure. Marketing, then, has to be redefined and reordered in ways

¹⁵⁷ Chaturvedi, J. N. *The Theory of Marketing in Underdeveloped Countries* (Bombay: Kitab Mahal Publishers, 1958), 30.

that will remove these kinds of inefficiencies that stand in the way of the building up of national economic activity and capacities.

There is another, more historical factor that results in a redefinition of marketing practices in underdeveloped countries. Generally speaking, and following other economists in this analysis, Chaturvedi traces the institution of marketing as an outcome of the factory system of production. With industrialization, as “the distance between the centres of production and consumption begin to grow... the economy gradually becomes divided into two distinct parts - rural and urban.”¹⁵⁸ Urban areas, as burgeoning centers for consumption, were to be supplied from the centers of production that are often placed in rural areas. But even if factories were located in urban centers, as was the case with the textile mills of Bombay, the raw materials they consumed often came from rural areas. As the Indian state built up its productive capacities by pursuing policies of national industrialization, the distance between the centers for production and consumption would continue to increase. Consequently, it becomes even more the case that inefficiencies can creep into the distribution and transfer of goods from producers to final consumers, not only in terms of middlemen but also through issues of transportation, roadways, storage, and so on.

The more the nation-state industrialized and modernized its manufacturing and agricultural sectors towards a regime of mass-production, the more there was a need to configure and mobilize the very field that would ensure that mass-produced goods would be taken up by a market in waiting. Chaturvedi’s text, then, is an attempt to position this field of marketing as the vital cog in the planned economic machine of the nation. It is proposing a “new system of organized marketing” that operates on “a most scientific basis”, in order make distribution more

¹⁵⁸ Chaturvedi, *The Theory of Marketing*, 44.

effective by introducing efficiencies in the storage, communication, and transportation of goods to resolve the problem of distance, and by leveraging similar efficiencies to do away with the institution of middlemen entirely.¹⁵⁹ And so marketing offered the logistical solutions for the distributional problems of the producers, developing the infrastructure considered vital to the liberal nation-state's planned modernization of its market economy.

While marketing works in the service of production, in terms of distributing and transferring products of manufacture, it is not itself a subset of the production process. "The aim and end of production is creation of utilities [i.e., value]. Marketing has for its aim not only the creation of utilities but also that of distributing them... This aspect of marketing relates it directly to other branches of economics, namely, consumption, exchange and distribution. In fact, the latter is the most important aspect of marketing."¹⁶⁰ Chaturvedi's work proposes that not only does marketing have little in common with production but it is more likely to concentrate on non-production related economic activities such as consumption, exchange or distribution. It is more related to these fields but also stands outside of and above them. In itself, marketing is neither consumption, nor exchange, or distribution. Instead, marketing has consumption, exchange, and distribution as its points of interest and intervention. In the hierarchy of marketing priorities exchange and distribution, not consumption, are "its more important aspects".¹⁶¹ But in the final analysis, distribution is always the most important aspect. Indeed, "the predominant aim of marketing is distribution" and "this art has to be practiced with great caution" because in underdeveloped countries like India, setting up effective and wise distribution networks mean the difference between critical goods (i.e., goods deemed critical to national

¹⁵⁹ Chaturvedi, *The Theory of Marketing*, 129.

¹⁶⁰ Chaturvedi, *The Theory of Marketing*, 14.

¹⁶¹ Chaturvedi, *The Theory of Marketing*, 15.

industrial development) being effectively transferred to as many people as possible or lying undelivered and creating supply-side problems of storage and glut.¹⁶²

When B. S. Saxena, S. P. Saxena and O. P. Nigam, members of the commerce and law faculty at D. A. V. College in Kanpur, published “A Study of Marketing in India” in 1969, they argued that “the ultimate aim of distribution activities, which may be called marketing activities, is to transfer the goods from the point of production to the point of ultimate consumption ... the transfer of produce is accomplished by the performance of various marketing functions known as assembling, storing, sorting, transporting, packing, risk bearing etc.”¹⁶³ And just like Chaturvedi a decade earlier, marketing ultimately solves the problem of distance in countries that are on the path of modern industrialization, relying on those functions to streamline the processes by which goods are transferred from areas of production (or product surplus due to low demand and high stock) to areas of consumption (or product scarcity due to high demand and low stock). These processes include concentrating goods in centralized facilities and properly dispersing those goods to centers of consumption “on the basis of time, quantity and quality.”¹⁶⁴ In other words, marketing creates “place utilities” as it moves goods from areas of low utility to areas where utilities are higher due.

And so marketing, while outside of the realm of production, is nevertheless a field that serves planned production and supply. Through the work of the Indian Planning Commission (established in 1950), producers were obligated to produce certain goods and set the production targets of these goods according to the objectives of nationally planned production. Marketing,

¹⁶² Chaturvedi, *The Theory of Marketing*, 16.

¹⁶³ Saxena, B. S., S. P. Saxena and O. P. Nigam. *A Study of Marketing in India* (Kanpur: Kishore Publishing House, 1969), 2.

¹⁶⁴ Saxena, Saxena and Nigam, *A Study of Marketing in India*, 19.

in its turn, has to be enlisted by producers in order to determine the most effective way to market these goods, i.e., to distribute their products to the final consumer. It facilitates nation-building by bringing the interests of the producer (in terms of what and how much to produce and how to supply it) in line with the nation-state's interest in building the infrastructure for efficient nationwide distribution. And so the liberal discourse of marketing brings to light a national economic project that is eminently concerned with building up capacities for production and distribution infrastructures. In short, marketing is synonymous with distribution during the decades of the 1950s and 1960s.

In this liberal regime of marketing that practices the art of wise distribution, the interests and choices of individuals are more or less guided and administered by the aims of large-scale national industrial development and mass-production. Planned goods produced in high volume can only be expected to both generate returns for industry and raise national productivity and wealth when it can be assumed that there is a market made up of such responsible consumers, those who see the interest of the nation and its future economic well-being in their individual consumption habits and interests. This is not to say that information about the consumer's interest is unimportant for producers. But at this point in the development of Indian marketing, consumer-based information is collected to ensure that demand is made to match or meet predetermined goods and levels of supply, rather than figure out what to supply in the first place, for instance. Ayaz S. Peerbhoy's text, "Advertising and Research", describes the subset of marketing that deals with communications, i.e., advertising, offering a more detailed sense of marketing's focus on consumer interests. This text provides the archetypical argument of the time regarding advertising, namely, that it must govern consumer interests in order to make demand commensurate with supply (rather than the other way around).

Peerbhoy was the Managing Director of Marketing Advertising Associates Private Limited as well as the Chairman of the Indian Publicity Company Limited. His text is introduced by Manubhai Shah, Minister of International Trade for the Government of India. As an advertising man, Peerbhoy is inherently interested the consumers and consumerism. What is crucial, however, is that this is a consumerism that must be directed by advertising in ways that encourages national-building. Or rather, it encourages a care of the self that imagines self-development as intimately tied up with the nation and its future. “We in India are concerned with the effectiveness of advertising which by educating the consumer in the use of products increases not only the production, but development of new and better products, new techniques of manufacture lowering the costs.”¹⁶⁵ The aim is to use advertising “to build an expanding and prosperous economy for the nation”¹⁶⁶ and one way this is done is through an education “in the use and application of goods produced by Indian industries.”¹⁶⁷ The function of advertising, and its role in facilitating distribution through proper communications, is educational propaganda that directs the consumer’s interests in ways that, in the final analysis, benefit not only the consumer but the production goals of the nation, or at least align the benefits of the consumer with those of the nation. Advertising, then, is a technique of marketing that can be used to produce a market of responsible liberal subjects who, each and all, always look to the interest of the nation in their own consumption interests.

This call to advertising as propaganda in order to produce consumers whose interests align with those of nation-building is not altogether novel. A decade earlier, Jiban Mukerjee makes a similar argument that “...unless we put propaganda in its true perspective, and we

¹⁶⁵ Peerbhoy, Ayaz S. *Advertising and Research* (Bombay: Progressive Corporation Private Limited, 1964), ii.

¹⁶⁶ Peerbhoy, *Advertising and Research*, ii.

¹⁶⁷ Peerbhoy, *Advertising and Research*, 17.

include commercial advertising in this, the task of accelerating social reforms will indeed be slow since the ability to assimilate changes and to better understand the intentions of the Government rest on a public which is enlightened, informed and kept continuously informed.”¹⁶⁸ For Mukerjee, as for Peerbhoy, the task of advertising is to encourage a kind of enlightened consumption that is not simply about the pursuit of self-interest, but about a pursuit where the interest of the individual is guided by the interests that will expand production in the service of national economic growth. As Peerbhoy puts it, “Human wants and desires are in a constant state of flux. It is the function of advertising to nurse such desires and expand the total economic activity.”¹⁶⁹ Rather than submit economic priorities to the unintended outcomes of constantly shifting individual wants and desires, these scholars of marketing argue that economic priorities must be planned so as to stave of such outcomes altogether. This means that mass-consumption must match mass-production and be made to expand if production is to expand in ways that secure national well-being. And so, as a subset of marketing, advertising is a vital instrument that encourages a consumption and expands a consumerism that works towards the well-being of the nation.

It is worth noting that Peerbhoy prefaces his text on advertising by arguing that “a dynamic economy today needs an expanding consumption to build bigger and better industries ... the greater the consumption the greater the production; only greater and greater production can lower the prices.”¹⁷⁰ While this is an argument for consumerism, it is a consumerism that is trying to assist the national plan of building “bigger and better industries”. Peerbhoy sees consumers serving India’s planned industrialization, and advertising as a crucial means to

¹⁶⁸ Mukerjee, Jiban. *Advertising in India* (Calcutta: Sree Saraswati Press, 1954), 12.

¹⁶⁹ Peerbhoy, *Advertising and Research*, 14.

¹⁷⁰ Peerbhoy, *Advertising and Research*, i.

produce the type of consumer needed to see that plan to fruition. As a model to potentially replicate, he cites the Soviet Union where “advertising was banned after the revolution. The situation is now changed. Advertising will serve the state-owned industries not only to educate the consumer in the use of the products manufactured but to encourage consumption of various goods which have become surplus because they are not being consumed”.¹⁷¹ What is essential to the liberal discourse of marketing and its preoccupation with distribution is that there is a market ready and waiting to receive the products of industry that are prioritized by the nation-state. While the producer is obligated to serve national interests, the way to create this market for planned production is by educating and creating a population of individuals who, each and all, are obliged in their personal consumption to serve the interests of the nation and its economic well being. As both the supply and the demand-side are obliged to and made responsible for the nation and its future, marketing is enlisted in this task to create responsible consumers and to direct distribution for producers. It cuts both ways in the era of liberalism in India.

But in the late 1960s Saxena, Saxena and Nigam also refer to what proves to be a novel but pivotal distinction in the liberal discourse of marketing. This distinction splits marketing into two separate tasks: one focuses on knowing the consumer, the other continues the work of improving distribution. This division now presents market research as its own subset of marketing, separate from distribution. Marketing, then, has two aspects: the mental and the physical.

“[the] mental aspect refers to acquiring knowledge about the kind, quantity and the time of the demanded goods. Sellers have to study the taste, liking and purchasing capacity of the customer for successful marketing of goods. They study the psychological trends to decide the measures which can best appeal to the prospective customers to increase sales ... The physical aspect relates to the transfer of goods from the place and time when it is

¹⁷¹ Peerbhoy, *Advertising and Research*, i.

less wanted to the place and time when it is more wanted ... [it] involves all such activities as help the physical transfer of goods and the transfer of possession.”¹⁷²

Until the late-60s, because demand was more or less assumed by producing responsible consumers and their interests, acquiring knowledge about demand was largely a matter of formality. More important was the knowledge about how to manage supply by, for instance, improving distribution. And so the mental aspect of marketing was more or less subordinated to the physical. In 1969, the mental aspect still serves the physical, but the former is now given a place all its own in the discourse of marketing, operating in-step with the latter. This mental aspect of marketing, as a matter of acquiring knowledge about consumer interests, can be otherwise understood as market research. Market research focuses on the individual psychology of consumers in order to build a knowledge-base about their interests. It seeks to understand consumers in terms of their individual purchasing power and tastes. The physical aspect, the side of marketing that has been prioritized in India since the 1950s, deals more directly with the logistics of physically setting up and improving national networks of distribution that will supply goods to market.

Market research takes on this added importance at this time for a few reasons. On the one hand, the discourse of marketing in India now understands and introduces market research as vital to the task of nation-building precisely because like the art of distribution, the subset of market research is thought of as serving national interests by improving the production process. Market research can “push production, increase national income and elevate the economic standard of the country.”¹⁷³ On the other hand, conducting market research serves decision

¹⁷² Saxena, Saxena and Nigam, *A Study of Marketing in India*, 5.

¹⁷³ Saxena, Saxena and Nigam, *A Study of Marketing in India*, 14.

making in terms of distribution. If industry must know the best way to distribute goods, one way to facilitate effective distribution as the creation of place utilities is by better understanding demand. “For efficient buying and selling, transporting and storing, necessary information about the conditions of markets, facilities available, the rates at which they are available, the conditions of demand and supply, is to be collected and analyzed... To make marketing more efficient and economical, market researches should be carried out.”¹⁷⁴ Market information and research, then, is not simply about knowing the consumer interests as an end in itself. It is about knowing individuals as responsible consumers in waiting in order to “make marketing more efficient and economical”, i.e., to improve practices of distribution and transfer that would manifest in more efficient practices production as well as of buying and selling. And so, even as its own subset of marketing, market research during the 1960s serves the improvement of distribution infrastructures.

Saxena (et. al.) define market research as “the gathering, recording and analyzing of all facts about problems relating to the transfer and sale of goods and services from producer to consumer’. It includes such activities as market analysis, sales research, consumer research and advertising research.”¹⁷⁵ Here, market research is defined as serving the physical aspect of marketing, the aspect that deals with the transfer of goods from producer to consumer. For instance, through market research, the attention of producers can be drawn to ways in which distribution can be improved “by the adoption of new methods of transport or by reducing retail outlets”.¹⁷⁶ In agricultural production, for instance, producers can use market research to learn consumer wants. But the greater benefits of research focus on improving production and

¹⁷⁴ Saxena, Saxena and Nigam, *A Study of Marketing in India*, 29.

¹⁷⁵ Saxena, Saxena and Nigam, *A Study of Marketing in India*, 132.

¹⁷⁶ Saxena, Saxena and Nigam, *A Study of Marketing in India*, 138.

distribution by learning about ways to improve production techniques of harvesting, preliminary processing and packaging of the produce, grading produce, selling in regulated markets, warehousing, and so on.¹⁷⁷

This is still not to say that the liberal discourse of marketing and marketing research is unconcerned with consumer wants and interests. But any preoccupation with this information is less about knowing what to produce and is more in the service of adjusting and improving already existing production targets and logistics of distribution, i.e., in the service of planned economic development. In other words, it is still assumed that consumer interests are aligned with the national production interests. Knowing consumers is about knowing them as a market in-waiting to be distributed the goods of planned production. And so Indian thinkers settled on a more simplistic focus on consumers where knowing consumers “need not necessarily involve an omnibus of sociological surveys, but a fair understanding of the people in their economic environment and their social background of family life”.¹⁷⁸ That is, consumer information more or less focused on basic demographics, such as, income levels, number of members in the household, rural or urban household, and so on.

Furthermore, market research is still a very nascent practice in India during the 1960s. While interest in market research is growing, it is only in the area of advertising that Peerbhoy notes its utility during 1964, helping to measure the effectiveness of publicity in terms of whether or not communications about a product are reaching the intended audience. In spite of its use to advertisers, he still finds that the practice of market research in India is quite limited during the mid-1960s, noting that “today we do not have many organizations which specialize in research.”¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Saxena, Saxena and Nigam, *A Study of Marketing in India*, 149

¹⁷⁸ Peerbhoy, *Advertising and Research*, iv.

¹⁷⁹ Peerbhoy, *Advertising and Research*, viii.

And if market research emerges in India within advertising, it is because Indian advertisers like Peerbhoy are acutely aware of how such research can serve the broader goal of advertising: the education of consuming individuals about products that were deemed crucial to national production. For example, using research can measure advertising effectiveness, helping to determine whether individuals are being appropriately informed about the benefits of consuming certain goods the nation-state prioritizes in terms of planned production. And so in the liberal circuitry of marketing, supply-side priorities (the priorities of national economic production) still determine demand-side interests instead of the interests of demand determining supply-side interests.

But the neoliberal turn in the Indian marketing discourse reverses this circuitry, where production and the entire field of marketing (including distribution and advertising) now takes its direction from the freely choosing individual and their self-produced interests. If marketing during the 50s and 60s relied on strategies such as advertising to produce consumer interests in each and all and in order to support the mass-production targets of nation-building, it is now the case the consumers interests are assumed as something not to be brought in line with the interests of production but as something that must be known in order to know exactly what production interests should be to begin with, i.e., in order to bring the interests of production in line with those of individual consumers and their interest. Put slightly differently, the major discursive shift in marketing and the broader market economy (from a liberal to a post-liberal/neoliberal register) involves redefining marketing by subordinating the physical aspect to the mental. The art of wise distribution must now take its lead from the art of market research. And this is made possible not by, for instance, political-economic changes in India but by an epistemic change in how individuals are thought about in terms of their freedom to choose. I argue that even the

broader economic shift in India from fordism to post-fordism is only made possible in and through this specific discursive shift in marketing where market research not only redefines marketing but takes precedence over and begins to direct production and all other subsets of marketing, including distribution and advertising.

To characterize this shift slightly differently, the liberal discourse of marketing favored the distributional or physical approach because it was thought that this approach most urgently helped solve the mass-production challenges of planned development of the national economy. The subject-citizen is educated in the art of responsible consumption, through advertising (for instance), and would assist the pressing assignment of nation-building in and through their consumption interests. And so the task of governing the liberal subject involved bringing her interests in line with the interests of the national production. But by the 1970s, a new prospectivism emerges, expressed through the specificities within the discourse of marketing. Marketing begins to move away from a focus on the nation and its future, and towards the individual and their interest as a future buyer of a product or service. The individual's interest in purchasing is no longer governed by bringing it in line with national production interests. Instead, individual interests must now be known to better know what production interests should be and in order to appeal to the individual's interests in ways that more effectively manage and administer the marketplace not as a planned and fixed domain but as an unplanned and spontaneous sector.

Importantly, then, a preoccupation with the nation and its interests and future are set aside with this shift. Production and producers still feature in this more novel discourse of marketing in the 70s. However, the interests of producers are no longer defined by the nation-state and the objective of planned economic development, but by knowing individuals as free

choosers whose interests offer a way to more closely manage and administer their conduct. Consequently, a neoliberal discourse of marketing increasingly favors market research precisely because it specializes in knowing the interests of each and all. A shift in how free individuals are thought of and known makes possible the rise of market research in India. No longer simply a matter of demography but increasingly influenced by psychology, research offers ways to assume, know, and appeal to individuals as subjects with shifting interests and preferences, who understand their interests in terms of an image of their future self and who, in their freely choosing commercial affairs, can be governed more closely in ways that perpetuate a spontaneous ordering of those affairs. In the economic sector, while the nation and its future directed both consumers and producers, now producer and consumers are increasingly directed by the individual's freedom to choose and their interest in their future self. But this is not simply a win for consumer advocacy. If what is at stake for liberal India in producing the responsible subject citizen is planning a market that can be safely assumed to consume goods vital to the nation's economic future, then at stake for neoliberal India in producing the subject of choice is securing a population that complies to the rules of conduct that secure the neoliberal spontaneous order. And so this population of free choosers is produced so that it is always already open to being policed in and through their everyday interests and consumption

Marketing as the Art of Market Research

While Peerbhoy and Saxena's work on market research offers an illustration of the increasing important of this subset to the practice of marketing and the economic sector as as whole, their arguments are by and large still informed by a liberal discourse of marketing. But the development of market research, from an auxiliary practice serving distribution and production

to gradually ordering the entire field of marketing practices, is made possible by a change in how individuals are thought of in terms of their freedom and in how knowledge about these individuals as free choosers not only enables changes in marketing but in the wider economic sector, revealing a broader governmental shift and the rise of a more tenacious mode of governing each and all. This is precisely why the study of market research proves to be especially insightful. By mapping its development since the late 1960s, we can note not only how marketing's redefinition as the art of market research is made possible by neoliberal governmentality, but how this art helps neoliberalism cut a path into the broader private sector.

S. Neelamegham, Reader at the Department of Business Management and Industrial Administration in the Delhi School of Economics at the University of Delhi, published "Marketing Management and the Indian Economy" in 1970. This text is notable for a number of reasons, not the least being that it reproduces for an Indian audience work on marketing by distinguished Western thinkers such as Philip Drucker, Theodore Levitt, and Philip Kotler.¹⁸⁰ More relevant to my project is the work of Indian marketing thinkers in Neelamegham's text who, while drawing inspiration from these Western theorists, develop their own arguments that are more alert and appropriate to the Indian economic context of the 70s. Indian writers like Neelamegham, A. N. Sarin, and P. L. Tandon are learning from and reframing those Western marketing theories (of economists like Theodore Levitt, for instance) as the 'marketing concept' in India. This does not mean that this approach to marketing and economic activity is simply copied from Western economists and applied to the Indian context. Instead, it is to point out the ways in which theories of Western economists are learned from to develop concepts that are

¹⁸⁰ Peter F. Drucker, an Austrian-born American scholar of management and marketing, was praised by Kotler as the 'Grandfather of Modern Marketing'. Theodore Levitt, a Harvard economist, was famous for his argument that the object of any private enterprise is not simply profiteering but the creation of consumers. Philip Kotler, professor of International Marketing at Northwestern University, and a student of Milton Friedman and Robert Solow, further developed Drucker's work on consumer behavior.

more relevant and sensitive to the Indian context. These carefully contextualized concepts, not so much the wholesale adoption of the theories of scholars like Levitt or Drucker, helped to reframe the economic sector in India. One common thread connecting these varied arguments on Indian marketing is a growing preoccupation with the role of the marketing manager.

Prior to the publication of Neelamegham's text, the Indian marketing discourse was more preoccupied with the nuts and bolts of improving distribution. It included arguments that assumed the presence of responsible agents filling various marketing roles who, primarily through logistical interventions in and improvements to the physical aspect of marketing (themselves directed by the priorities and plans of national economic development), will carry out the vision of building up the nation's distribution infrastructure. As T. R. Rao and his colleagues at the National Council of Applied Economic Research note, market research methods have been largely neglected in India "because most producers have a seller's market. Even the majority of producers find it easy to sell their products because they enjoy monopolistic advantages as well as scarcity conditions."¹⁸¹ And since market research was underdeveloped, most of the decision-making of marketing actors was based on "hunch and intuition".¹⁸² Marketing managers would have to rely on the word of transportation contractors, or middlemen, or wholesalers about the conditions of the market without really collecting more objective data on those condition. Keshav Prasad, professor of Marketing and Business Policy at the Indian Institute of Management in Ahmedabad, who received his M.B.A. from Harvard University, echoes these arguments. Often, the judgement of marketing managers "has very little support of the objective data, largely because the data does not exist." Consequently, since the judgement of marketers is based more

¹⁸¹ Rao, T. R., Douglas Foster and Bernard Taylor (eds.). *New Perspectives in Marketing* (New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research, 1972), vi.

¹⁸² Neelamegham, S. (ed.). *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy* (Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1970), xiii.

on “intuition or hunch” derived from the more or less subjective accounts of various actors in the supply chain, Prasad calls for the use of a decision analysis technique that “legitimizes the use of judgmentally assessed probability of certain outcomes based on some part of data or some experience ... [this technique] makes it possible for marketing managers operating in the Indian environment to think formally about their experience in terms that make quantitative analysis possible for arriving at a rational decision.”¹⁸³

And so by the 70s, the role of the marketing manager is being redefined due to improvements in the art of market research and its growing importance within the field of marketing in general. With the entry of the behavioral and psychological sciences into economics and sociology, along with improvements in the techniques of statistics and mathematical decision-making models, the collection of market knowledge and use of market research is made more reliable and scientific “based on actual facts” in order to better understand the behavior and psychology of individuals as buyers.¹⁸⁴ It also should be noted that, while the arguments in Neelamegham’s text present a shifting discourse of marketing in India, this is not an abrupt shift that signals the sudden disappearance of previous concerns. Indeed, the counter-discourse to the liberal discourse of marketing initially appears as a critique internal to that liberal discourse. In his foreword for Neelamegham’s book, A. Dasgupta, Head of the Department of Business Management and Director at the Delhi School of Economics, argues that “improved and effective marketing management is highly essential for the well being of the country”.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Prasad, Keshav. “Formal Analysis of Marketing Information Decisions,” in *New Perspectives in Marketing*, eds. T. R. Rao, Douglas Foster, and Bernard Taylor (New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research, 1972), 49-51.

¹⁸⁴ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, xiii.

¹⁸⁵ Dasgupta, A. “Foreword,” in *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, ed. S. Neelamegham (Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1970).

Neelamegham, too, emphasizes the “establishment and maintenance of effective distribution channels” as an important function in the job of the modern marketing manager.¹⁸⁶ Indeed, effective decision making by marketing managers is still understood to serve the nation through the distributional aspect. But by the fourth quarter of the twentieth century, and with the neoliberal turn in marketing, the nation and distribution is no longer the primary objective and focus for marketing.

The challenge for the economic sector of the 70s is not principally a question of securing economic development by making both producers and consumers responsible for the nation’s future. Instead, the challenge of this decade is to reconcile production with an increasingly dynamic market, i.e., acknowledging that the market is now a population of consumers where each individual’s interest is assumed to be constantly changing.¹⁸⁷ The challenge, in other words, is to secure business and economic activity, more generally, against the unpredictable consequences of freely choosing consumption and the always shifting interests such consumption is based on. This is in contrast to the test for the liberal regime of marketing, i.e., planning effectively in order to make individual interest and consumption as predictable as possible. Now marketing and marketing plans are not principally occupied with the task of working towards the success of the nation by governing the interests of each and all, but the continued success of businesses in and through individual free choosers and their shifting interests about their future consumption.

Decision making in the economic sector, then, is not pursued with an eye to the nation but to the individual with marketing more directly serving commercial interests through the

¹⁸⁶ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, xv-xvi.

¹⁸⁷ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, xiv.

interests of individuals as consumers. And crucially, for business and the economic sector at large to succeed, it is not a matter of simply pursuing policies of indiscriminate profiteering. More importantly, it is about creating customers and developing profitable and lasting markets through effective market research and planning where “knowledge of consumer behavior is highly essential”.¹⁸⁸ A new apparatus of security is needed to guard the private sector against the aleatory effects of neoliberal libertarian regime. This apparatus must anticipate for and shield commerce from the varied and fluctuating consumption interests of free choosers, and underwrite the policy that will ensure stable and lasting commercial activity. Market research answers this call.

The growing preoccupation with individual interest, now assumed to be self-evident to the individual rather than lodged within a nation-building interest, affords the increasingly central role that market research now has in the field of marketing and the private sector, especially in terms of economic decision making. It also redefines the very field of marketing: “Marketing, in practice, does not refer to any single activity such as selling, advertising, or distribution. It involves the interaction of several business activities, whose ultimate objective is the gratification of customer needs and desires.” Management is not focused on the production of goods simply or to produce a certain quantity of goods, but on “customer-creating value satisfaction.”¹⁸⁹ Note how Neelamegham describes this emergent discourse of marketing in India, which he calls the ‘Marketing Concept’:

“The essence of the ‘Marketing Concept’ is that customers become the pivot point around which the entire operations of business revolve. Satisfaction of customer becomes the most important goal of business enterprise. The company’s policies, programmes, and strategies are planned, organized, and executed to satisfy the existing needs of the

¹⁸⁸ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, xv.

¹⁸⁹ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 15-16.

customer in the most efficient manner and to anticipate their changing tastes and buying attitudes. To satisfy its customers more effectively the firm gives greater emphasis to the value and services provided by the product rather than to its mere physical and technical features. Further, the firm starts thinking more in terms of profitable sale rather than mere volume for its own sake. The Marketing Concept represents a new business philosophy. It embodies a principle that customer satisfaction is the heart of marketing process.”¹⁹⁰

This new philosophy of business is not simply relevant to a few firms or large scale industry. It is an attempt at a comprehensive reorganization of the entire field of commercial and economic activity, based on the assumption that individuals must be assumed to have shifting interests and preferences and thus can only be reached in and through their choices (and the interests that these choices are based on). If the economic activity of the liberal India was based on planned production and selling (a supply-side focus), the economic activity of neoliberal India is based less on predetermined production and the efficient transfer of goods and more on securing against the unpredictable outcomes of freely choosing consumers (a demand-side focus). Marketing, once the vital cog in national economic development because it found ways to move products more efficiently, still retains a pivotal function in post-70s Indian economic thought and practice. But the crux of this function in the economic sector shifts away from national distribution and towards “the creation of customers”.¹⁹¹ In short, marketing now focuses on the needs of individuals rather than national production, and does so in order to produce individual consumers who are compliant to the behaviors appropriate to a neoliberal commercial regime.

Neelamegham describes this shift in the economic sector in terms of the difference between the old “orthodox production-oriented approach” to and “the new marketing-oriented

¹⁹⁰ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 16.

¹⁹¹ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 16.

approach”.¹⁹² In the former approach, the producer was obliged to produce goods for market but was not obliged to pay much attention to goods in terms of its value to the buyer, i.e., whether or not it really appealed to the individual’s interest as a consumer of particular goods and services. In the new approach, the producer cannot sell without developing products that appeal to individual interests. Firms that fail to do this will be unable make profitable sales because individuals will shift their preferences and find options that better appeal to their interests. As a result of this new awareness of individuals as free choosers, the main task of any enterprise is to police and constantly trace and know each human being in terms of an individual interest, one that is self-generated and refers to a future self (i.e., as a self whose interests in the present will be satisfied through their choices in the future). And market research carries out this task of tracing and knowing human beings as interest-bearing subjects and choice maximizers. This is precisely why market research takes on a new and more pivotal role in the economic sector. Without it, a firm’s ability to generate profitable sales would suffer, as would aggregate economic activity. But, and again, aiding the latter is not the point of turning to market research and creating consumers. It is rather to know individuals as subjects of choice and create consumers out of these subjects who, in their freely choosing commercial affairs, will help establish an unplanned and spontaneous ordering of the Indian marketplace.

A. N. Sarin, member of faculty at the Administrative Staff College of India, echoes the new business philosophy and the vital role played by market research for this new economic discourse. While it is often commonplace to think that a company’s existence depends on how much profit it makes while being obligated to its stockholders and employees, Sarin argues that no company can do this effectively without understanding the market, i.e., knowing the interests

¹⁹² Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 17.

of the population of individuals that consume or will consume its products. Profiteering *tout court* is not the particular rationale for the existence of firms and their ability to survive. Instead, “the specific rationale of a company’s existence lies in its ability to satisfy some aspects of consumer demand.”¹⁹³ Satisfying these demands requires knowing consumer interests by “maintaining the channels of communication from the customer to the seller” which has led to the development of the technique of market research.¹⁹⁴ Commercial activity is not principally about profiteering but surveillance. If done well, the latter will always beget the former. Only companies that know the customer and know them according to their interests will be able to maintain a stable consumer base that sustains profitable sales and in ways that fulfill its obligations to stockholder and employees.

The epistemic shifts in the area of youth development and the family were made possible by a crisis of authority, which I argue is itself an instance and articulation of the broader governmental crisis of liberalism in India during the third quarter of the twentieth century. There is a correlate crisis in the economic sector. The changes in this sector are made possible, not by a crisis of authority but by an epistemic crisis of economic planning and its assumptions., And like the crisis of authority, the crisis of planned economic development is an instance of and reflects a more general crisis of Indian liberal governmentality. First, planning assumed that economic development must be pursued by aggressively moving towards large scale industry and manufacture. Second, it was supposed that for this move to properly occur, certain infrastructures had to be built-up, such as, distribution infrastructures. Finally, it was also taken for granted that there would be a market in-waiting, a population of now responsible subject-citizens who see

¹⁹³ Sarin, A. N and Harper W. Boyd. “The Marketing Concept,” in *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, ed. S. Neelamegham (Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1970), 49.

¹⁹⁴ Sarin, A. N. and P. Gopalakrishnan. *Marketing in India: Text and Cases* (Madras: Orient Longmans, 1969), 103.

their interest as closely tied up with the interest of the nation and its future. The critique of the liberal economic regime during the 1970s is brought to bear on precisely these three assumptions of planning. It is now not so much a matter of pursuing policies of planning but of unplanned planning, i.e., developing policies that assume and encourage free choice and secure against its uncertain outcomes. Rather than assuming that the unpredictable features of economic activity can be planned away, it is now a matter of taking the unpredictable as the basic assumption that drives economic thought and practice. In the way, neoliberal economic discourse does not resolve the problem of planning. Instead, by making all economic planning subservient to the aleatory itself, this discourse produces a permanent crisis within the economic sector precisely because the spontaneous order is maintained as long as the outcomes of free choice are unpredictable and uncertain. At the center of thinking about the Indian market economy is placed its most unpredictable aspect and that which promises both the potential success and ruin of commercial enterprises, namely, the consumer and her constantly shifting and interests.

Prior to this shift, the interests of consumers were by and large assumed to be stable since they were made predictable by managing and administering subject-citizens in ways that better aligned their interests in consumption with national economic interests. The unplanned aspect of planning really stems from the assumption that individuals are now free choosers, rather than rights-bearing subjects whose interests align with the nation and its future. The critique of liberal market economy interjects the rationale of planning at this precise point in order to now argue that individuals are free and maximizing choosers with interests that are self-generated, unpredictable, and true. Assuming the free choice of each and all, and that these free choosers seek to maximize their options, makes it so individuals are perpetually imagined (and imagine themselves) as adjusting and changing their interest in order to maximize the choices that are

available to them. The interest of the subject of choice and the outcomes of her free activities are thus made aleatory. And unplanned planning is the sort of planning of business operations and economic activity that places the aleatory at its heart, making it the very condition of possibility for the Indian private sector. In short, this novel regime follows up with key assumptions of its own: the free choice maximizer exists and the interests and outcome of choice maximizing activities are unpredictable and uncertain. And so, for commercial ventures, everything hinges on forming policies that appeal to the interest of choice maximizers while securing against the unpredictability and uncertainty of these free choosers by policing them down to their most private interests through persistent observation, testing, and interventions.

P. L. Tandon, former chairman of Hindustan Unilever and director at the Reserve Bank of India and the Industrial Development Bank of India, lends his voice to this new vision of unplanned planning. He does so in a very short but insightful essay in an edited volume from 1972 published by the National Council of Applied Economic Research titled, “The Marketing Concept and its Relevance in India Today”. Tandon argues that the regime of planned production and its underlying assumptions, “overlooked the fact that whatever the product or service, there is a customer who uses it and marketing research is needed to ensure that the product or service is acceptable to the end-users”.¹⁹⁵ In the previous order of things, business and economic planning restricted itself to the realm of production. Planned production in this sense gave direction to (or planned) producer and consumer interest. The critique of planning now argues that it can no longer be the case that consumer interests can be planned. Instead, it reverses the order of planning, and the goals of production no longer direct consumers or

¹⁹⁵ Tandon, P. L. “The Marketing Concept and its Relevance in India Today,” in *New Perspectives in Marketing*, eds. T. R. Rao, Douglas Foster, and Bernard Taylor (New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research, 1972), 16.

producers. Increasingly, consumers and their interests now direct both production and producers. This places marketing as the art of market research at the center of this new order of things, where “planning is really a statement of marketing needs translated into quantification of the resources needed in terms of men, money and materials.”¹⁹⁶ In other words, the needs of marketing are to find better ways to know and understand consumer interests. This knowledge, collected and analyzed, can then be translated into production plans. And so, planning is really a matter of knowing and catering to what is now made singularly uncertain, the individual’s interest. As will be unpacked in a later discussion of ethnographic findings, while these interests cannot be planned and predicted they can still be known through techniques that invite the consumer to speak her interest and that document the consumer’s speech about her interest.

Moreover, Tandon argues that “in the absence of a study of the marketing needs there is a danger ... of creating surplus capacities even in the capital goods industries, as has been frequently the case in India where our plants lie partly idle because they were planned from the production angle instead from the market [consumer] angle as well.”¹⁹⁷ And so production is made more efficient by focusing on knowing and appealing to individual interests. India is no longer a market where consumption preferences can be made predictable. Instead, “India is a multilayered market of different consumption patterns where for some products there may be a mass market and for others a small market, but sufficiently big to be of interest to the producer. But whatever the level of demand in our society, its aspirations are the same as everywhere else in the world ... There is the same insatiability of demand at all levels as anywhere else. To study these demands market research is essential if we are not to produce the wrong kinds of goods and

¹⁹⁶ Tandon, *The Marketing Concept*, 16.

¹⁹⁷ Tandon, *The Marketing Concept*, 17.

services.”¹⁹⁸ It is in the pursuit more effective ways to discover, understand, and cater to these demands that marketing as the art of market research becomes a critical resource to the various actors in and activities of the economic sector. In its turn, research about consumers ensures “that what is produced is wanted and not forced upon the consumers in a situation of shortages or lie unwanted in a surplus situation.”¹⁹⁹

This more novel approach to marketing, made possible by a shift in how individuals are problematized in terms of their freedom to choose, has a number of notable consequences. It shifts the focus of business managers away from producing particular planned goods (and in volume) and hitting planned production targets and, instead, makes unpredictable and uncertain individual interest and choice a singular concern of marketing and economic decision making and activity. As a result of this shift in business priorities, the planning and development of products becomes more effective, i.e., begins to pay more attention to the individual as final consumer and user of the product. Product research and innovation also becomes increasingly emphasized in order to keep up with shifting consumer and market preferences. The different departments of every firm no longer operate under the direction of the production department and its quotas. For instance, the marketing department or the sales team no longer takes their direction from production department. Instead, every business practice and department now takes their direction from something entirely outside of the realm of business and production, i.e., the freely choosing individual. Consequently, these practices and departments become more interdependent and integrated in the task of knowing the individual as a choice maximizing and interest bearing subject.²⁰⁰ And where once the interest of producers and individuals were

¹⁹⁸ Tandon, *The Marketing Concept*, 17.

¹⁹⁹ Tandon, *The Marketing Concept*, 17.

²⁰⁰ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 17.

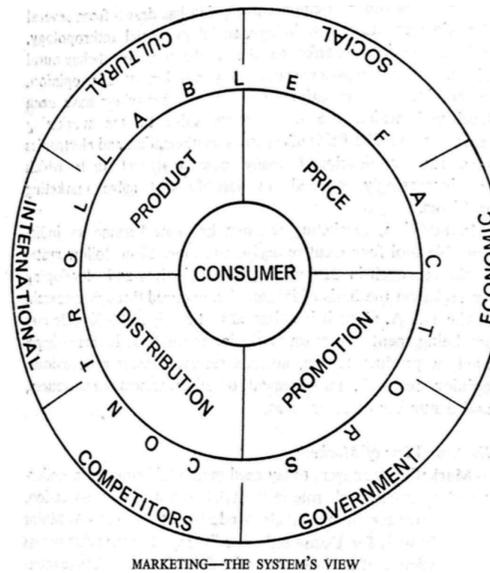
obliged to the imperatives of nation-building through fixed national production interests, the interests of business and individuals no longer have the nation-state as an intermediary. Now, the interest of businesses in term of achieving profitable sales can only be realized by affording a privileged place to the subject of choice and to the uncertainty of outcomes central to a regime of free choice. It is not only in the interest of business to actively and more aggressively assume the individual's free choice to better estimate a population of consuming subjects (a market) in and through knowledge of the shared interests of each in that population.

The now unrelenting pursuit of knowledge fundamentally redefines marketing (and economic activity, more generally) as the art of market research. And given what is at stake in the pursuit of consumer knowledge, market research is innovating and becoming more interdisciplinary, drawing from “psychology, sociology, social anthropology, and economics. Thanks to the application of behavioral sciences many new concepts on perception, attitude, opinion, leadership, communication and consumer behavior have been developed ... the field of statistics, mathematics, and electronics have further developed many new analytical tools which are increasingly applied to identify and solve marketing problems.”²⁰¹ Neelamegham offers an illustration of this new approach (Figure 1) that places the consumer at the center of economic thought and activity. He calls this a “system’s view”, where each aspect of business and economic activity work more closely together and under the same fundamental assumption and condition of possibility: the individual as a freely choosing consumer and the issue of the aleatory and uncontrollable.²⁰² There are a number of impressive features in this illustration. Most significant

²⁰¹ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 21.

²⁰² Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 22.

is the interrelationship between the various concentric circles as we move towards and away from the center.



(Figure 1. Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and Indian Economy*, 22.)

To begin with, there are centrifugal effects on the various controllable variables of economic thought and activity. Moving away from the center, one can note how the four controllable variables of economic activity - production, price, promotion and distribution - all take their direction from information about consumers and their interests. Hence, again, the rising importance of market research. Without knowing the consumer's interests, businesses cannot know what to produce and how much, how to price it according to the target market's purchasing power, how to promote it in ways that stimulate the consumer's interests, where to disperse and place it so that it is available to as many consumers as possible. But there are also centripetal effects on both the controllable variables of economic activity and the less controllable area of consumer interest and knowledge production. Moving from the periphery towards the center, these four variables are also influenced by non-consumer factors such as governmental

regulations, the practices of competitors, macro-economic conditions, and so on. But, and more interestingly, these factors not only affect economic thought and activity but also the consumer. Social and cultural factors determine the interest of consumers, as do international developments, what other competitors offer consumers, governmental restrictions or the current state of the local or national economy. And so, these centripetal effects, working towards the center and affecting consumer interests and choice made possible further centrifugal effects on price, production, promotion and distribution.

Another notable feature of this illustration is the place given to production in the overall space of economic thinking and practice. In the liberal economic regime in India, production would have occupied the center of this illustration with the consumer taking production's place as a more or less controllable factor precisely because individuals were produced as responsible consumers in order to serve the interests of national production. Production also occupied the center because producers could not really control it. It was regulated by the nation-state in any number of ways. The centripetal effects from state regulation also had a direct bearing on the central realm of production. Since the interests of consumers are no longer assumed as controllable but constantly shifting, the consumer now takes the center of this system, replacing production, which is now made controllable through information about the interest of consumers rather than the policies of economic planning.

More importantly, perhaps, since the individual's interest is a less controllable factor now, it means that market research must know the population as an aggregate of free choosers with a shared personal interest. And it must develop goods and services that appeal to this interest in ways that coordinate the conduct of each and all to comply with the rules of neoliberal conduct. On the one hand, and given that always already shifting consumer preferences not only have

centrifugal implications on economic activity, but are made even more unpredictable due to the centripetal implications of social or international factors, for instance, it becomes critical to police individuals in their interest and govern them through the free choice of each and all rather than by obliging their interests to those of production and nation-building. On the other hand, since the individual's freedom implies that their interest is self-generated and always changing, her interest and freedom of choice must now be assumed to be ungovernable in any meaningful manner. That is, neoliberal government appears to operate under a certain paradox where individuals must be governed through their free choice while at the same time admitting that this choice is largely ungovernable since its always changing.

So how do firms govern free choosers, exactly? These individuals are now governed through their consumption in order to fulfill the goals of (re)generating sustainable, voluntary, and spontaneous markets. The way this is accomplished is not by fixing their interests to those of production, but by following the types of policy that secures commerce. And while good policy always polices, what this really means is that it must relentlessly work to know the interest of the individual as their own in order to offer each products that appeal to their interest in ways that more closely regulate the choices they make. But, importantly, all of this is done with no explicit guarantee that they will purchase that product now or in the future since their preferences might change abruptly. This is the fundament risk that commercial activity now assume under the neoliberal regime making it so that firms operate under a generalized state of paranoia about declining demand. This is because, instead of catering to the fixed production outcomes of the liberal era of economic planning, the neoliberal era of unplanned planning courts the unpredictable and uncertain outcomes that emerge from the voluntary affairs of free choosers and the catallaxy these subjects help create.

Another implication of this shift in marketing and economic discourse is that the practice of dividing and segmenting individuals and populations becomes more pronounced precisely because segmentation allows for better policing of populations that are now always being redefined and recategorized. Prior to the placement of research at the center of economic activity, production simply assumed a market in waiting. Mass production policies were pursued in order to ensure that certain goods were made available to as many people as possible in the national population. The question of pricing mass-produced goods was also resolved by setting the price of these goods so that they were accessible to as many people as possible regardless of their purchasing power. For the purposes of economic decision making and activity, there was no question of treating the overall national population in terms of segments based on their purchasing power. And, of course, segmenting the population would also more generally work against the urgent task of unifying the nation rather than dividing it.

These nation-building concerns notwithstanding, and in the economic sector at least, the national population still had to be divided. But such segmentation was based on the idea of creating place utilities, i.e., of moving mass-produced goods from areas of surplus to areas of shortage. This was one way that the divide between rural and urban India was framed, i.e., as rural and urban markets. The former was thought of as the realm of mass-production but also, being rural, it was not the place where most of those goods would be consumed. The latter, then, was thought of as the place for mass consumption, since more people lived in such markets and fewer goods were actually produced there. And so creating the distinction between the rural and urban was, initially at least, about reaching as many final consumers as possible in the aggregate, regardless of their location (hence the focus on distribution) or purchasing power. Indeed, one of

the objectives of producing efficient national distribution channels was to ensure that goods reached both the rural and the urban markets in waiting.

Now, however, there are growing class-based implications with the increasing use of demographics in market research. Since “it is imperative that the marketer should be aware of [the] characteristics that stem from the total life situations in which different consumers are placed,” market segmentation becomes not only possible but critically necessary.²⁰³ And, initially at least (i.e., during the 70s and 80s), this segmentation is largely grounded in the analysis of demographic features. The “total life situation” of free individuals involved their place of domicile and their level of income. Consequently, the urban market is increasingly favored over the rural precisely because the urban provides a greater population of consumers and consumer interests than the rural. The other reason for firms to favor urban markets is that individuals are more able and willing to spend in urban areas. Since the 1960s, “there has been a steady and upward trend in regard to per-capita expenditure, particularly of upper and middle income people living in urban areas and cities.”²⁰⁴ Furthermore, citing a recent study on the Indian market, Neelamegham notes how the urban itself can be divided into three classes: “(1) lower class consisting of skilled manual workers, petty shopkeepers, labourers, etc., (2) middle class, consisting of skilled workers, clerks, shopkeepers, professional people, etc., (3) upper class comprising business executives, successful merchants, and professional people.”²⁰⁵ Here, class-based segmentation is not just about creating markets but also knowing their potentials and adjusting economic activity according to those potentials.

²⁰³ Jayachandaran, G. “Indian Consumers: Marketer’s Anathema or Dilemma,” in *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, ed. S. Neelamegham (Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1970), 171.

²⁰⁴ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 31-33.

²⁰⁵ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 29.

“Based on the market potential of different areas the study indicates that all major urban markets in India could be divided into [12] major city markets, class A markets [of 25 towns], class B markets [67 towns], and class C markets [592 towns]. It is also observed that the first 9 cities have a third to the total consuming capacity of all markets, [the class A markets] are equal in consuming capacity to the [class C markets]”.²⁰⁶

It is important to note how it is that market research during the 70s helps create, relies on and amplifies class distinctions within the nation. The urban market is segmented according to class precisely because it allows firms to know which class of individuals are most interested and able to consume. Moreover, research makes class distinctions more pronounced because consumers need to be differentiated in order to create different products for different classes of people, thereby diversifying the firm’s product offerings and profits streams and securing it from the failures of a specific product on offer. It also allows firms to know what the potential of each market is, based on demographics of location (urban or rural) and income (upper, middle, or lower class). Markets, too, are known and categorized into their own classes (class A vs. class C markets, for instance). Another important feature of market research, and consequence of its rising importance to economic thought and practice, is not simply that it relies on class distinction, but how it relies on the practice of classification and categorization to know and separate larger populations into smaller ones and in order better manage each and all in these populations through their consumption interests.

This is not about uniting the distant markets in the country in order to build the idea of a nation. It is about dividing the markets into so many segments so that the firm’s product offerings can be more fine tuned to consumer interests and more diversified. The former protects the firm’s profitable sales channels, the latter ensures that the firm does not fail by only offering one product. Consequently, marketing to and conducting rural markets will be different from urban

²⁰⁶ Neelamegham, *Marketing Management and the Indian Economy*, 29.

markets. Class A markets will be managed differently from class C markets, as well lower class markets from upper class markets. Different products will be offered to each category based on assumptions about the individuals freedom to choose and their interest in each class and category, what their freedom and interests reveals about the aggregate interests of the markets that these individuals make up, and how their interests can be appealed to through differentiated product offerings. All of this is done to not simply or even principally make profits or to produce a class-based society. Instead, it is done in the service of securing economic activity from the uncertain pursuit of creating lasting, voluntary, and spontaneous markets. And so, unpredictable populations must be closely policed and made knowable in order to better coordinate the compliance of free choosers to these markets.

The Disillusioned Left and the Internal Critique of Planning

It might be tempting to think that neoliberalism really only entered the Indian market economy in the 1990s, as a result of a balance of payments crisis and resulting World Bank-supported policies of economic reform. However, for the Indian proponents and architects of those reforms, the shift away from the liberal economic regime was not precipitated by the nation's inability to meet its payment obligations, or found in the World Bank's manifesto, or in the rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Regan. Instead, policymakers like Palaniappan Chidambaram, Megnad Desai, Jairam Ramesh, and Manmoham Singh return to the 1970s, referring to a then change in how individuals are problematized in terms of their freedom to choose and a crisis of economic planning. They point to the economic growth of nations like Japan and South Korea during the 60s and 70s, rather than Britain and the U.S. during the 80s

and 90s. Perhaps it is also no small point that each of these now famed economic policymakers of the 90s affiliated themselves with the socialist left in India during the 60s and 70s.

Palaniappan Chidambaram, prominent Indian statesmen and former four-time Indian Minister of Finance, critiques the effects of planned economic activity. By the 70s, he notes, “the whole approach [of state-controlled economic planning] had failed. I was observing it both as a member of a political party [the then socialist Congress Party, which he is still a member of], the ruling party, and as a lawyer handling real live cases in court involving government on the other side ... the total experience - [as a] lawyer, trade union leader, political activist - left me completely disillusioned by 1997.”²⁰⁷ By the 1980s, he notes that then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, having learned from the lessons of the first 25 years of Indian economic policy, had started work on the Congress Party’s election manifesto to move away from the state-based economic planning model and towards introducing more competition in the economic sector (domestically and internationally). It was Rajiv Gandhi’s manifesto that Manmohan Singh argues both “recognized the need for economic reforms of the type which we undertook”, and convinced the reluctant socialists in the Congress Party of the need for structural reforms.²⁰⁸ Singh is now a senior member of the Congress Party. He served as India’s Minister of Finance between 1991-96 and later was elected the nation’s Prime Minister.

However, while the structural reforms of the 1990s were based on the manifesto, even Singh points to the 60s and 70s as the period when the thought of many Indians was changing. And again, this change came through a internal critique of central economic planning. That planning model was largely based on Jawaharlal Nehru’s vision to industrialize and urbanize

²⁰⁷ Chidambaram, P. *Commanding Heights*. PBS, February 6, 2001.

²⁰⁸ Singh, Manmohan. *Commanding Heights*. PBS, February 6, 2001.

India, and was contrasted with M. K. Gandhi's village-based vision for economic development. In a statement that resonates with Ambedkar's critique of Gandhi, prominent development economist Megnad Desai notes that while "you can have a Gandhian village; you cannot have a Gandhian nation".²⁰⁹ Arguably, then, Nehru's post-Independence vision for planned development eventually won out because of its liberal focus on nation-building.

This vision was also based on the Keynesian orthodoxy of the time "that you need strong governmental intervention ... to stabilize the capitalist economy." And while the five-year plans of the Soviets was a major influence for the post-Independence planning, India's overall economic model was based more on the British Labor Party model for a mixed economy. The idea "of public sector and private sector [economically] coexisting greatly influenced Nehru's thinking". And so "in the initial stages of India's development central planning was a positive factor ... the real problem starts after 15-20 years, because the central planning system that we have evolved ... lack an effective incentive system." This is because in a closely controlled and planned economy "nobody has any incentive to increase productivity and to bring new ideas." The critique of economic planning gained even more currency among leftists like Singh when they compared India to other East Asian Countries during the 1970s. While admired as a politician and stateswoman, the likes of Thatcher "had a very limited influence on Indian thinking on economic reforms". Instead, for the period of "1960 to 1985 - the progress made by East Asian countries was phenomenal ... What happened in East Asia, particularly in a country like South Korea, did influence me very considerably."²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Desai, Lord Megnad. *Commanding Heights*. PBS, December 7, 2000.

²¹⁰ Singh, Manmohan. *Commanding Heights*. PBS, February 6, 2001.

The comments by Singh and Chidambaram are echoed by fellow Congress Party member Jairam Ramesh, secretary of the Party's Economic Affairs Department. He refers to Nehru's vision of Fabian socialism where the private and public sectors coexisted through a planning regime that created an economic base in terms of investments and development in infrastructure and manpower, as well as opening up rural areas. At the start of the second half of the twentieth century, India was the "Mecca of all economists" precisely because India was following the Keynesian model of economic growth. By he also notes that by the 1970s, there was a growing awareness of a lack of free choice for individuals in India and "the consumer angle, insofar as industrial growth was concerned, was completely missing". For example, because planning prioritized cotton production and the development of cotton mills "the government said that the people of India should wear cotton clothes ... but all Indians wanted to wear polyester. Why? Because it's only the rich who can afford to wear cotton".²¹¹

During the decades of the 60s, Megnad Desai, who would later become an eminent development economist, reflected on how he was "caught up by the planning model, by Marxism and all that, for a number of years." By the 70s, he too noted a crisis of economic planning. Again, South Korea's dramatic rise since the 60s in spite of being a country with similar conditions as India (recently independent, with a colonial history, and a legacy of partition) "was very telling for Indian intellectuals". By the 80s, Desai expected the planning model to collapse. Echoing Singh, the problem was that the planning model did not incentivize correctly. "Economists don't make [the] economy - economies make themselves. The problem is how you give incentives to people to work harder, how to innovate, [how] to migrate to get jobs. What

²¹¹ Ramesh, Jairam. *Commanding Heights*. PBS, July 1, 2001.

people do with themselves is what the economy is.”²¹² A market economy, in this sense, is now thought of as an aggregate of individual free choosers voluntarily associating with each other in order to pursue personal ends, rather than a planned sector where the interactions between economic agents are regulated in order to pursue certain fixed national outcomes.

What would become the re-formed Indian left in the 1990s was well aware of this epistemic turn. As early as the 70s, the critique of economic planning was internal to the liberal regime and conducted by its own thinkers. And so the lessons of third quarter of the twentieth century leading up to the crisis of planning in the 1970s strongly influenced the broad structural reforms these policymakers would come to propose starting the 80s when the state began to scale back its involvement in the commercial sector. But in terms of economic thought and activity, these changes were already taking place in the 1970s through specific developments in the field of marketing, and in refocusing business practices around market research and the drive to know each and all and interest-bearing subjects of choice. By the 1990s, market research is more or less baked into marketing discourse and economic thought and practice, more broadly.

For Sanjay K. Jain, head and professor of Marketing and International Business in the Department of Commerce at the Delhi School of Economics at the University of Delhi, and like Rao and Tandon before him, market research did not prominently feature in the Indian context during the 1950s and 1960s. This is because it was supposed that whatever would be produced would be consumed by a market that is ready and waiting. Consequently, “there was hardly any incentive for these firms to be innovative and use market research”.²¹³ Since the 70s, however, there was a steady growth in marketing research agencies in India. And so by the late 90s, based

²¹² Desai, Lord Megnad. *Commanding Heights*. PBS, December 7, 2000.

²¹³ Jain, Sanjay K. “Marketing Research in India: A Perspective”. *Management and Change*. 1, no. 1 (1997): 78.

on Jain's estimates, "the turnover of the marketing research industry is anywhere between Rs 15 and 20 crore as against Rs. 10.06 crore in 1988-89, Rs. 3 crore in 1983 and Rs. 1 crore in the early 70s. Especially during the 80s, the research business of the outside agencies attained the highest ever achieved growth rate of about 25 percent per annum."²¹⁴ Moreover, the demand for the services of outside market research agencies is expected rise to "Rs. 70 crores by the turn of the century".²¹⁵ Jain argues that market research has become an "indispensable tool for decision makers in discovering market opportunities and threats, selecting target markets, developing suitable marketing mix strategies and evaluating firm's marketing performance."²¹⁶ Moving beyond the collection and analysis of information about consumer interests, market research is now helping firms decide what to produce in terms of size, color, quality, packaging and brand name. It determines how much of this product to produce, and how to promote it using what media channels, and how to distribute it. More interestingly, perhaps, there are ways which the techniques of marketing are moving beyond and being applied to the realm of non-economic economic thought and practice.

Jain finds that the technique of market research is being used in areas such as "family planning, immunization programs, literacy campaigns, energy conservation, nutrition and hygiene plans. Various governmental departments and social organizations have started to realize that such studies are imperative for effective development as well as execution of the welfare schemes".²¹⁷ Marketing as the art of market research is more than a matter of knowing individuals as consumers, it is about knowing individuals as subjects of choice whose conduct can

²¹⁴ A crore is 10,000,000 rupees. Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 83.

²¹⁵ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 97.

²¹⁶ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 73.

²¹⁷ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 87.

be conducted in and through their interest in all kinds of non-market decisions. Jain expects that in the near future, the public sector at large will rely on the technique of market research and analysis in governmental decision making. But it is also important to note that the technique of research is not necessarily or even primarily borrowed from the discipline of economics. It is not that this technique is self-generated through economic thought and practice. Rather, it is a technique of neoliberal government formed out of an interdisciplinary mix, borrowing from psychology, sociology, statistics, economics and so on. Nor does this mix exclusively appear due to the economic sector and its activities. Instead, it is that this mix finds a space to articulate itself within the economic sector, among others. In this sector, it articulates itself as market research. In the space of the home, it articulates itself as practices of parental counseling. In the next chapter I describe and analyze how this mix articulates itself in the public sector through the discourse of urban planning and development. For now, however, it is simply worth noting the ascendance of art of marketing research as a technique for securing the compliance of market and non-market populations, and as “gradually becoming part and parcel of the process of social change and better governance of the country”.²¹⁸ And rest of this chapter, in conjunction with an in-depth analysis of ethnographic findings, will focus on the specific the tactics and strategies of the technique of market research, how they were articulated in the 70s, and how those articulations have evolved through the decades since.

From Demographics to Psychographics

Robert A. Tofts was a psychologist for Lintas Advertising Agency in London, and served as a technical adviser for the Unilever Group in Italy, and an operations manager and technical

²¹⁸ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 87.

manager in the Research Bureau in England. In 1972, at the time he contributed to India's National Council of Applied Economic Research's "New Perspectives in Marketing", Tofts was the Head of Market Research at Hindustan Unilever, Limited, one of India's largest consumer goods companies. As someone who worked closely within the Indian context during the steady rise Indian market research, his chapter provides a valuable and articulate assessment of the techniques of market research in India during the 1970s.

In the early days of market research in India, as noted by writers like Neelamegham, research was primarily interested in basic demographic information. Large scale data on the population was limited, and so what was available was demographic data that came out of available sources such as the national census. Demographic information, of course, included information about household size, income, gender, location of the household, and so on. Segmentation, then, was based along these lines. Products were developed to appeal to a certain gender, or a certain class of people, or group of persons located in larger and not smaller cities. Tofts refers to efforts in this type of research as "macro-studies of markets". But he adds that "a description of the consuming public in straightforward demographic terms is often inadequate for the needs of the mass-marketer." Consequently, he contrasts this type of demographic research to psychological research efforts that he refers to as "micro-studies of the consuming public".²¹⁹ These other efforts produce information that is much more revealing and granular in terms of the interests of the individual as buyer, and is thus more actionable in terms of using information about the individual's interest to create a product that will both appeal to buyers and

²¹⁹ Tofts, Robert A. "Consumer Attitudes and Its Relevance to Purchasing Behavior," in *New Perspectives in Marketing*, eds. T. R. Rao, Douglas Foster, and Bernard Taylor (New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research, 1972), 83.

ensure a stable consumer base and steady revenues. In addition to demographic data, market research must pay closer attention to “exploitable” psychological parameters.²²⁰

According to Tofts, the shift towards this second type of research is made possible through the entry of psychology into the field of market research, and in particular clinical psychology and Freudian theories about the unconscious of human behavior applied to the field of consumer behavior. It is assumed that individuals are often unaware of the interests that inform their consumption choices. “Only by means of unstructured and indirect interviewing procedures could personality characteristics, attitudes, prejudices, feelings, and the like be uncovered which would give the psychologist an insight into the personal and social influences which were determining buying behavior.”²²¹ Based on these fundamental assumptions about individuals, themselves based on assumptions about the individual’s freedom to have and to communicate their interests, the practice of market research begins its psychological turn. Knowledge about these psychological parameters will produce actionable exploits, i.e., will enable the marketing manager “to produce goods that people will want and to produce advertising that will appeal to them”. These parameters must be precisely and reliably measurable, “applicable to quantitative surveys”, “relate to purchasing or other important aspects of behavior”, and actionable.²²²

But this psychological turn does not fully take root in India until at least the 1990s, even though researchers in India are aware of its utility as early as the 1970s through its expansion in more developed markets like the UK and the US. It is possible that Tofts’ own insights about the psychological turn are based on his experiences in European market research. However, his insights also prove prescient insofar being able to note the ways in which research in India will

²²⁰ Tofts, *Consumer Attitudes*, 86.

²²¹ Tofts, *Consumer Attitudes*, 83.

²²² Tofts, *Consumer Attitudes*, 86.

evolve towards knowing individuals down to their deepest and most personal insights and interests. This psychological shift also signals a development in veridical practices. The ‘truth’ about the individual’s buying interests are not really true enough, i.e., not reliable and actionable enough, if it is based solely on demographic research. And, in any case, these interests must be assumed to be constantly shifting and unpredictable. The exploitable psychological parameters of the individual reveal a greater truth about the individual, a truth that is framed along certain terms and in relation to the individual as a freely choosing consumer whose purchasing wants, needs, preferences and so on are always changing. It is a way of telling the truth about individuals that respects the aleatory possibilities of freely choosing consumers to more closely track their interests to produce a more sustainable, yet spontaneous, market.

In spite of this coming psychological turn in Indian market research, and for the time being, research during the 70s and 80s is still by and large relying on demographic information. But “whether we are faced with a global or a minority market, whether it is saturated or not, the same questions must be asked before successful commercial exploitation can take place”.²²³

These are:

“1. What is the target group? 2. What differentiated them from others? 3. What needs (both physical and psychological) does the group have which could be met by the product or brand? 4. What physical characteristics must the product have to satisfy the physical consumer needs? 5. What media does one use to research the target group and what should be said to appeal to them as people to persuade them to try it? 6. Who is buying the product after its launch?”²²⁴

At their core, these questions reflect certain assumptions about the individual’s interest and their freedom to choose. And as will be described shortly, these questions continue to drive

²²³ Tofts, *Consumer Attitudes*, 82.

²²⁴ Tofts, *Consumer Attitudes*, 82.

much of market research in India during the 90s and into today. One important feature to note about these questions is that while the assumptions are individualistic, the object target of actionable plans that come out of the knowledge about individual interests is a larger population, i.e., a target group. Good individualized surveillance by researchers will yield an actionable target group, i.e., an aggregate of individuals who share similar interests and who can be presented with offers that can produce more sustainable markets for the firm. Put another way, techniques of market research are interested in the individual's interest and in appealing to that interest, but in a way that get as many people as possible to buy the product and to do so consistently in spite of their shifting interests. The appeals to interest are always individualized, but the end product is always developed for and offered to an aggregate not a particular person. And so there is both a preoccupation with the individualization of interest in terms of observing and knowing personal interest, and the totalization of interest in terms of offers that appeal to a target group. Products are always created for a larger group of persons based on an understanding of individual interest, and it is by aggregating that information about individual interests that a target group is constructed. Importantly, however, the reason to purchase that product will be different from person to person. "It is the 'brand image' of the products that varies and the brand image is in the eye of the beholder."²²⁵ Communicating a now generalized product that personally appeals to as many individuals in the aggregate is done through the image that the individual has of that product or brand. And each individual is assumed to have a different image of that product. They imagine their future selves with the product and in ways that are different from how others imagine themselves with that product.

²²⁵ Tofts, *Consumer Attitudes*, 88.

In the 1970s, the technique of market research in India relies on certain strategies of knowledge production in order to create target segments. And it is once the target segments are created that actionable plans about production, distribution, pricing, and promotion can be developed. Like the questions that motivate researchers, these strategies too have by and large remained intact. These strategies of research are: 1) inviting the individual to speak freely, in order to collect information about their interest, 2) categorizing and hierarchically ordering this information about individual interests, 3) classifying each interest into broader segments. To begin with, exploratory research is conducted where a small group of individuals who are intensively interviewed in an unstructured format. The interviewer is “either a psychologist, or someone carefully trained in this type of interviewing”, and interviews can last for a couple of hours. These interviews provide the raw material about individual interests that can be used to create hypotheses “about a range of *possible* attitudinal areas with might be related to the problem in hand”, and that can be “used for the development of scales to measure the attitudes hypothesized as relevant”.²²⁶

The next strategy for the researcher is to take this knowledge and create an attitude scale, “a means of measuring a mental state with something like the precision which with the scientist measures physical phenomena.” This scale, or ruler, should be “reliable and reproducible ... able to discriminate between objects being measured ... [and] measures what it is supposed to.” A researcher, having noted the various interests of the smaller samples, will concentrate on difference between persons and see if those reveal broader attitudinal differences. The researcher will “select from the mass of transcript material, a large number of statements generally made by one group and not by the other, and vice-versa” to determine the extent to which these

²²⁶ Tofts, *Consumer Attitudes*, 92.

statements reveal “an underlying attitude area” that leads to a “structured and graduated scale of beliefs”.²²⁷ Finally, “having devised a number of scales of attitudes, there are various possibilities available for exploitation in concrete marketing terms”. The most important exploitation of these scales is for the purposes of market segmentation. The goal is to obtain “groups having distinct characteristics which are clearly related to some aspect of habit or purchasing behavior in which the marketing company is interested”. Segmentation, too, can be carried out in a couple of ways. Segments can be created either by predefining the basic behavioral criteria on which a company wants to focus and then conducting interviews accordingly, or by using the data from interviews and surveys to discover more natural groupings of people according to similar purchasing habits.²²⁸

In the same text published by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, Robin Sadler reflects and builds on Tofts’ work on the technique of market research as it relates to advertising in the 1970s. Like Tofts, Sadler is intimately familiar with the Indian market research landscape. He was the Research Director at the Indian Market Research Bureau, one of the first standalone market research agencies in India established in 1970. Prior to his work in India, Sadler was a research executive in the Consumer Research Department at the British Market Research Bureau in 1964. If for the liberal marketing discourse of 1960s, the first task for market research was to attend physical/distributional concerns, Sadler now proposes the idea that the first task of research is to “find out what products are worth making and advertising at

²²⁷ Tofts, *Consumer Attitudes*, 93-96.

²²⁸ Tofts, *Consumer Attitudes*, 96-98.

all”. This is because market researchers like Sadler now “believe that it should be the consumer’s choice rather than the producers’ which should dictate what is made.”²²⁹

Before addressing the technique of market research for Sadler, it should be noted how critical market research is becoming to economic sector, even as early as the 1970s. Market research is the key to any firm’s well-being and survival. “New products only appear in response to a changing environment, and older forms that can not adapt successfully to the changes simply die out. The job of market research is to help products avoid extinction by telling management how to adapt them before it is too late.”²³⁰ This changing environment, against which all businesses must now secure themselves, is made possible by placing the individual’s shifting interest and choice at the center of all economic thought and practice. It is because of the aleatory condition emerging out of the assumption of free choice that all firms must suppose a constantly changing market and adapt to it before their product lines fall behind individual interests. Under the neoliberal order of things, and like individuals, firms are at the mercy of the vicissitudes of the spontaneous order of markets. But just as individuals must develop and exercise their choices well in order to have a chance at securing their personal future, closely surveilling and keeping up with individual interests helps gives firms a chance to create more sustainable markets in spite of these uncertainties. This is the system of unplanned planning that now orders governmentality in the economic sector. For firms, market research is the most suitable tool for this new order of things precisely because, as a technique, it promises knowledge about each and all in their unpredictability and their shifting interest so that their consumption

²²⁹ Sadler, Robin. “The Use of Research in Creating Advertising,” in *New Perspectives in Marketing*, eds. T. R. Rao, Douglas Foster, and Bernard Taylor (New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research, 1972), 109.

²³⁰ Sadler, *The Use of Research in Creating Advertising*, 111.

choices might be coordinated more closely. It is the apparatus that secures the art of unplanned planning.

For Sadler, whether the firm is looking to produce a brand new product category, or introduce a new product into an existing product category, or simply assess an existing product in an existing product category, the question that drives the market researchers effort to know individuals is the same: is there a gap in the market that is not currently being satisfied by existing products?²³¹ This gap is, more specifically, understood as an interest shared by enough individuals but not being catered to by existing product offerings. In other words, its an absence of choices to satisfy the individual interests. This is also a rationale that imagines individuals as lacking something in the present that they can have in the future, and that assumes that individuals think of themselves as presently lacking something that will be offered to them in the future to fill that gap in their lives. This idea, of individuals as lacking in the present and the notion that their interest is based on this concept of a gap or lack that must be filled through their choice-maximizing decisions, continues to be a crucial feature of economic thought and practice, especially for the technique of market research.²³²

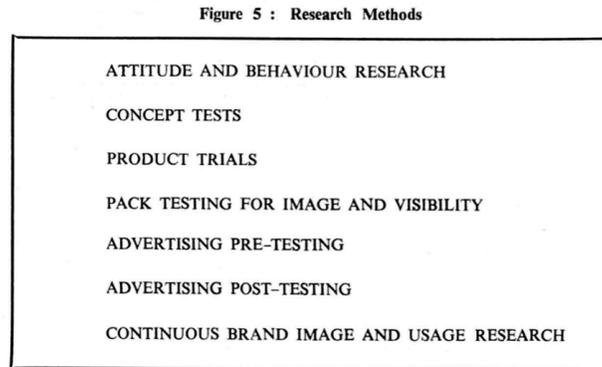
While Sadler's account of the technique of market research is similar to Tofts', it builds on Tofts's account by demonstrating how this technique is applied to advertising new products,

²³¹ Sadler, *The Use of Research in Creating Advertising*, 111-115.

²³² This concept of a gap, or a lack, is crucial to both the psychology of consumer culture, and the critiques of that culture especially from the psychoanalytic school. See, for instance: McGowan, Todd. *Enjoying What We Don't Have: A Psychoanalytic Politics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013).

At this point in my work, it is not my intention to present an analysis of the psychoanalytic school. Rather, it is simply to point out certain affinities between this school and the approach that I have adopted in this project. Suffice it to say for now that are fundamental differences in the assumptions of the psychoanalytic school and the political-theoretical approach and that arrive at an analysis of similar themes like this concept of a lack in individuals but from different vantage points (in my approach's case, this point is more discursive and technical and less psychoanalytical and dialectical).

and by framing the strategies of this technique as those primarily concerned with practices of testing and intervention. He illustrates these strategies in Figure 2.



(Figure 2. Sadler, *The Use of Research in Creating Advertising*, 115.)

This is a hierarchy of research methods, and the researcher moves from the top of the list to the bottom. Each item on the list, however, can be understood based on one of three policing functions that it might serve: knowledge production, testing, and intervention. Attitude and behavior research is conducted in order to get to know individuals and their interests. The object, first and foremost, is to find a gap that can be filled by either modifying an existing product or creating new products. This is the only strategy that is solely concerned with knowledge production. While the strategies of testing and intervention also produce information that allows researchers to better pinpoint the consumer's interest, knowledge production is not about testing the knowledge produced or producing product interventions based on that knowledge. It is simply about the task of collecting and analyzing information, and doing so with certain veridical intentions in mind (i.e., by knowing the truth about the individual as choice-maximizer). Its collection tactics are designed to invite the individual to speak their interest, and its tactics of analysis are designed to categorize that information and hierarchically order it based on interests that are more or less shared among individuals.

Concept tests, product trials, package testing and visibility, advertising pre- and post-testing are all about cycling between the strategies of testing and of intervention. With advertising and behavior research researchers will have “identified the needs the product must fulfill, the features it should have, and maybe how it might appeal to people’s sense, reason, or emotions.”²³³ They now arrive at a number of hypotheses about what the right concept for the product should be. But these hypotheses and the different concepts they communicate need to be tested. This is done through focus group research, where a small group from an anticipated target population is invited to speak about their impression of each concept. Testing each of these concepts involves further producing knowledge about which concept is most appealing to the most individuals.

Once this concept is known, the practical interventions follow that develop the product but for further testing. The product trials stage is about developing and arriving at the most favored product concept and testing these through similar small group consumer feedback. The ideal product type is arrived at through this stage. The utility of these initial interventions through product trials is that it is the first opportunity the researcher has “of hearing the consumer playback the advantages he sees in the product as a result of his practical trials, as opposed to his theoretical discussion of them in the group discussion Concept Test.”²³⁴ In other words, the real value of the product trial stage is that it allows the researcher to better know the individual’s true interest, where the individual psychically and practically interacts with the product and reveals more stable truths about their interest that simple speech could not reveal. Product trials, and its cycle of testing and intervention, is an exercise in veridiction. It is about

²³³ Sadler, *The Use of Research in Creating Advertising*, 118.

²³⁴ Sadler, *The Use of Research in Creating Advertising*, 119.

knowing the truth about individuals and their interests in order to procure the most stable and sustainable market.

Like product development and testing, package testing concerns itself with developing concepts for product packing, determining which of these concepts most appeal to individual interests, moving on to practical interventions that will develop those concepts and test how individuals receive and interact with those products, and understanding what individuals see in that packaging (the image of the brand/product) and how well they actually see the product (its visibility against other competing products). All of this information must be collected and analyzed in order to determine the ideal packaging for this ideal product type. Regarding visibility, the product “must stand out from its competitors ... in order to catch the eye of the passing shopper”. Moreover, “the image of the product projected by the pack must be consistent with and reinforce the image being projected in the advertising”.²³⁵ Finally, the cycles of testing and intervention are brought into the service of advertising as well. Advertising concepts are developed and tested in order to know the ideal advertising campaign, the ideal media to use, and what specific audiences to expose the campaign to. Existing campaigns are themselves tested for whether or not and how well they reach the market and make impressions on the target group. These tests lead to more information about individual interests and better interventions through more targeted advertising campaigns.

Perhaps the most revealing stage in Sadler’s hierarchy of research methods is the last one. This is because it reveals the sheer extent to which firms relentlessly work to know each and all in terms of their interest. The technique of market research and its tactics of knowledge production, testing and intervention are continuously and vigilantly monitoring individuals and

²³⁵ Sadler, *The Use of Research in Creating Advertising*, 120.

their shifting preferences. Once again, the now assumed uncertain nature of individual interests implies a relentless tracking of those interests, and failure to do so means that managers risk producing an unsustainable market and having their product line become unappealing that market's interests. Even as early as the 1970s, this technique of market research and its various strategies and tactics reveals something rather consequential in terms of governmental practices in the economic sector. This is that, taken together, these strategies and tactics are already proposing to introduce a type of policing and surveillance into the economic sector that was not possible before the 70s.

The relentless observation of individuals in their assumed psychologies, behaviors, and habits would not be possible if it was not first assumed that individuals themselves are unpredictable in terms of their interests and of the outcomes produced by their freely choosing activities. This is a singularly neoliberal epistemic innovation, since the liberal individual's interest was largely planned and the outcomes of her economic activity were fixed. And with this central assumption what is made possible is the steady entry of practices of surveillance into the economic sector and in order to better manage the conduct of each and all in their consumption. It is only through a persistent regime of surveillance, expressed in the economic sector as the technique and art of market research, that the conduct of consuming subjects can be managed and administered in ways that both appeal to the subject's interests and generate a more secure and sustainable market for the firm. While the discourse of marketing in the 1970s is still introducing these practices into the Indian economic thought and practice through innovations in market research, they only gain more traction through the 1990s and into next century.

To this end, Sanjay K. Jain's 1997 article offers valuable appraisal of market research in India. On its own, this article might prove rather unremarkable. However, within the context of

the development of market research that is being mapped in this chapter, it proves rather insightful. This is because it demonstrates the ways in which, by the end of the twentieth century, market research continues to refocus its efforts away from demographic information towards information that is more and more invested in revealing the psychological profile of individuals. As a text, this article is also placed at a moment in the development of market research where the work of researchers now gives direction to all other business operations, and where research is now fully invested in the psychological turn. Finally, this article presents an assessment of the state of market research in India based on its development over the previous two decades.

ORGANIZATION OF MARKETING RESEARCH/MARKETING RESEARCH CHANNELS



(Figure 3. Jain, Marketing Research in India, 77.)

The art of market research now directs all business decision areas. It asks questions that guide the product's planning, development, price, place (distribution), promotion. But it also offers insights that improve market control, information that is needed in order to make decisions that will improve a firm's market share for a given product. That is, it improves a firm's hold on its consumer base and market. By the end of the twentieth century, as demonstrated by the illustration in Figure 3, market research is a sophisticated enough field that it is conducted either

in-house and or contracted to outside firms. For my own fieldwork, I interviewed researchers from one company that does in-house research, and one independent market research agency.

For now, it is important to note the difference in this illustration between customized and syndicated research services, provided by independent agencies. Customized services cater to the specific requirements of the client, the company or business, and are custom-made to the “specifications and needs of an individual client. Syndicated research ... is conducted by a research agency on its own to collect and sell common pools of data to meet the information needs of a number of clients.”²³⁶ Syndicated services are based on the independent agency’s own data collection of individuals and analysis of that data, not the demands of their clients. Here, too, data collection is carried out on the assumption that the individual’s interests are aleatory and thus requires constant observation and surveillance. But the research agency also recognizes the value of the fruits of this surveillance and data collection, i.e., the insights that it provides. Consequently, it holds proprietary rights over this data and its insights, which are packaged as a product that the agency offers to clients as a way to distinguish its research services from other competitor research agencies. By the 1990s the independent research services were increasingly pivoting to syndicated services because “it costs much less to an single client and is, moreover, available on an ongoing basis to the clients.”²³⁷ This particular development in market research has certain important consequences.

One notable outcome is that it has led to broader research studies, which tend to be too costly for any single client. Syndicated services have made nationwide and more longitudinal studies more feasible because such services are considerably cheaper, when compared to in-house

²³⁶ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 78.

²³⁷ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 78.

or even customized services. The lower cost of such services has the more obvious outcome of a general increase in demand for research, which has created “a fair degree of profit stability into an otherwise insecure industry.” As far as independent research agencies are concerned, it is really its syndicated service that is the value proposition to their clients because the agency, by definition, must invest in the constant observation and analysis of consumers and because such constant surveillance is usually too costly for clients. For the clients “the major advantage is that not only the initial cost of obtaining information is low, but they are also able to get the updates regularly at a nominal cost.”²³⁸ This certainly applies to the independent agency were I conducted interviews.

The increasing demand for syndicated services further amplifies the need to have constant data collection and analyses, not only because the consumer’s interests are perpetually shifting and the client will always demand updated information, but also because this is the product (the insights from research) that such agencies base their revenue and profits on. And so they have to invest in and fine tune practices of surveillance, having to “maintain panels of consumers, retailers and other respondents spread all over the country to collect data on a continuous basis”.²³⁹ The other, perhaps more notable consequence is that with constantly shifting consumer preferences and the demands of constant surveillance, syndicated services are increasingly diving into consumer psychology in order to generate in-depth psychographic profiles of each and all, from the youth of the 80s who are now the buyers of the 90s, to the children of the 90s, to urban housewives and working women. This practice of generating psychographic profiles is now drives much of market research. Even my respondents in the market research sector in Mumbai are,

²³⁸ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 88.

²³⁹ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 88.

above all, most interested in observing, categorizing, classifying and ordering people and their attitudes, values, likes, dislikes, habits and behaviors along psychological criteria that can be known as an actionable interest, i.e., an interest that each and all share that can be appealed to in order to closely guide their conduct to sustain and expand the firm's market.

Another, related outcome, is an steady push towards qualitative research to generate such profiles. If the assumption is that individual interests are increasingly sophisticated and shifting, “marketers are finding pure demographic profiles of their customers highly insufficient in carving out a niche for themselves. Today's consumer is more than simply a male or female of a particular age and income group. He or she has a unique personality, life style and aspirations. He or she is, moreover, a person with feelings, emotions and distinct preferences.” The major drawback of demographics is that while individuals can be known according to their gender and income, it cannot differentiate between a 25 year old woman making Rs. 1 Lakh a year and another woman with the same age and income. They can have entirely different personalities and interests and there is really no way for purely demographic research to parse out these more revealing and actionable interests. Psychographics, then, is about improving the veridical precision of the technique of market research in order “to develop a qualitative profile of the customers in terms of their psychological characteristics.” Accordingly, “customers' needs, motivations, aspirations, activities, interests, opinions, and lifestyles are being increasingly researched.”²⁴⁰

This psychographic data when coupled with the more basic demographic information proves to be more effective in generating actionable insights about individual interest. Consequently, new research methodologies are being introduced. These include methods such as

²⁴⁰ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 90.

‘psychodrawing’, which (perhaps unsurprising at this point) parallels the drawing tests that parenting counselors use with young persons. This is a method that invites the customer to draw pictures that might reveal their interests about a product or brand. Another, rather curious method is that of synetics, where individuals “are asked to go through a series of games designed to lower their inhibitions which help in unleashing the child present in every adult. And since the creativity works at the child level, the exercise comes out with original ideas for use in advertising campaign to enable the marketers to get consumers’ real feeling about a product.”²⁴¹ It is worth stating how psychographic methods rely on the assumption that individuals most freely reveal their interest through rather quotidian exercises such as rudimentary drawing and games.²⁴² In other words, researchers find that when individuals let down their guard that they reveal a more stable and true interest. And in this sense, these methods are efforts that refine the veridical strategies of market research to reveal insights about individuals that will allow firms to coordinate the conduct of each and all more closely.

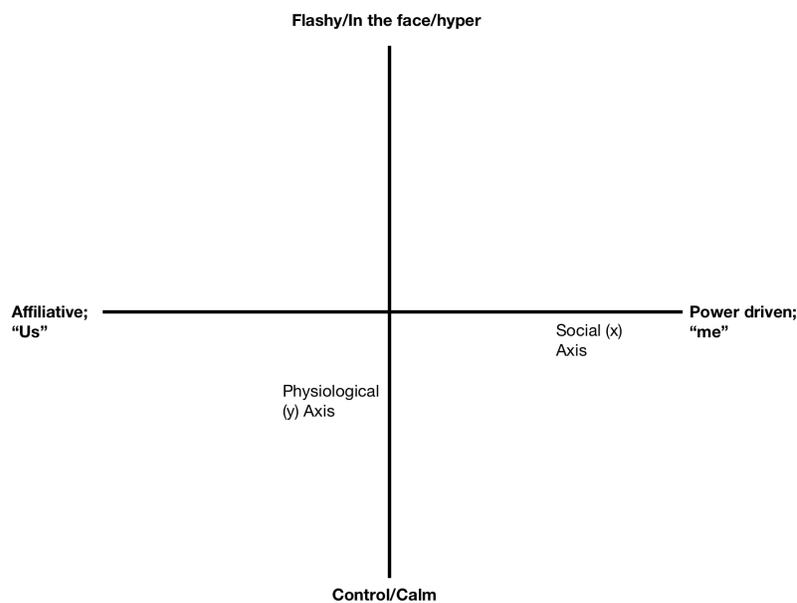
One veteran market researcher that I spoke with describes psychographics along the following lines (with reference to the illustration in Figure 4):

“[Psychographics] is basically a mental makeup. It is nothing but your mental makeup. So two people may be from similar backgrounds. But the way they react to stimulus would be very different. It's a combination of your extroversion and your physiographics, which is the way you react to stimuli. So this is what is called the social [x] axis. And this is what is called the physiographic [Y] axis. So social axis you could be very affiliative or you could be very power driven, which is [about] 'me'. This is 'us' [the affiliative], this is [the power driven] 'me'. And then you have the physiographics, which is the way you respond to stimulus. To give you an example, I and my two brothers were traveling in a car. And it was a narrow road, and somebody started honking from behind. I'm going as fast as possible. The three brothers, us, we have similar profiles. We're from the same set of parents, hopefully [laughs], we have similar kinds of incomes, grown up in similar kinds of society. But yet, the way the three brothers reacted to the honking was different. The

²⁴¹ Jain, *Marketing Research in India: A Perspective*, 91.

²⁴² Those familiar with today’s social media practices might note how various web-based social media applications rely on similar assumptions and insights.

youngest brother just basically wanted me to stop the car and bash that guy up. He reacted in violence; aggressive. My second brother said, okay, let's not react aggressively. But let's irritate the guy. You go even slower ... So the second brother, he's somewhere in between. He's saying basically, let's irritate the hell out of this guy, we won't react to him. We won't even look at his face. But we'll go even slower so that he get irritate so that he suffers, and not us. And I reacted differently. I said, let him just... I'll park the car on the side. Let him go. He's out of our lives. So the way the three brothers reacted was very different ... physiography is basically the way you react to stimulus. And that's basically based on your internal composition. How you're made as a human being. You could've had the same set of parents, grown up in the same society, similar backgrounds but still the way you react to stimulus will be different, depending on the make... the way the genes are, the way god has made you. So this is basically control oriented, or level, or calm way of reacting to stimulus. And this is basically very, shall I say, flashy, in the face, or hyper ... if you look at understanding people, you can basically understand every human being based on these quadrants."²⁴³



(Figure 4: Interview with Market Researcher R. July 28, 2016.)

By the end of the twentieth century, the psychological turn in market research is in full-swing. What is more is that the entire field of economic thought and practice now refers to market research to guide the basic operations of any commercial venture: production, pricing, promotion, and distribution. What continues to occur from this point on are further innovations

²⁴³ Interview with Market Researcher R. July 28, 2016.

in policing and surveillance that aid efforts to deep-dive into the personality of individuals to find out who they are and what they want. In order to describe this stage of market research, occurring after the turn of the century, I rely on findings from fieldwork that I conducted in Mumbai over two summers with an in-house market research department and a standalone research agency. Together, I interviewed four researchers from the in-house department and three from the private research agency. All of my interviewees were male respondents, who have been working in the market research profession in India for anywhere between 7 and 30 years. Four of my respondents were senior level market researchers, while the other three were research specialists in digital media and customer relations.

The in-house department is part of a major private utility provider in the city of Mumbai, specifically a power or electricity provider. Typically, utilities like cooking gas in a given area is provided by a single government regulated company (the same goes for electricity and water). As one respondent explained the utility supply sector, “if you look at the country ... people do not have a choice.” That is, there is no competition when it comes to utility providers in a given area. This is one reason why studying a private utility company in Mumbai is important because this city is presently piloting a program where providers compete to supply the same utility in a given area (through regulatory easing that began in 2003). As a result, and at present, “it is only in Mumbai where people have a choice.” The same respondent puts it in the following manner:

“Elsewhere [in the country], there is a single utility for power and for water. So generally water is governed by the municipal corporations of each particular location. This is the same in Mumbai as well. It's only when you come to power, off late we have started seeing private players entering the power business in Mumbai and other places as well. What has happened is that certain places have been opened up by the government for power player entry. It's either the franchisee model or a public-private partnership [PPP]. Our presence in [another major Indian metropolis] is a PPP. So there are license areas, and each utility has a license area that you will operate within these boundaries. And each

utility functions within those boundaries. ... Now when you come to Mumbai, it is the only city in India where there is competition in the same license area. In the same area, there are two utilities. If you see our company, it has a license from this part of the city until this part. So this overlaps with competition from one company in south Mumbai part, and towards the suburbs another company.”²⁴⁴

And so, unlike other parts of India (including its major cities), a degree of competition has been introduced within the same area, whereas before there was only one utility provider in that area. As another respondent puts it, “the number of private players in India is very less. Mumbai is a very unique place wherein the competition is completely different from the other parts of India.”²⁴⁵ And unlike a monopolistic utility company, a power company in Mumbai has to compete for the patronage of consumers who will opt to move to another company if the choice is available to them and their current provider is not appealing to their interest. This means that unlike any other part of the nation, power providers in Mumbai have unique challenges in terms of market research. A researcher tells me that his company was largely a “bulk supply company for a very long time. We had only 25000 customers. It’s only recently [over the last decade] that we’ve jumped close to 700,000”.²⁴⁶ They now have to not simply worry about supplying power to clients in heavy industry and retail, but also residential customers. All of which entails more investment in market research.

In the market for power supply, there is a discourse of individual choice that is driving such choice-maximizing pilot programs where competition is introduced in a specific market, namely Mumbai. In other words, utilities have been, and still continue to be, governed by the state. But now certain utility sectors, like power supply, are being introduced to and taking on an

²⁴⁴ Interview with market researcher A. June 29, 2016.

²⁴⁵ Interview with market researcher SU. June 29, 2016.

²⁴⁶ Interview with market researcher RJ. June 29, 2016.

individualistic and choice-maximizing discourse. This poses unique challenges for power providers in Mumbai, not only in terms of increased competition but more importantly investing in techniques of market research that are now crucial to the survival of these providers. Moreover, Mumbai is not simply India's commercial capital but a major area for commercial activity in South Asia. As a result of this, a lot of market research operations are concentrated in this city to not simply focus on Indian markets but the broader South Asian market as well. On balance, then, Mumbai proves itself a compelling setting to study market research precisely because it is where the discourse of individual choice is being introduced in all kinds of novel ways. In the previous chapter, one way this was noted in the space of the home was through the rise of parental counseling services in Mumbai. In this chapter, one way to study how this discourse is moving through the economic sector is through innovations in power supply services.

Power supply in the post-Independence decades was, by and large, a matter of setting up a national power production and distribution infrastructure. A well functioning power grid would ensure that each and all in the country, not matter their location, would have basic supply of electricity and at a reasonable cost. The assumption during this period, again, was that there is a market-in-waiting for power to be supplied to them and that an individual's demand for power supply will be commensurate with national power production goals. However much this assumption still operates in India, as much of power supply is still about ensuring that everyone has adequate electricity at a reasonable cost, power supply practices in Mumbai prove to be an novel case in the shift away from supplying power to a responsible subject-citizen to providing power services to a subject of choice. That is, another way to investigate the in-house research activities of the power supply company is as a case study in the manifestation of a discourse of individual free choice in a sector that was hitherto about offering the subject-citizen certain basic

utility services at a low cost, without being concerned about whether that power was being supplied according to the subject's personal interest and in ways that offered and maximized that individual's choice in power consumption.

The other private research agency is part of a multinational conglomerate that, among other things, offers market research services. Like the in-house agency, its offices are highly modern and highly secured. The entry of multinational conglomerates in the Indian market research is worth noting in order to better understand the place of this agency within the broader market for outside research services. Independent market research agencies, as noted by scholars like Jain, had been steadily increasing in number in India since the 1970s. These companies were largely local companies, many of which were located in Mumbai. The Indian Market Research Bureau (IMRB) was established in 1970. By the mid-70s, two other research agencies joined the scene, the Marketing and Business Associates (MBA) and Marketing Operations Design and Enquiry Service (MODE). As a research professional tells me, these initial agencies, while invested in knowing customers, were largely run by academically-minded persons. That is, "the people and the founders were basically academicians ... in those days the kind of people who were drawn into market research were the academic kind of people, who came in for the sake of the intellect not for the sake of the money. The knowledge. They took real pleasure and thrill from understanding human beings."²⁴⁷

The 80s, which saw the entry of more private research agencies, such as Market Research Advisory Services (MRAS), Marketing and Research Group (MARG) and Pathfinders by the LINTAS Advertising Agency, "was the time when the market research industry actually boomed. It really exploded. And a lot of the smaller agencies also came up ... like Feedback, Research

²⁴⁷ Interview with market researcher R., July 1, 2016.

International, all of them started coming in. And you would then start noticing that the profile of the people also started changing. So from the earlier academic background, the industry started attracting marketing oriented people who were much more practical and pragmatic and so on.”²⁴⁸ By the 1990s, with the entry of international companies into the Indian economic sector, many of local research agencies started to be acquired by larger international companies. It is also at this time that syndicated services started being developed and offered by research agencies. Research services were being standardized where the same data and insights could be used for multiple clients. By the 2000s that the real work of consolidating research agencies and services begins, “wherein agencies would buy each other out, and then merge or get acquired ... So there are, as a result, fewer players in the industry.”²⁴⁹ In other words, the acquisition work that started in the 1990s as the Indian economy was opened up to international investments and business comes full circle, where now handful of market research companies manage the portfolios of bulk of major businesses in India.

The research agency that I spent time with is one of these agencies. For a better sense of the place of this agency within the larger world of market research consider the following: the agency represents the local operations of a multinational market research firm. It is headquartered in a major business district of Mumbai, but the multinational firm is headquartered in the West. This multinational firm has its own subsidiaries, but is itself a subsidiary of a much larger group that has several other multinational research firms under its management. This larger group is one of four of the world’s largest consumer information groups, but is itself a subsidiary of a parent company, also headquartered in the West. This

²⁴⁸ Interview with market researcher R. July 1, 2016.

²⁴⁹ Interview with market researcher R. July 1, 2016.

parent company is one of four such companies in the world. Each of this parent company's groups and subsidiaries compete with each other for the business of clients in their respective markets. And so the researchers that I spent time interviewing at this private research agency in Mumbai are part of a very large, intricate, and interconnected network of research and are very well versed in the collection and analysis of consumer information.

Taken together, the in-house research department and the private agency represent the current structure of market research services in India (as illustrated by Jain). But my choice of these two companies is not only based on how well they represent the profession of market research in India. More importantly, and taken together, these two field sites offer a chance to get a sense of how market research is developing through the first two decades of the twenty first century, and in order to map the path and growth of neoliberalism within the broader economic sector in India. How is knowledge about each and all produced in the new century? In what ways does market research further entrench its tactics and strategies in surveying/surveilling individuals? What are the assumptions that (in)form these practices of knowledge production? In what ways is the individual invited to speak their interest? How are the strategies of observation, testing and intervention expressed today? And how does this technique of market research continue to create, rely on, and reproduce class relations through tactics of consumer segmentation? What is the veridical regime that continues to motivate the market research technique and its strategies and tactics? How is it that free individuals continue to be assumed as prospective and interest bearing subjects who seek to maximize their choices and who can be governed in and through their consumption choices? Like parents and parenting counselors in the affairs of the family, how do market researchers function as choice architects in the affairs of the economic sector?

Surveilling, Truth-telling, and Architecting Choice

Today's market researcher starts with a focus on knowing the individual, which involves a series of familiar processes: passive observation, hypothesis development and testing, planning and interventions. Market research is not defined by any of these in particular. Instead, it gives direction to each one of these and set the parameters within which each of these processes of policing may function.

(Passive and Active) Observation: A small number of individuals are selected for observation. The criteria for selection might be something rather simplistic and demographic, such as income or gender. It is also possible that these individuals agreed to be part of a longitudinal sample, and so are monitored on a regular basis. Observing individuals is one thing, observing them well is another. And in order to observe well, the researcher has to be as sure as they can be that what they are observing is reliable in terms of being the truest representation of the individual and their interest. The strategies of observation are almost entirely borrowed from ethnography. The research team has field researchers who will go out and spend time with individuals on a personal basis to observe them and how they go about their day. This passive observation is necessary because it cannot be assumed that an interviewee accurately and fully reveals their interest through a structured questionnaire or a survey.

“See what happens is that when you're meeting this kind of people, asking questions doesn't help ... they say something but they might end up doing something else. So we have experienced it in research where you go and talk to people, and they will say they use the best possible toilet soap. But you go into their washroom, or bathroom, and you find that it's a very different common kind of [soap]. In India, say Lux or any high end soap is

what they will say. But actually it's a Lifebouy lying in their bathroom. So many people who you actually talk to, they might not do what they're saying."²⁵⁰

And so if the object is to understand these individuals as a part of a larger target group for a particular product, researchers have to move beyond survey methods and spend time with these individuals. “The best way is to actually spend time with them. So, in research, it’s called ethnography. So you actually spend time, rather than making a kind of list ... it’s very open discussion. You don't have a list of ten questions. So we first try to do that.”²⁵¹ While the individual is assumed to be free to speak their interest, the best way to know their interests is not always to invite the individual to talk about what they like and do not. Often times, and more often than not, individuals are invited to freely go about their day and reveals their interests through their everyday routines rather than directly communicating these. Passive observation is a technique that offers a more precise means of telling the truth about a set of individuals and the group that they are assumed to be representative of.

The strategy of passive observation is especially gaining ground with the rise of digital market research. A respondent who specializes in digital market research puts this in the following way: “we're talking about, you know, claimed versus passive types of data now. Claimed is where you ask a respondent a particular thing. Have you hear about this brand? What do you think about this brand? Is it a positive or negative sentiment towards the brand? From that we've moved to observed and passive data, where you observe user behavior. I'm looking at social media, mining conversations about particular brands; running text mining ... the argument is that it's more natural to have passive observations rather than just asking them.”²⁵² The practice

²⁵⁰ Interview with market researcher S. July 1, 2016.

²⁵¹ Interview with market researcher S. July 1, 2016.

²⁵² Interview with market researcher MT. July 1, 2016.

of passive observation, then, ensures a level of clarity and truth that is assumed to not exist in the simple interaction between interviewer and interviewee. The best way to know the individual is through a mechanism of surveillance that lets the individual freely express themselves in their daily activities, and that translates these expressions into insights about what individuals think and really feel about a particular product that already exists or should exist.

Of course, the rise of passive observation does not mean that individuals are not more directly being invited to communicate their preferences. For power suppliers in Mumbai, inviting the individual give to feedback more directly is a crucial aspect of collecting information about their preferences. One way this is accomplished is through the use of what researchers call “touch points”, which are physical objects or spaces that allow you as the firm “to reach out to the consumers and your consumers should be able to reach out to you ... because that establishes a relationship between you can your consumers.”²⁵³ For example, a touch point that allows businesses to reach out to its customers could be the customer’s billing statement or a number that they can call to address service interruptions. Another touch point that allows businesses to know consumers is a physical storefront, called a relations center, where the customer can come in and give feedback to a company representative or through a computerized kiosk (a more literal touch point). The object in inviting the individual to directly express themselves in this manner is that the firm comes to know the “consumer requirements”.

“With reference to the power sector, what is the requirement and what are the improvements we can carry out in our business? Plus, with the improvement that we're carrying out, how will it reduce the cost, basically, the end cost to the consumer? This requires a listening and learning process, when we capture those data from the consumers. Suppose the consumer has said "see your bill should be like this, your bill

²⁵³ Interview with market researcher A. June 29, 2016.

should contain this." So how can we take that input and improve our bills or the look of the bill?"²⁵⁴

Introducing touch points in this way allows for more real time observation and data collection. "The consumer is giving us a real time feedback. He's the voice. That feedback is leading to improvements [in our business]. It's triggering thoughts. Maybe that improvement is not immediate, but it's triggered a thought and will be taken up phase-wise."²⁵⁵ The tactic in using such touch points, as is the tactic in the observation strategy more generally, is to observe, listen and learn. The researchers at the power supply company also issue regular surveys to get feedback from customers. One survey is called a 'Customer Requirements Survey' issued every few years, typically three years. "A requirement survey is when we go to a consumer, we tell him that "you know, you've been experiencing our service for so long. If you could tell us as to what more is your need?" And he tells me the importance of each one of that [based on] four parameters ... accuracy of billing, quality of supply, reliability of supply, and then ... ease of access." The other survey is called a 'Customer Satisfaction Survey' administered every six months. While the Requirements Survey seeks more detailed feedback, in "a satisfaction survey, we go and ask him, how would you rate us on a scale of 1-5 with five being the highest, on the quality of billing, bill delivery, timeliness of billing, and say accessibility of call centers ... He simply rates us over there, based on the experience he has had over us over the last six months."²⁵⁶

But, and alluding to the neoliberal discourse of marketing that started in the 1970s, the use of touch points is not simply about businesses who are interested in supplying a product or

²⁵⁴ Interview with market researcher SBDP, June 29, 2016.

²⁵⁵ Interview with market researcher A, June 29, 2016.

²⁵⁶ Interview with market researcher RJ, June 29, 2016.

making a profit. The state places a limit on how much profit private power suppliers can make in a given fiscal year. Then there is the added challenge that for all power suppliers the bulk of their revenues come from large industry clients (like factories) or commercial clients (like malls). But touch points are, nevertheless, a means of securing a sustainable market by creating value for those current service subscribers who might be inclined to choose a different service provider if the current provider does not appeal to their interests. Of these subscribers, the residential customers represents a very small portion of the power company's revenue but greatly outnumber the industrial and commercial customers. And so the bulk of market research efforts are directed at these residential customers. The customer relations center, too, is a "value-added service" specifically offered to residential customers based on their personal feedback that expresses an interest in actual storefronts that individuals could walk into to not simply pay bills but to register complaints and suggestions for improving service.

Given the lack of revenues coming these customers, why spend resources to know and appeal to the interests of the residential customer? Because such value added services are not about making money as they are about building brand equity. In the power sector, at least, the use of touch points and direct communication tactics is both about knowing customers and appealing to their interest, but in ways that build a stable market through positive brand equity or a positive popular opinion of a company that serves to keep existing customers with that company as well as recruit new customers. In other words, touch points help build a social capital among existing and prospective customers that secures the company against the uncertainty of catering to customers who can now freely choose their power supplier.

"See, ultimately why it matters is that eventually every business guy is a residential consumer. But not necessarily every residential guy is a business consumers. And they [residential customers] are the populous guys out of my consumer base. They are the ones making noise about you. So whether positive or negative. It is them. So once you

form a perception about a brand ... you can channelize mass opinion or public opinion about your brand.”²⁵⁷

Whether the method for observation is more passive, as in the case of the ethnographic researcher or the digital researcher, or active as with the power supply researcher, the strategy of observation retains certain procedural conventions. It must not only seek information about individuals, but this information must be relevant in terms of their buying behaviors and habits. It must be objective and reliable, i.e., it must tell the truth about the individual’s preferences and wants. The information collected must also assume that this individual interest is constantly shifting, and therefore, the surveilling and collecting operations once activated must operate in perpetuity. They must constantly look for ways in which individuals are changing their preferences and wants, or would be willing to change their preferences. The various tactics of observation all focus on individuals, but in order to know both the individual as a consumer and as part of a larger and more scalable market (or consumer base, or segment, or target group). While the methods of observation must be individualized, the insights must be totalized to represent an aggregate of individuals with shared interests and preferences and who are constitutive of a reliable market.

Digital market research, for instance, mines for individual web activity in order to generate such aggregate level insights. One researcher offered the following example of this simultaneous individualization and totalization.

“For example, you know, I would have an e-commerce player trying to understand their own target group. Who buys clothes? So I can sift through that information through the clickstream that I have and I could stream down to people who have actually gone ahead and bought some clothes, and then do an aggregate level of profiling around those

²⁵⁷ Interview with market researcher A. June 29, 2016.

individuals and give it back to them to understand who the consumer is in the first place.”²⁵⁸

But this totalization (as forming a total or an aggregate) is not immediately apparent to the individual, who simply thinks of their purchase as a unique instance different from any other person who buys that same product. In the case of digital advertising, for instance, each individual’s encounter with the product’s promotion can be made unique. “If you look at it from a promotional and ad campaign level, you’ll see that it’s not very uncommon to see an ad campaign flashing your name, or flashing a product that you basically checked out a couple of hours ago.”²⁵⁹ This is the same product that any number of people will want to purchase. It is a totalized product offering. But it is offered in a individualized and personalized manner, designed to appeal to my specific interest.

(Hypothesis) Modeling and Testing: Once information about a small set of individuals is collected, it must be analyzed in order to build hypotheses that can be tested with a larger sample of individuals. The researcher will “try and get more people because you need numbers. You may be able to observe only five, but with those hypotheses you need 500, maybe, so that you know exactly what direction to take and what they necessarily want.”²⁶⁰ Observation, then, leads to practices of modeling concepts about a particular product and testing whether or not the interests revealed in the observation phase are accurate and true representations of a shared interest in a given service or product. Again, the goal of testing is to refine already produced insights and knowledge about consumer interests. And if observation is more passive and

²⁵⁸ Interview with market research MT. July 1, 2016.

²⁵⁹ Interview with market research MT. July 1, 2016.

²⁶⁰ Interview with market researcher S. July 1, 2016.

indirect, hypothesis modeling and testing is much more direct and active. At this stage, there is less of a reliance on observing at a distance and more on actually asking questions based on a questionnaire that is developed using the insights from passive observation. One researcher summarized these processes in the following way:

“Taking a hypothetical example, what I’m trying do to when I spend time [with individuals] or observe is putting it in the context of what I’m trying to provide them as a product or service. It’s not in general. If they go for shopping, I go with them. If they are meeting people, I stay with them. The idea is to see where does my product or service fit in? Is there a need? Without asking them, right. This is all derived. Then I build hypothesis that, okay, [if I’m producing and selling candy], these are the occasions where they are eating something, they are sharing something, then can I come in there? Or are they already eating a candy there? So I’m trying to map these out. These become my hypotheses. Or this could be the reason why this person would consume this. This could be the reason why the person needs a credit card or a mobile wallet because he’s spending so much money. So that’s how, based on qualitative research, you develop hypotheses. And then you go to more people and you say, “okay will you do this?”. Now it’s a direct question. You know that people will answer. But then you do direct questioning with a larger set of people to get at the thing, that okay at least at the claim-level, x% has said that they will eat a candy ... This is more like 10-15 minute structured questionnaire, where I take some demographic information to later analyze my data and put: these are youngsters, these are old guys, these are higher income, these are low income. So actually, it’s ... a questionnaire where we build a set of questions that split into parts. One part is demographically to be able to later identify which group is saying what, because there could be subgroups within my target group. Or it could be mothers with children 2-5 years, 5-7 years. I’m talking to all mothers but I need all that information. One child, multiple children. All that is one part of data collection where you, again, decide what is relevant to you.”²⁶¹

Hypothesis modeling and testing is about testing the reliability of the insights that were drawn out of the various means of observation, whether passive or active. Using a larger sample is about determining if those insights can actually be used to know and create a market for a product. It is about producing raw data that the researcher can use to perform quantitative analyses that will allow them to know how scalable this interest really is, where they are trying to essentially optimize the size of the potential market by appealing to as many individual’s (shared)

²⁶¹ Interview with market researcher S. July 1, 2016.

interest. This particular stage of modeling and testing further refines the veridical regime behind the technique of market research. Its goal is to always know individuals in their everyday settings in order to most accurately map out their shared interest at a given point in time, and to note how that interest changes over time. But even with a sample of 500, as the above research mentions, there is the problem of sampling error. It so happens that the use of digital research over the last five to seven years in India has helped to mitigate such quantitative concerns.

Digital research specializes in the practice of scaling individual insights to represent a market at a given point in time and as time progress are especially. This is because it enables a move away from sample based insights to universe based insights.

“Sample-based [insight] is where we're looking at a sample of 500 to a 1000 people, which is representative of the population. But universal [insight] is where we're looking at the entire population, or a very large population ... So the entire population is the universe ... I'm not worried about sampling plans or quotas, because [the segment is a large] and your margin of error goes down ... And that's what happens with social media.”²⁶²

Digital market research has problems of its own. Curiously enough, a digital researcher identified one problem as that of scalability. But these are scalability issues that are not about moving from observing one person to 500 or to 1 million. These issues are unique to the digital turn in market research.

“There a multiple ways in how you can track [individuals online]. If you track through a website, the [information] is going to be limited to that website. Let's just say, Amazon. If they want to do tracking, it's probably restricted to tracking on their own website. The only other website that they can go to is the ad campaigns that they're doing. So who came in from these ad campaigns to my website? ... Amazon doesn't even know who went to Ebay, for example, before they came to them. To do that you have to get into a user centric measurement, wherein the user needs to be tracked and so now when the user needs to be tracked, the user needs to give you permission to track their device.”²⁶³

²⁶² Interview with market researcher MT. July 1, 2016.

²⁶³ Interview with market researcher MT. July 1, 2016.

With growing concerns about Internet privacy, the problem of scalability in digital research is that researchers cannot generate even more in-depth maps of individual preferences and habits if they do not freely agree to have their digital and web-based activity surveilled.²⁶⁴ The other, related issue is one of capability “to track one person across different devices.”²⁶⁵ Since individuals have multiple digital and web-enabled devices (smartphones, tablets, personal computers, wearable technology) where each device has a unique device identifier, there is nothing linking all of these devices to the same individual. And so the researcher cannot know what and individual’s interests are when, for instance, they move their web-based activity between different and unlinked devices. Taken together, both the problems of scalability and capability in digital market research are effectively problems of not being able to surveil and police the individual enough, or even more closely.

It should be noted the degree to which indirect observation in digital research greatly aids the processes of hypothesis modeling and testing. Digital research does not replace the qualitative (observation) and quantitative (modeling and testing) aspects of market research. Instead, it works within both aspects to generate insights and data that are more reliable, representative, and scalable. In this sense digital market research proves to be an even more effective security and governmental apparatus than traditional market research. Digital research executes more real time surveilling or tracking of individuals in their daily web activity, and it is a way to generate actionable data through the information about that activity. To be clear, and much like the psychographic turn, the digital turn in market research does not undo the processes of research.

²⁶⁴ This is why many websites on the Internet require that users agree to their cookie policies that allows the website operator to know where the user is coming from and where the user goes after the operator’s website. Often, websites operators will not allow users access to their websites unless they agree to such tracking policies.

²⁶⁵ Interview with market researcher MT. July 1, 2016.

Instead, it finds way to improve these, where improvement is understood as generating deeper, more personal insights about free individuals in their quotidian routines. In words, both psychographic and digital research are consistent with the epistemic and veridical assumptions that at the heart of market research.

Through hypothesis modeling and testing the researcher is now able to extract a target group or segment. To recall, the practice of segmentation separates individuals into identifiable groups based on shared characteristics that are reliable enough to produce a stable market out of individuals and their always changing interests. Of course, the fundamental shared characteristic is an interest in purchasing something now or in the future. Other features that allows researchers to segment populations refers to their gender, age, income, household size, location, and so on. Psychographic segmentation is layered onto this demographic segmentation. For instance, individuals are identified by a certain demographic features, say urban men between the ages of 25 and 40. Out of this segment, the researcher will conduct their qualitative work. And it is through the qualitative work that the psychographic segmentation comes to the fore. Getting to know individuals in the daily activities, passively observing their digital lives, is all about generating insights about the individual's attitudes and feelings. These insights are compared to the a larger population through more quantitative work in order to generate what is now a segment with a similar psychological profiles.

Segmentation, by its very nature, relies on producing certain classes of people and maintaining those class distinctions. But the assumption that now drives this production and reliance class divisions is not that these individuals are of a certain income level or have a certain purchasing power. Rather, it is their prospective interest. It is that they aspire to own something in the future which they do not own today. They imagine themselves as owners of this product.

What differentiates one class or segment from another is not simply or even primarily whether they can afford a product, i.e., their disposable income. It is rather that these are individuals who inherently share an interest that brings them together through the aspiration to purchase that product. What they share is their freedom to choose and their similar interest to purchase or want a particular product. And so with the psychographic turn, it is not purchasing power (a more demographic characteristic) that defines a segment or a class for the market researcher. Everyone is assumed to have some degree of purchasing power, from the poorest to the richest. What produces a reliable market is the psychological profile of each and all in that segment that aspires to own that product.

“The aspiration will reach to all the levels [within a given segment]. So I'll still buy a feature phone, which is Rs. 3000 and has an internet connection. I may not have an iPhone, but I'll still have a phone on which I can access internet ... And I can buy it on an equated monthly installment today, paying just 300 a month for 12 months. Instead of paying 3000 rupees one time ... I know that I'm not able to pay this amount, so I'll divide it by 12 and it comes to 300. It comes to a 3600 phone. And every month, it comes to 300, and they deduct it from salary. But I have the product right now with me.”²⁶⁶

It is because I aspire to buy something that I buy it using a payment plan. A payment plan, then, gives the individual the opportunity to maximize her choice. It allows the individual to choose the phone that best appeals to her interest. This interest is monistic, an aggregate interest that functions at the expense of specific interests and attachments.²⁶⁷ I might have a specific interest in an expensive phone. This interest is at odds with another interest to not spend all of my income on this phone. And so, I will internally calculate a way find the most efficient means to the most efficient ends. My aggregate interest, then, the one that defines my consumption choice, which, in this case, is to spend a little more than I might make (through a payment plan)

²⁶⁶ Interview with market researcher S. July 1, 2016.

²⁶⁷ Engelmann, *Imagining Interest in Political Thought*.

and own a less expensive phone but with similar features. What this means is that my freedom is not limited by my purchasing power. What limits my freedom is the lack of an opportunity to maximize my choice according to my interest. As long as a producer can offer the individual a chance to own a more affordable product with similar features found on a more expensive phone, and as long as there is the opportunity to use a payment plan to pay for the phone, my interest is being appealed to and my choices are being maximized. I will still have a camera, web-access, social media access, and so on. Of course, with a payment plan, I might have to pay more over time due to compounding interest. But, again, the ability to pay for a product is not what defines a segment or a class. What defines a segment is a group of choice-maximizers who share a similar interest in their purchasing behavior. In other words, the individual's aspiration is not the same as their purchasing power. The latter differs between rich and poor, urban and rural, men and women. The former transcends these demographic divisions. Under this psychological and aspirational focus, each and all is a free chooser who is responsible for their own future and, in line with an imagined future, each and all aspires to own products that best appeal to their interest in their future self. It is when individuals with similar aspirations come together that the researcher is able to identify them as a target group, or class or a segment.

Finally, this more psychological focus allows researchers to now differentiate between “target group based segmentation” versus “need based segmentation”, otherwise understood as the difference between “demographic segmentation” and “psychographic segmentation”.²⁶⁸ Target group based segmentation is limited to an assumed target group, based on demographic characteristics. Need based segmentation does not assume that relevant groups exist based solely on demographic features, but more on psychographic features. Researchers know exactly which

²⁶⁸ Interview with market researcher MT. July 1, 2016. Interview with market researcher R. July 28, 2016.

set of individuals share an interest based on real time data, and this increases the likelihood that everyone in that group will buy that product. Individuals are pulled into the group as long as they share the same aspiration and interest. What follows is an example of how needs based modeling and segmentation works in digital research.

“You assume that an iPhone can be bought by a male or female person above 25 years old and who is affluent. That's an assumption, that's not true. No everyone who's rich wants to own an iPhone ... So what companies have done of recent is [the following:] an e-commerce company basically sells 500 iPhones on their website. What they do is they pass on a hashed email ID, or an unencrypted email ID to a social media company, saying that these are the 500 individuals who got an iPhone with my e-commerce business. The social media company matches those 500 individuals on their database, hashed database, and they identify say 400 matches out of them. What it does with those 400 people, they look at 220 different characteristic profiles of those individuals, and they do something called “look-alike modeling” where they identify those 220 profiles and then identify a million people who are exactly that way. And then they do the ad campaign for iPhones one with those million people. That's needs-based targeting, ... If you've got an iPhone, you won't be part of that campaign. The people like you are going to be part of that campaign.”²⁶⁹

It is again worth noting that these million people might not all have the ability to purchase an iPhone. What makes them a segment is not their purchasing power, but their interest. “Incomes are no longer a discriminating factor. It's the way people are. ... the demographics features become less and less important. It's the needs, the inner self, which becomes more important.” Their inner self, which individuals share with others in terms of their interest, is what defines them as part of “homogenous clusters” or segments with more reliable and actionable interests.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ Interview with market researcher MT, July 1, 2016.

²⁷⁰ Interview with market researcher R, July 28, 2016.

Planning, Interventions, and Choice Architecture: Once the segment is known, the market researcher proceeds to determine how to best develop the product appeals to the this segment. It is at this point that the researcher begins to work with the four major departments business: production, pricing/sales, promotion/advertising, and place/distribution. The processes of planning focuses on workshopping the ways in which a product can be created and promoted by bringing in a multi-departmental team. The ultimate object of these planning processes is to introduce a practical intervention by way of developing and releasing a product for the segment in question.

“So once you talk about it, there would be a production guy, ... there would be a sales guy, there would be distribution guy, a marketing guy, a media person, a human resources person. So what you're doing in that workshop now ... is each one is now saying what is possible and what can be done better. ... everyone actually contributes. So you split them into groups with tasks to each one of them, and they come back with actual action plans on what needs to be done ... You actually come up with an action plan in groups. You give them sub-tasks, and then get an action plan for each of the sub tasks.”²⁷¹

Action plans are setup for each department. Product prototypes are created by the production team, which has its own team of market researchers to test the appeal of each prototype. The same goes for the packaging for the product. Advertising teams will develop and test the appeal of advertising campaigns for the product. Sales teams will test the product appeal at various price points with their focus groups to determine the price for the product. At some companies this is carried out as a “stage-gate process” where “any new concept to be developed into an end product and service has to go through five gates ... At every stage, once it is ready, you check it with consumers. It validates the gate. The you move to the second step. The you again check, and you move to the next gate. If it doesn't, so you may start with five option, and

²⁷¹ Interview with market researcher S. July 1, 2016.

by the time you come to the last one it comes down to two or one option.”²⁷² In the case of advertising, one of the insights that digital market researchers is that “if you do a lot of research around advertisements and consumers receptivity to advertisements, you're more and more getting to see that they don't hate ads because they're ads, they hate ads because the content is not relevant to them.”²⁷³ The object of advertising testing, then, is to ensure that advertisements appeal to the interests of each and all. There is, in other words, a constant cycle of policing, i.e, of testing and intervention, even within the planning process. And all this is done to know the individual's interest as precisely as possible, since its always shifting, by constantly introducing them to modified versions of the same product to see which product most appeals to their interest. And it is only when a company knows what this product is that it can release that product with the appropriately tested pricing, production, promotion and placement plans.

Within the economic sector, market research plays an integral role in developing the choice architecture that makes consumers more compliant. One of the primary ways of developing choices that manage and administer the conduct of consumers is by understanding individuals as lacking something in the present that they express as an interest. It is to fulfill this interest that individuals will engage in commercial consumption, where they come closer to that imagined future self whose interest is now satisfied. Companies offer product choices that will appeal to their interest in order to fulfill this interest. Even researchers, when speaking with individuals about their interests do not ask questions such as ‘what are your needs or interests?’. Such questions are far too broad. Instead, as a research, you have be very specific, which means asking questions that identify gaps or lacks, things unmet in what is offered in the market to the

²⁷² Interview with market researcher S. July 1, 2016.

²⁷³ Interview with market researcher MT. July 1, 2016.

individual. “You’ll be very specific and you’ll ask what are your unmet needs when it comes to say, transportation? What are your unmet needs when it comes to clothing?”²⁷⁴ The instruments of surveillance and policing are always in pursuit of that which is absent.

It is based on this information about what individuals lack in terms of products that do not yet appeal to their interest that researchers then go on to develop and present product offerings. Every product that is created, then, is offered to the customer because it answers two questions for the freely choosing customer: what does it do to me, and what does it say about me? Certain products will appeal to my interest because it does something to me, other products will appeal to my interest because it says something about me.

“For instance, automobiles. Any car can take you from place A to place B in reasonable comfort. So the 'doing' part is simple. But the 'saying' part is more important. There's a certain reason why I would buy a BMW, vis a vis a very reliable car like a Corolla. And the Corolla, I would say is a really good car. Like a Honda Civic. But I buy a BMW because it says something about me. So what happens is that depending on the category, the 'doing' part and the 'saying' part would have differing levels of importance. So the basic thing is to figure out for each particular category where do each of these [types] fall. And then the other thing is if it is indeed about what does it say about me, then what do I need to say about it? ... it's all about positioning. ... if you look at a pen, a really expensive pen. What does it say about me could be on differing aspects. One could be that I need precision, when I write, when I sign, it's got to be precise, it's got to be fine. And on the other end, it could be about saying that, okay, when I use a pen the person sitting on the other side should be able to see that I've got this brand. And there should be an aura around it. And that depends on the personality of the person who is buying it. So basically that's all in realm of positioning, so you could have various sub brands catering to differing needs. So the whole purpose of market research and of advertising is basically to understand for each given product, how am I going to position it? Firstly, am I going to position based on purely things like what would it do it me? Or is it about what does it say about me?”²⁷⁵

The choices that I make as a consumer, then, are based on products offered to me not simply to appeal to my interest, but in ways that best position that product by that particular

²⁷⁴ Interview with market researcher R. July 1, 2016.

²⁷⁵ Interview with market researcher R. July 1, 2016.

company to be the product that I will always choose. Effective positioning helps produce sustainable markets out of largely unpredictable free choosers. And such positioning cannot be accomplished without first knowing the soul or personality of the individuals in question. The researcher has to move into the “inner core” or the “inner self” of their subject, moving from external demographic factors to inner psychographic factors. “The external always has an impact. But in the end it's the internal that matters.”²⁷⁶ Effective positioning, in this context, is about most effectively managing the conduct of individuals in and through their free choice by knowing their inner personality and interest. Governing consumers is all about effectively presenting a product that best appeals to the individual’s deepest sensibilities, their inner core. And to govern consumers well is to ensure that, through effective positioning, the consumer keeps relying on and choosing your product over your competitors. This is about securing commercial activity by creating a stable and reliable consumer base. And it is an exercise in perpetual policing and surveillance that works to continually adjust your positioning as a company in ways that tries to expand this reliable market and bring in new consumers.

Another way to think about this new governmental regime is that it is about governing all through the interests of each. Here is how one researcher frames this governmental aspect of market research:

“What happens, in the case of mobile phones nowadays, because there are so many features available, people tend to use features that matter to them. So, in fact, I may not even be aware of the features. But there are certain things I like about Samsung phones which I use. Hence, I now cannot move away from a Samsung because now I've gotten used to this. I can't use any other phone. And there'll be another person, sitting on the other side of the door, who will be using a Samsung for precisely something else. Different reason, and she's again hooked on to that. So, it's because now there are so many features which come in and you can selectively choose what you want to use.”²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ Interview with market researcher R. July 28, 2016.

²⁷⁷ Interview with market researcher R. July 28, 2016.

A well produced and positioned product will do such an effective job of appealing to the individual's interest as to compel that individual to stay loyal to that product. However, the individual will also likely become dependent on this product with continued use of the same product or an improved version of it that even better appeals to individual interest. It should not be surprising, then, that the individual is now governed through their free choice in a manner that persistently works to make them dependent on that company and its product. The more I choose the same product, or an updated version of it, the more I will be dependent on it. On the other hand, this same product and its features will appeal to another person for perhaps entirely different reasons. But again, this does not mean that this other individual is any less dependent on the product as I am. In the commercial sector, choice architecture operates much like an insurance policy. And in managing the conduct of each and all, the primary purpose of individual choice architecture is to offer deeply personal and individualized experiences through an exceptionally aggregated set of features in a product that, in the final analysis, will ensure that individuals are always captivated by and fastened to that product and its features thereby providing a stable and lasting market for that product.

By identifying the very thing that individuals feel they lack, by identifying with their interest and creating a product that fills that need-gap, companies can further ensure that the individual will always be keen on and attached to their particular product. This does not mean that the individual is not free to choose. Indeed, they are still free to choose another product. It is just that now the marginal cost of choosing another product that might not have the same features has increased. The individual's interest, again, calculates the most effective means to the most effective ends. This can very likely mean that the marginal cost to choose to another

product exceeds the marginal utility offered by the individual's current product choice. And so it is not that individuals are unfree. Rather, my free choice is constitutive of neoliberal governmentality. The more opportunities there are for me to choose, the more free I am. "When you want more and more freedom, it is options that matter."²⁷⁸ And increasing my choices can mean choosing an updated version of the same product or an entirely new product in the same product category. However, the very exercise of my choices, and what this says about my interests, allows business managers and market researchers to better know my interests in ways that will ensure my fidelity to a given product or service. The more opportunities there are for me to choose, the more opportunities there are to govern my conduct. Market researchers are not just familiar with this insight, they count on it.

Market researchers, then, must not only create a market but find ways to hold on to that market. It is about "being relevant to them so that they stick to you. It may not be loyal, but the reason they come back to you because you're relevant to them in sorting some of their issue or problem. That's why they come back to you." At the same time "loyalty is a fickle thing under consumerism and can change."²⁷⁹ Indeed, the now assumed aleatory condition of individuals as consumers and free choosers, at the heart of these new marketing and economic discourses, both creates opportunities to govern each and all and more closely by inducing a relentless nearly-obsessive focus on surveilling and policing individuals in order to know and keep a hold on a reliable market. One researcher put it this way:

"The entirety of marketing is about [keeping that hold]. So it goes from advertising, keeping in touch with your segment, looking at how their needs are evolving, what else can you change in your products, which is what people call innovation, to keep on changing as per their needs and what's relevant to them. So keep on doing innovations,

²⁷⁸ Interview with market researcher S. July 29, 2016.

²⁷⁹ Interview with market researcher S. July 29, 2016.

you keep on understanding and meeting them, you keep on understanding how the needs are changing, keep on adding stuff to solve those needs. And to keep on advertising and telling them that I'm available and that I'm giving this to you, right? If it is a product, the after sale service for product has to be good. Otherwise people will reject it. So you just launch but you're not able to maintain it. So everything now comes into it. You've given birth to a baby, you have to take care of the baby and let it grow otherwise it will die. Everything comes into it ... So instead of calling it market research, I would say that we're being consumer-connected. In a very non-marketing language, you need to be in touch with your consumers regularly to know what they want and get that stickability, and you provide the same to get that stickability.”²⁸⁰

Responsibility and the Care of the Self

Studied along political-theoretic terms, the market research in India can be understood as ground-zero for the shift from a liberal to a neoliberal governmental regime that now directs economic thought and practice. The rise of market research and its development since the 1960s is made possible by a steady but aggressive shift in how individuals are thought about in terms of their freedom and in what this shift means in terms of governing practices within the economic sector. Under the height of liberal regime, from the 50s to the early 70s, the free individual's was assumed to be a subject who, in their consumption interests and habits, would closely align with and assist the national economy and its policy of planned production and distribution. In their consumption, each subject was responsible for themselves as well the nation. The very outcomes of commercial activity, namely, consumption and an interest in consuming goods, were fixed to a vision of the nation and its economic future. This also allowed for planned economic development to occur along the lines of the Nehruvian vision for rapid industrial modernization for mass-manufacturing. It could be safely assumed that as the nation attained its various production priorities and targets there would always be market in waiting to purchase those goods. Consequently, the field of marketing was more preoccupied in building effective

²⁸⁰ Interview with market researcher S. July 29, 2016.

distribution networks to ensure that once goods were manufactured according to the recommendations of planned production, that these could be dispersed to as many people as possible throughout the nation. Marketing was entirely committed to the art of wise distribution, and market research was conducted in order to inform improvements in physical distribution channels.

However, by the late 1960s, a more novel discourse of marketing begins to enter the commercial fold in India. The entry of this counter-discourse to the older approach reflects a broader governmental crisis of liberalism in India within the economic sector. This is a crisis of planned development, of limiting the spontaneity of outcomes from commercial and economic activity by not permitting individuals the opportunity to freely exercise their choice and interest. And so counter-discourse replies to this crisis by placing the individual's interest in securing a personal future, rather than aims of national production, at the center of all economic thought and activity. This neoliberal approach, then, is no longer about the art of wise distribution, which is now simply another aspect of economic activity. Instead, it is about the art of market research, which offers a privileged position to individuals, their always changing interests, and their status as choice maximizers. While it was once assumed that individual interests could be planned in ways that had them better conform to national interest, now it is assumed that these same interests are always changing, unpredictable and thus cannot be planned. If the liberal regime governed individuals by presetting their commercial interests to those of the nation, the neoliberal regime governs individual by constantly tracking their self-generated and constantly shifting interests. Henceforth, all commercial and economic endeavors must invest in knowing and appealing to individual interests if these endeavors are to succeed in producing sustainable markets in spite of the uncertainty inherent to the spontaneous order of free choice. And so if

the crisis of Indian liberalism in the commercial sector was a crisis of planning, then Indian neoliberalism brings with it its own crisis of the aleatory and installs it as the permanent condition of possibility for economic activity. And so the neoliberal regime of unplanned planning affords the most privileged position to the unpredictable and unplanned interests and outcomes of free choice.

This turn in the commercial sector has important consequences for the individual and the nation. Most notably, most concerns with the nation and its future give way to concerns with the individual and their own personal future. Each must think of themselves and others as subjects of interest and individual choice maximizers. This means that rather thinking about personal consumption as a means to secure the economic well being of the nation, the individual now thinks of their purchasing interest as securing a future for themselves. Indeed, their interest now is linked to a palpable lack, i.e., that something is the present that can be possessed in the future. This subject of choice succumbs to a persistent governmental anxiety. It is their responsibility to their future self to ensure that this interest and its associated lack is filled through their consumption in order to be closer to a personal image of their future self that best secures against the uncertain outcomes of spontaneous markets. In terms of consumption and commercial activity, one is no longer responsible for the future of the nation. And a broader governmental anxiety holds just as much for firms and businesses as it does for individuals. The only way any business can now secure its future is not by planning its commercial interests to follow planned production, but instead to follow the vicissitudes of individual interest. It is only by knowing and appealing to consumer interest that commercial activities can secure sustainable markets and the associated promise of stable revenue and profits.

Given the centrality of the neoliberal problematization of individuals to the entirety of the economic sector, and given what is at stake in properly investing in understand and engaging the interests of free choosing individuals, a more neoliberal regime of government comes into practice, one that fundamentally relies on and perpetuates practices of surveillance along certain veridical assumptions. It is because the art of market research distinguished itself as an effective technique of surveillance that it has any utility to the economic sector. The technique of research works tirelessly to observe individuals in their most quotidian settings to generate the most personal insights about them. Each individual is not only observed but classified and categorized based on their psychic makeup. They are then placed within a larger population with others who share similar psychic makeups. And so through active and passive observations, this technique attempts to build a psychological profile of its object-target, a market or a segment that is defined by a shared psychic feature or interest.

This neoliberal regime of surveillance, if it may be referred to as such, is fundamentally about knowing each and all according to their interest. But this is not simply surveillance for the sake of knowledge production, or the value of knowing what makes each of us tick. Instead, these efforts are then distilled through strategies of modeling, testing and interventions, in order to present a group of people with offers that will not only captivate each and all but will do so in ways that secure their consumption behaviors by binding them to that product and its features. And this cycle of surveillance and government is not carried out to repress or control individuals. It is, instead, executed in the home, and the private and public sector, in ways that coordinate the affairs of each and all to become compliant with the freedom to choose and its rules of conduct that are generative of a spontaneous ordering of all human affairs.

4. FREEDOM AND PLANNING THE CITY OF THE FUTURE

Ordering the City and its Residents

The discourse of youth development during the neoliberal era makes a certain type of clinical subject out of the individual. This subject was treated as someone with inherent preferences that are commensurable and self-sorted to produce an avowable interest. And it was knowledge about this interest that counselors were after in order to make the young person's conduct more compliant to the rules of free choice. This was done using the techniques of clinical psychology, where hypotheses about individual interests that might make them compliant are developed through testing and then interventions are generated based on insights from these tests. During the same period, roughly the fourth quarter of the twentieth century, the insights about individuals from clinical psychology were being used in the field of market research in order to know individuals' market-based interests. The rise of the neoliberal discourse of marketing and the field of market research brought with it novel techniques of testing and intervention to know each and all in order to better coordinate their marketplace conduct. These techniques for the management and administration of populations were not simply isolated to the marketplace. In the case of urban planning, similar techniques of testing will be used to surveil and police populations. And this will be done not simply to govern the conduct of each and all in the family or marketplace. The urban planner counts the spaces of the family and the marketplace among a number of spaces that constitute the urban, including religious, cultural, recreational and political spaces. Insofar as the entirety of the urban region is under the urban planner's direction, governmental techniques will be used to generate insights on every aspect of

the individual's urban life and to administer the urban population as an aggregate whose choice-maximizing activities are constitutive of a more spontaneous ordering of urban space.

But the era of urban and regional planning and the rise of the neoliberal discourse of planning was based on the passing of another era and discourse. This was the era of town and country planning and the liberal discourse that framed it. The resident of the town or city was not the subject of choice but a civic minded subject-citizen. And the task of planners in this era was to produce and nurture this subject in order to build a publicly minded civic body for the city and the future nation. This chapter finds that the passing of the era of town and country planning and the liberal discourse that framed it occurred under the pressures of a governmental crisis specific to the field of town planning. If the liberal discourses of youth development and of marketing suffered from crises particularly internal to them, of authority and of economic planning, respectively, then the crisis internal to the liberal discourse of town planning was a crisis of population. The respective crises in these three areas of the family, the economy, and urban space, are both constituted by and constitutive of a broader crisis of liberal government in India. This broader crisis plays out in ways specific to these three areas, and the discourses of these areas in their specificity help frame the broader crisis of Indian liberalism. The discursive implication of and lessons from the crisis of population in the field of urban planning is that it prepares the way for the liberal discourse of planning to pass and the neoliberal discourse to take up the work of ordering urban spaces and populations.

Town and Country Planning in the Post-war Era

Indian planners in the liberal era were considerably involved with the problem of what they saw as the hitherto haphazard, uncontrolled and unbalanced development of Indian towns.

By the second quarter of the twentieth century, Indian towns were centers of culture and cosmopolitanism, modern transit systems and infrastructure (such as electricity), and a place where internal migrants from around the nation would arrive for more varied employment opportunities and higher wages. But most of the growth of Indian towns was unplanned and hasty because of uninhibited town development policies under the British Raj. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, planners saw an urgent need to rein in and correct for these chaotically developed spaces. Early writers on the matter, like B.N. Chaudhuri and R.K. Mukerjee, saw that the modernizing town was not simply growing chaotically but also disproportionately in relation to the countryside. Chaudhuri, a chartered engineer and associate member of the Institution of Engineers (India), cites rapid and chaotic town growth as “the cause of the depopulation of villages and overcrowding of already congested towns”.²⁸¹

Chaudhuri’s text, “Planning Indian Town and Country in the Industrial Age”, contains a foreword by R. K. Mukerjee, Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology at the University of Lucknow, and winner of the 1962 *Padma Bushan* (India’s third highest civilian award). Like Chaudhuri, Mukerjee cites similar problems between that of the haphazard growth of towns and of the “undirected and rapid development that has led to a profound lack of balance between town and village in India”.²⁸² But Mukerjee also saw the rise of a third space in India that is neither town nor village. He notes the importance of “another semi-rural type of establishment where many industrial enterprises may be undertaken with modern efficiency and where man can still remain in intimate touch with the land and with the primary groups that have moralized and socialized them through the ages”.²⁸³ While national luminaries like M. K.

²⁸¹ Chaudhuri, B. N. *Planning Indian Town and Country in the Industrial Age* (Calcutta: Thacker Spink & Co., 1944), 1.

²⁸² Chaudhuri, *Planning Indian Town and Country*, ii.

²⁸³ Chaudhuri, *Planning Indian Town and Country*, iii.

Gandhi saw the (re)birth of the nation in and through the Indian village and its economy, planners like Mukerjee argued that “in the future, Indian civilization will be re-born not in the village but in this third type of habitation”.²⁸⁴ Notably, this new cultural center will not be defined by unreserved Westernization but will blend modernization with the “social virtues of an ancient and historical civilization”.²⁸⁵

Indian planners saw this third space as supplying suitable ground for nation-building. Although Mukerjee does not explicitly call it this, this novel space might be best understood as the suburbs in a more classical sense, i.e., an area close to a city, perhaps right outside the city’s main walls, that is not quite the city-center nor is it rural. But the key implication here is that the subject-citizen of the future nation will be formed not in the village but in an environment that is defined by its relationship to the town and by its ability to augment the town and its organized growth. If the suburbs matter, then its because they facilitate the city’s production of this citizen. By carving out a citizen through the city and its planned development, planners are able to promote a vision of civic virtue and unity that not only promises a well-planned future city but also a nation to come. This is also what is at stake in Bombay’s town planning between the 1940s and 1960s. As the city of Bombay is planned and developed during the post-war period, planners turn to the suburbs as a way to expand city limits to nurture and sustain a civic balance.

It is in this sense that I also see Indian planners of this period subscribing to a discourse of Indian liberalism that assumes that free individuals retain an obligation to and responsibility for something other than their future well-being (the well-being of the city and nation to come), and who see their well-being in something other than their future selves (viz. the city and nation’s

²⁸⁴ Chaudhuri, *Planning Indian Town and Country*, iii.

²⁸⁵ Chaudhuri, *Planning Indian Town and Country*, iv.

future). Indeed, Indian writers of town planning centered the liberal discourse of town planning around planning the future city through schemes that work to produce subject-citizens out of the city's residents. It was assumed that by internalizing and aspiring to the values of citizenship and civic responsibility in their daily activities, the city's residents would guarantee a harmonious city and the future nation. To be certain, and within the context of town planning, Indian writers problematized the citizen not primarily as a means to build the nation but, first and foremost, as a way to promote the (future) city. This is because the cosmopolitan citizen of the city, if made sufficiently civically-minded, is best able to take on the social demands of building a composite nation.

This post-war preoccupation with town planning also meant that the countryside is defined through its relationship to the town and its development. The villages and rural communities of India were increasingly seen as sites subservient to the town's planned organization and development, as generating the raw materials and cheap migrant workers increasingly demanded in towns. In towns, by contrast, a command approach to town planning is adopted that attempts to arrest their formerly haphazard growth under the Raj and instill a civic ethic through the nurturing of subject-citizens. A well planned town with a civically minded citizenry can offer the template for the rest of the nation. In the early days of post-war town planning, Bombay already emerged as the leading candidate to develop and provide this template. As early as 1946, the Post-War Development Committee of administrative region of Bombay (known as the Bombay Presidency) released a "Preliminary Report of the Development of the Suburbs and Town Planning Panel". This report would provide some of the foundational post-war insights and recommendations for the more orderly development of Bombay city by expanding the city limits to include surrounding suburban districts.

The “Preliminary Report” offers a number of key organizational insights to town planners. For example, it proposes that planning must be organized through a stage-based approach. That is, planning “has to be carried out in four stages (1) the survey (2) the evaluation or analysis of the survey data (3) interpretation of the data into structural form, i.e., the plan proper, and (4) the absorption of the plan into the life of the community.”²⁸⁶ Here, the survey is not about directly surveying individual residents of the city to learn about their interests. Instead, this survey by and large circulates around understanding the city’s demographics (past, present, and future) in terms of population growth and concentrations, gender distributions, mortality, literacy and so on. Aside from such organization recommendations, the “Preliminary Report” describes the broader political stakes of town planning. Effective planning must be “‘positive’ in character” insofar as it actively schemes to provide for the population of the city.²⁸⁷ However, planning must really strive towards establishing a relationship between each and all, i.e., between “the single inhabitant” and “total life of the city”.²⁸⁸ That is, in their activities, the individual who resides in the city does not simply act for their personal benefit. Individual activity must instead embrace the problems of the overall community and the demands of building a future city and nation.

Much of Bombay’s development during the British Raj was uninhibited and this was especially apparent in the way land was being used in the city. Most land use was not specified and enumerated, causing residential areas to sprout up in the same areas as industry and commerce and lead to the problem of severe, localized congestion. In the era predating the

²⁸⁶ Bombay (Presidency) Post-War Development Committee. *Preliminary Report of the Development of Suburbs and Town Planning Panel* (Bombay, 1946), 6.

²⁸⁷ Post-War Development Committee, *Preliminary Report*, 7.

²⁸⁸ Post-War Development Committee, *Preliminary Report*, 7.

liberal discourse of town planning, land was of a mixed-use type where no overarching design or specific purpose was being designated to areas. As the “Preliminary Report” put it, the “haphazard growth of the City” and “indiscriminate mingling of commercial, industrial, and residential areas did and still exists in City as a result of the non-existence of the most important tool in planning viz. ‘Zoning’”.²⁸⁹ The objective of zoning “is to secure orderly arrangement of each component part of the city for a happy and comfortable community living”.²⁹⁰ The previously chaotic town development did not assume a defined relationship between the city’s inhabitant as a citizen and the city’s well-being as a community. While land use needed to be properly designated in order to develop the city’s landscape (a matter of zoning), that development could only be sustainably guaranteed by establishing a civic relationship between the city’s resident and the community at large. Planners thus directed their efforts to designate specific land use and in ways that encouraged each and all not simply or even primarily to seek commercial or material benefits, but to strive to be publicly minded citizens.

The pre-war approach to town development constituted an uncontrolled mixed-use of land, where land use was designated vaguely and in an off-the-cuff manner. In contrast to this, the liberal discourse of town planning now proposes to *command space* (i.e., to zone space) in order to make it conform to specific and fixed functions. With land use being subjected to growing calls for purpose-driven zones, the necessity of expanding the city limits of Bombay to now include the suburbs into the municipal control area becomes even more apparent. Thus the “Preliminary Report” proposes that Bombay’s suburbs will be zoned along specific lines for fixed ends that provide the city’s population with “adequate space for dwellings” and dedicated spaces for

²⁸⁹ Post-War Development Committee, *Preliminary Report*, 10.

²⁹⁰ Post-War Development Committee, *Preliminary Report*, 17.

gardens, recreation, and public transit corridors, while resettling existing and new industry and businesses to designated zones outside of the new city limits.²⁹¹ In so doing, the liberal discourse of town planning subordinates industrial and commercial demands to the demands of housing and communal life in order to engender a more healthy and civically minded citizenry for Bombay. The city with its suburbs, then, is not simply defined as the space guaranteeing the economic or material well-being of each and all. Instead, it is to be planned as the space that guarantees provisions for the all-round development of the individual as subject-citizen. Accordingly, the Post-War Development Committee recommends the development of a Master Plan for Bombay that will set the strategic framework to guide tactics of local planning.²⁹² Most notably, they recommend that the plan aim “to provide social and cultural facilities and services to secure as full a measure of social life for the inhabitants as possible”, and “to foster an active and vigorous interest in citizenship.”²⁹³

By the late 1940's, the provision of social and cultural facilities in order to produce and cultivate an active interest in the virtues of citizenship and public life becomes a key concern for the liberal discourse of town planning in India. Arguably, the work of J. F. Bulsara offers one of the most illustrative instances of this discourse for nearly three decades, until the 70s. Bulsara was a lawyer and who served as Deputy Commissioner of the Bombay Municipal Corporation (later the Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay, or BMC), the city's governing authority, and served as Director of the Bombay Civic Trust, a leading not-for-profit and civic governance think tank. His text, “Bombay, A City in the Making”, was published in 1948. For Bulsara, town planning must offer “the effective solution of [the] various problems of domestic well-being, and

²⁹¹ Post-War Development Committee, *Preliminary Report*, 11.

²⁹² Post-War Development Committee, *Preliminary Report*, 12.

²⁹³ Post-War Development Committee, *Preliminary Report*, 14.

the happy adjustment of the interrelations of the disparate population of cities, so as to effect an integrated whole and bring about a harmony of conflicting and diverging interest”.²⁹⁴ There is, in other words, a need to produce a “demos” or “an alert, vigilant, enlightened, civic-minded and public-spirited population or even a substantial subsection thereof” that strives to attain civic harmony in ways that both allow the city to grow in an orderly fashion and keep the power of the state in check.²⁹⁵

For Bulsara, the subject built out of a well planned city will be an eminently liberal subject and citizen. This liberal citizenship is a double-sided proposition. Of course, the citizens’s freedom endows them with and secures them rights and privileges. But as a mid-twentieth century Indian liberal, Bulsara reminds his reader that “with rights go duties, and with the insistence on privileges, there must accompany a fulfillment of obligation”.²⁹⁶ The subject’s rights and freedoms function as a limitation on the power of the state, and obliges each to be responsible for aligning their personal interest with that of the public. And while this subject will ensure the orderly development of Bombay, that development too is not simply for the benefit of the city. Instead, in the making of this city, Bulsara sees the nation’s development and future. He imagines Bombay as India’s “Metropolis or mother city” and “as the mother city, she is looked upon by the rest of the children as a model to copy. Her influence will be very decisive in the ordering of the life, activities and administration of so many other towns and cities in the province or country.”²⁹⁷ Given that many Indian cities were still in a fledgling state, Bulsara believes that the template provided by Bombay and its town planners will allow these other cities

²⁹⁴ Bulsara, J. F. *Bombay, A City in the Making* (Bombay: The National Information and Publications Ltd., 1948), viii.

²⁹⁵ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, viii.

²⁹⁶ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 69.

²⁹⁷ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, viii.

“to be not only beautiful cities but centres of true culture and civilization, wherein the awakened socialized citizen may find a congenial atmosphere for balanced self-expression and the satisfaction of his cravings for a fuller, better and happier individual life in a harmonious social milieu.”²⁹⁸

Bombay is thus planned and governed to produce the subject-citizen and to inspire and sustain in each a sense of civic duty for the well-being of the future city and nation. This is a liberal-individualistic focus, too, insofar as it accommodates and encourages self-expression but only to the extent that personal-mindedness aligns with civic-mindedness and harmony. The liberal discourse of planning produces this subject-citizen not solely for the individual’s benefit, but to enable the planning of a ‘harmonious social milieu’ that allows the city and nation to develop and prosper. But Bulsara also speaks to the benefits to the individual from a well planned, civic minded city. He argues that cities are planned not to allow the individual to live a bare life, where each is simply preoccupied with securing their material needs. Instead, cities are planned because “they make for civilization, which ensures the good life for the citizens”.²⁹⁹ The previously uninhibited development of the city is due to the self-serving pursuit of this bare life, where “there are many and conflicting interests, which conceive of the goods life rather than the good life individually for themselves ... unmindful and unconscious of the larger purpose of the city as a corporate whole”.³⁰⁰ If towns are to be planned in an orderly manner and not simply allowed to build up chaotically, planners must approach their work through a purpose-driven command model that seeks to carve out and nurture a habitat that ensures the good life of each and all.

²⁹⁸ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, ix.

²⁹⁹ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 1.

³⁰⁰ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 2.

This command model requires the production of more predictable and compliant subjects to both arrest the problems of previously uninhibited town growth and allow the town to develop in a more orderly fashion. What is really required is a city commanded in and through its subject-citizens who, in their interests, reflect the public interest and an enthusiasm for “a vast common enterprize for mutual good and civic greatness.”³⁰¹ For Bombay’s planners, the individuals making up the city have to be governed in a manner that sheds them of their tribal and local interests and loyalties and invests in them an ethic of citizenship that inspires a common concern for civic unity and the well-being of the nation. Put another way, the era of uninhibited town growth was defined by non-compliant individuals who simply pursued their personal or factional interest to their greatest benefit. In the liberal era, the vision of a planned city cannot be “sectarian or individualistic”.³⁰² The governmental charge of town planners is to produce a compliant subject by governing their interest, where “the interests of [the city’s] heterogenous parts are and should be so welded, co-ordinated and harmonized that they make for the highest possible fulfillment of life for all [the city’s] component groups and individuals.”³⁰³

The liberal governmental regime of town planning finds that commanding the personal interest of each so that it is intimately tied up with the public interest ensures the orderly and harmonious growth and governance of the city. The conduct of each and all can be best conducted and the city can be best managed and organized through this purpose-driven command approach to planning that works to produce compatible and predictable subject-citizens out of previously “clashing and polarized” individuals.³⁰⁴ And so well defined town plans

³⁰¹ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 2.

³⁰² Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 10

³⁰³ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 10.

³⁰⁴ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 11.

focus on the “provision of an inspiring civic milieu” and promote a positive and constructive civic life by working to, for example, prevent extremes of wealth and poverty in the city that cause “social disintegration” across the slums and the high-end residential areas.³⁰⁵ But the promotion of civic life and harmony does not mean the outright rejection of the clash of ideas that accompanies a robust liberal order defined by the free activity of individuals. For Bulsara, while it is true that such a clash has caused social disintegration in the city (the problems of various inequalities), it has also provided for an “inspiring milieu” and an “atmosphere of relative liberty or *laissez faire*”, acting as a force that has “contributed to the enrichment of culture and civilization”.³⁰⁶ The goal of town planning for the good life is to find a balance that licenses this more pluralistic liberal atmosphere while preventing its assorted and harmful ills. The healthy exchange of varied ideas, interests, lifestyles, and activities must be corrected for when such exchange threatens to undermine the production of civically minded subjects and a sociopolitical harmony among each and all. Here we find an approach to town planning where the political has clear precedent over and defines the economic. The planner of the liberal order must always work to construct a rich and robust social and political tapestry, and in ways that best distributes the immaterial and material benefits of that order for the well-being of each and all.

As previously proposed, such a command approach to town planning also has a clear vision of the rural communities of the Indian countryside. Given what’s at stake in town planning - not just the production of subject-citizens, but the orderly growth and governance of the future city and nation - the people of cities and towns are seen as inherently more civic minded and unified than those of the village. If the city is communal and publicly spirited,

³⁰⁵ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 11-13.

³⁰⁶ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 15.

Bulsara sees the village as individualistic and rustic. He contrasts the civic minded people of the city with the “rural minded population” of the countryside, which is far too “undisciplined” because of the “highly individualistic life of the spacious individualistic village”.³⁰⁷ The city suffers problems of cleanliness and orderly living partly due to “a preponderant illiterate population, which we recruit year by year from our numerous villages.”³⁰⁸

The village, then, is individualistic by necessity because each member is involved only in the procurement of their basic needs and focused on providing for their bare life. The city presents the rural population with opportunities and freedoms unavailable in their villages. But it also needs the cheap labor that these rural populations provide. Conceding to necessary influx of the rural population to the city, Bulsara proposes a sociopolitical program “to instil into this population a sense of civic consciousness, which demands a mind trained to the restraint of co-operative living.”³⁰⁹ He suggests disseminating cultural propaganda through means of communication that do not require much reading and writing like the “Radio, the Film, the Poster, and the Spoken Word to broadcast our message of cleanliness, discipline, co-operative living and civic consciousness to these masses”.³¹⁰

This is a strikingly instrumentalized treatment of the countryside by the liberal town planner. Here, the countryside is not seen as a space distinct from and on relatively equal terms with the city. Rather, it is seen as existing for the city and supplying its future subjects. Bulsara is rather consistent in this position throughout the post-colonial era of town planning. In an article published 20 years after “Bombay, A City in the Making”, in 1968, he advocates for thinking

³⁰⁷ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 20.

³⁰⁸ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 19-20.

³⁰⁹ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 20.

³¹⁰ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 20.

about “rustics” as potential and prospective residents of the city who must be “trained and helped” to learn virtues of city and civic life in their villages and before they leave for the city.³¹¹ Aside from instrumentalizing the countryside for the sake of the city, the other implication of Bulsara’s argument is that planners see a clear link between good citizenship, orderly development, and literacy. Illiteracy, by contrast, is seen as stifling town and national growth. “Civilized or city life is partly paralyzed in India as a whole because of this tremendous hardship [of illiteracy], this drag on national progress”.³¹² One way that planners can command space to ensure higher literacy rates is by planning space in the city for more schools that will educate the post-war youth of India thereby fostering a general atmosphere that encourages literacy-seeking behavior.³¹³ This atmosphere is where the more “healthy” aspects of the countryside, such as large green fields, can be brought into the planning of cities in the form of well designed parks to ensure a literate and cultured interaction of each and all within the city.³¹⁴ Literacy goes beyond learning to read and write. Crucially, it includes a civic competency that can and must be learned in spaces other than the classroom. Open public spaces where each may interact with their fellow subject-citizens especially encourages young people to familiarize themselves with this competency. Civic monuments and institutions serve a similar purpose, as do creative spaces for art, literature, drama and so forth.³¹⁵

³¹¹ Bulsara, J.F. “Social Objectives of Urban Development,” in *A National Policy for an Orderly Development of Indian Cities* (Bombay: The Bombay Civic Trust, 1968), 56.

³¹² Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 40.

³¹³ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 41-42.

³¹⁴ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 50-51.

³¹⁵ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 53-55.

The planner thus coordinates the lives of each and all to internalize a liberal aspirational mentality, where individuals are driven by an “inner urge for culture and civilization”.³¹⁶ Under this mentality, “man does not live by bread and circus alone; nor is he satisfied with a static condition of life”. Such a condition might be reflective of the rustic’s life, but Bombay’s planners must govern space, command and zone it in ways that provide a “suitable social milieu to inspire the citizen to higher endeavor.”³¹⁷ “Any wise government ... will do well to provide activities and organization that will tend to satisfy the aspirational side of the citizen’s unresting cravings”.³¹⁸ The metropolis will be suited to the liberal art of wise government as long as it has the conditions to produce and foster this aspirational subject-citizen who will restlessly work, along with Bombay’s planners, “towards building up a well-planned, well-coordinated social harmony.”³¹⁹ Again, and so that this citizen can be effectively produced, “the future city must provide him with a proper milieu for his high endeavor” where this milieu does not only provision a bare life. That is, the individual’s endeavors within this milieu “cannot end merely in toil, tears and sweat”.³²⁰ Only in the metropolis does the individual no longer toil for bare life, but instead aspires to become *homo civis*.

The discourse of liberalism within the field of town planning proves to be prospective, in its own ways. In the most obvious sense, this prospectivism is about the city itself. All planning is done with a view to the future city, or the city in the making. Like the Post-War Development Committee’s “Preliminary Report”, Bulsara argues that planners need to conduct surveys, and

³¹⁶ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 51.

³¹⁷ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 52.

³¹⁸ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 53.

³¹⁹ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 52-53.

³²⁰ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 118-119.

then implement a plan with a view to the future city.³²¹ But this liberal prospectivism also concerns the resident of the city. It is not about assuming and leveraging the freedom of the individual in order to make them responsible for their future selves as defined by their personal interests and choice maximizing preferences. It is, instead, a type of prospectivism that assumes that free individuals within the city are capable of and strive to something other than their personal interests. If these individuals think about the future, it's not simply their future but their future as closely tied up with the future of the city and the nation at-large.

The subject of town planning, much like the subject of marketing and of youth development in the immediate post-colonial era, is a sacrificing and sacrificial subject. This subject sacrifices their personal interests to those of the common cause and civic interest. Through this type of disciplined self-mastery, they are also revealed as subjects who are produced in order to be sacrificed for the sake of broader liberal-governmental objectives seeking to coordinate the activities of each an all such that the city may develop in a more orderly fashion. This notion of sacrifice is at the heart of the ethic of citizenship, which the subject of the city must internalize and practice. Such an ethic, once impressed within the subject, activates a dialectical circuitry where private and public interest resolve into a "civic synthesis". "The picture of such a synthesis should lend meaning to life, and liberate the citizens from the niggling concern with means and mechanisms of living and the million petty appurtenances of civilization, for the larger tasks of civic reconstruction, giving the cities a distinct personality of their own."³²²

³²¹ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 130.

³²² Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 71.

The preoccupation with planning and governing India's cities by producing civic minded citizens out of their populations is a call other planners answer as well. In "A Handbook of Town Planning", S.C. Oak seeks to rely on knowledge about town planning to develop a "civic sense among the masses".³²³ Oak, an Associate Member of the Institution of Engineers in India, begins by citing the uninhibited growth of Indian cities as a major cause for concern where "areas [of land] were developed by individual owners to suit their own private purpose of profit, without regard to common interests".³²⁴ Given that personal interests must be blended with the public interest, Oak sees the planner's task as engaging with and intervening directly in the city's population, which "behaves like an elastic fluid in a way that, if pressure is applied at once place the effect is perceptible in another. If there is room, population can adapt to circumstances."³²⁵ Town planners must make room for and guide this dynamic, mobile and fluid population towards certain fixed objectives that allow for the city and nation of the future to develop and grow. Such a population is best directed by the planner through better land-use practices. Accordingly, Oak defines town planning as "the art and science of preparing plans and schemes for a new town, and improving, redeveloping, or extending parts of an existing town in such a way as to obtain the best possible advantage of the land and its environment, for the benefit of the whole community."³²⁶ Crucially, then, Oak's characteristics for well planned town must always identify fixed use for land. Again, this involves the practice of commanding space by relying on zoning practices that "consists essentially in forming divisions of the city ... and reserving them for

³²³ Oak, S. C. *A Handbook of Town Planning* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs Limited, 1949), viii.

³²⁴ Oak, *A Handbook of Town Planning*, 3-4.

³²⁵ Oak, *A Handbook of Town Planning*, 6-7.

³²⁶ Oak, *A Handbook of Town Planning*, 9.

specific uses.”³²⁷ He even offers a typology of such divisions, including separate zones for civic centers, businesses, industry, social institutions (such as schools), residences, and parks.³²⁸

With the liberal discourse of town planning, we find that areas of the city must have their certainty and specificity, rather than be haphazardly developed as they once were. It is also this certainty and specificity of spaces built up within the city that generate and nurture a civic competency and ethic. While this work involves the practicalities of conducting and interpreting demographic surveys, “above all, it requires imagination and a far-seeing vision.”³²⁹ This vision, of course, has in mind the city to come and the required public mindedness from its residents. In this sense, Oak follows Bulsara and others in articulating a liberal prospectivism.

These works by the Post-War Development Committee, Bulsara, and Oak detail how local planners largely associated with Bombay understood the practice of town planning. But their arguments were not simply localized to one Indian city. Rather, these insights come to be reflected in the broader and national-level discourse of the period, as well. The Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO) was established by the Government of India in 1962 under the direction of the Ministry of Health. In the same year, the TCPO released a report titled “Town and Country Planning in India”, which provides comparable analyses of town planning but seen from the viewpoint of national-level planners. Like the Post-War Development Committee in Bombay, the TCPO planners argued for the preparation of master plans suitable to each city and in line with the demands of nation-building.³³⁰ They called for the use of surveys to study key local demographics and to develop contextualized plans that are future oriented and

³²⁷ Oak, *A Handbook of Town Planning*, 29.

³²⁸ Oak, *A Handbook of Town Planning*, 31.

³²⁹ Oak, *A Handbook of Town Planning*, 23.

³³⁰ Town and Country Planning Organization, *Town and Country Planning in India* (Government of India, 1962), 39-55.

aware of long term trends.³³¹ And just as local planners like Bulsara saw Bombay as the metropolis or ‘mother city’ for the rest of the nation to follow, this city also retained a special status among national-level planners. For them, Bombay was in the vanguard of planning thought and practice. The TCPO report lists the historical significance of leading town planning legislative measures like the Bombay Town Planning Act of 1915 and the Bombay Town and Country Planning Act of 1954, both of which were the first of their kind.³³² The Bombay Improvement Trust, founded in 1898 as a civic organization to aid town planning and municipal government in the city, was also the first of its kind to be formed in India.³³³

Like local-level planners, the TCPO report also noted that the pre-war era of city growth was marked by haphazard development. And among planners more generally, the effect of this development was often interpreted as a public health crisis (hence why the TCPO was constituted under the Ministry of Health). With industry and commerce growing unfettered during the first half of the twentieth century, crowded residences (often built by industrialists to house laborers) sprouted up next to industrial and commercial plots leading to narrowing of roads and straining of other public infrastructure like sewage and clean water supply. This led to heavily concentrated instances of localized squalor in different parts of the city. Because of this, planners at the TCPO saw part of their charge as redefining the formerly unplanned and uninhibited relationship between individuals and their environments in the city. “In order that man may once again establish a healthy relation between himself and his environment, the present environment needs to be wholly reconstructed.”³³⁴

³³¹ Town and Country Planning Organization, *Town and Country Planning in India*, 47.

³³² Town and Country Planning Organization, *Town and Country Planning in India*, 39.

³³³ Town and Country Planning Organization, *Town and Country Planning in India*, 29.

³³⁴ Town and Country Planning Organization, *Town and Country Planning in India*, 2.

This reconstruction of the city's land did not involve planning that prioritized further industrial and commercial expansion within the city but “the provision of those services and amenities which are essential for the creation of a healthy environment lending to the unfettered development of man's body and his mind.”³³⁵ It also means thinking about planning not just in terms of the city, but the overall region surrounding the city and how this extended area can be commanded (i.e., how its land use must be fixed) to allow for the well-balanced development of the city and its residents.³³⁶ As we will see, during the 1960s, planners will increasingly advocate for region-based planning to decongest the city into its hinterland thereby reducing its high population density, with an eye to reconstructing an environment that will better shape the city's residents into public minded citizens.

The TCPO report notes that “the last 10 years have seen a growing interest and a national consciousness” on the topic of town planning.³³⁷ This civic awareness increasingly sees the important role played by town planning in building up the nation and securing its future. Another text, in particular, presents an exceptional demonstration of this growing civic awareness. “Bombay: Planning and Dreaming” was published in 1965 by the Modern Architectural Research Group, or MARG (the Urdu meaning of *marg* is pathway). MARG was originally founded in 1946 as a magazine taking on the politics, culture, and art of the fledgling Indian nation on its path to self-government and development. “Bombay: Planning and Dreaming” consists of contributions from key public luminaries published in response to the city's first Development Plan (DP) of 1964. The DP was approved in 1964 and was to be fully implemented by 1981. Almost all of its main objectives highlight the use of the command-based

³³⁵ Town and Country Planning Organization, *Town and Country Planning in India*, 2-3.

³³⁶ Town and Country Planning Organization, *Town and Country Planning in India*, 3.

³³⁷ Town and Country Planning Organization, *Town and Country Planning in India*, 38.

approach to planning Bombay, viz., assigning specific and fixed uses for land rather allowing uncontrolled mixed land use.³³⁸

“Bombay: Planning and Dreaming” is introduced by MARG founder Mulk Raj Anand, a prominent writer who was awarded the World Peace Council’s International Peace Price (1953) and the Government of India’s *Padma Bhushan* (1968). Anand’s introduction is a succinct but rich history of Bombay, from its period as a set of seven original islands to its consolidation first under Portuguese and then British control, leading up to its place as a part of independent India.³³⁹ Other key contributors were BMC special engineer N.V. Modak, J.F. Balsara now of the Bombay Civic Trust, India’s leading architect Charles M. Correa, Pravina Mehta who was a distinguished architect and urban planner in Bombay, and Shirish B. Patel, a leading civil engineer in Bombay. Taken together, these contributions expose a growing public awareness and civic concern about the stakes of town planning and development. But, more importantly, for my purposes, this text is a culmination and synthesis of the liberal discourse of planning in modern India that was soon to enter its twilight.

One of the key discursive developments of this text and others from the 1960s is the increasing awareness and use of the concept of the ‘urban’. The urban, insofar as it is not merely the town and the city, is a reflection of the social, political, cultural, and economic characteristics of the town or city. It is defined not so much as the place itself but its distinctive attributes. If the countryside is rustic, the city is urban. And as Indian cities developed over two decades (between the mid-40s and mid-60s) according the command approach of planning, they begin to take on a characteristic of their own, something distinct and urban. At this point, the urban becomes part

³³⁸ Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay. *Report on the Development Plan for Greater Bombay 1964* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1964).

³³⁹ Anand, Mulk Raj. “Splendours and Miseries of Bombay,” in *Bombay: Planning and Dreaming*, MARG Magazine 18. no. 3 (1965): 4-17.

of the town planner's lexicon and purview and is understood through the framework of liberal government. That is, planners seek to craft social, political, cultural, and economic spaces as distinctly urban milieus that create and foster a publicly minded population who will, each an all, build the future city and nation. Thus, "urbanism" is required to live beyond the procurement of life's basic necessities and the pursuit of self-interest, and "springs from the need for total living".³⁴⁰

But the work of making cities and nation-building is also always incomplete. Liberal prospectivism works on a horizon of the possible city and nation, something to be always worked towards and endeavored, but also something that is never quite arrived at because the energies of the free subject-citizen always strive for further advancement and even higher pursuits. Stated otherwise, "in a world which must release more and more people into the ages of liberty, equality, social justice and potentials of human-ness", cities will always be imperfectly suited to a civically spirited population working towards the good life or total living.³⁴¹ And so at stake in (re)making Bombay is to plan "a city worthy of an emergent new world" (even new worlds) but always with a responsibility to common interest and civic life rather than personal interest and bare life.³⁴² This is why Anand stresses the urgency of "the utopian dream, of a large city" that commands space through an "enlightened self-interest" of all of the city's residents, public officials, and civic and commercial figureheads.³⁴³ In fact, such "dreaming precedes planning, and planning is the fulfillment of self conscious, well thought-out, organic, overall concepts in which very little has been left to chance, except the inspiration of architecture, the poetry of building of houses,

³⁴⁰ "In Dreams Begin Responsibility," in *Bombay: Planning and Dreaming*, MARG Magazine 18. no. 3 (1965): 2.

³⁴¹ *In Dreams Begin Responsibility*, 3.

³⁴² *In Dreams Begin Responsibility*, 3.

³⁴³ Anand, *Splendours and Miseries of Bombay*, 16.

public works and cities.”³⁴⁴ The enlightened subject of the city makes possible the dream of the city as a civic *corpus*. To dream responsibly, then, town planners must ensure that the ethic of citizenship is always stimulated through the city’s development. And for all its virtues, the DP of 1964 was still found lacking in this commitment.

V. N. Modak, for instance, finds that in the DP’s pursuit of land-use reform, not enough provisions have been made to support the environments required to give rise to subject-citizens. For example, civic amenities have not been fully provided for “to meet the future educational needs of citizens”.³⁴⁵ The city must be planned and developed to meet the well-rounded needs of its residents as citizens. If “the life of the citizens present as well as future, is to be made fuller, happier and richer, opportunities must be afforded to them to live in environments which make for a comfortable and pleasant life rather than for mere existence.”³⁴⁶ These environments that cater to the individual’s fuller life as a citizen can only be formed through the provision of proper housing, “adequate recreational, cultural, educational and other amenities and utilities”.³⁴⁷ Bulsara, building on Modak’s critique of the DP, argues that failure to meet these environmental civic requirements signals a type of planning “without adequate thought being given to human psychology, children’s needs, and the content of civilized living.”³⁴⁸ This type of planning will lead to the pursuit of “gigantism” without adequate concern for building a civic consciousness.

³⁴⁴ Anand, *Splendours and Miseries of Bombay*, 17.

³⁴⁵ Modak, V. N. “Observations on the Development Plan for Greater Bombay,” in *Bombay: Planning and Dreaming*, MARG Magazine 18. no. 3 (1965): ii.

³⁴⁶ Modak, *Observations on the Development Plan for Greater Bombay*, iv.

³⁴⁷ Modak, *Observations on the Development Plan for Greater Bombay*, iv.

³⁴⁸ Bulsara, J. F. “The Future of Our City,” in *Bombay: Planning and Dreaming*, MARG Magazine 18. no. 3 (1965): vii.

“Such planning can by no stretch of the imagination be called Development, it is deterioration, not progressive but retrograde.”³⁴⁹

The art of town planning looks beyond the individual’s mere existence to provide the conditions for their good life. “For, after all ... it is the citizens who make the city, and it is their comfort, convenience and good life for which we exert ourselves and do all our planning.”³⁵⁰ Such recommendations signal a liberal governmental concern where planning deals with “governing responsibly” and “with legitimate directive capacity” in order to command the citizens and city of the future.³⁵¹ For starters, this capacity allows for zoning existing space to correct for the previously mixed land-use that perpetuated “unplanned industrial-cum-commerical complexes” in and around the city.³⁵² This is certainly a step in the right direction. But as Bulsara and his co-contributors see it, presently, the best way bring up and plan for the citizenry of the future is by augmenting the zoning of existing space with the designation of entirely new spaces. These new spaces that must be fixed will fall within a newly assigned metropolitan region, which includes and goes beyond the city’s existing limits. A new regional civic urbanism could now be made possible that incorporates and broadens the distinctive features of the city itself. And these new spaces will congeal around a new town across the harbor that will decentralize the city’s population beyond the suburbs into the mainland. Speculations about such a town were circulating among planners since the second quarter of the twentieth century. For example, Bulsara considers this proposition as early as 1948.³⁵³ But “Bombay:

³⁴⁹ Bulsara, *The Future of Our City*, ix.

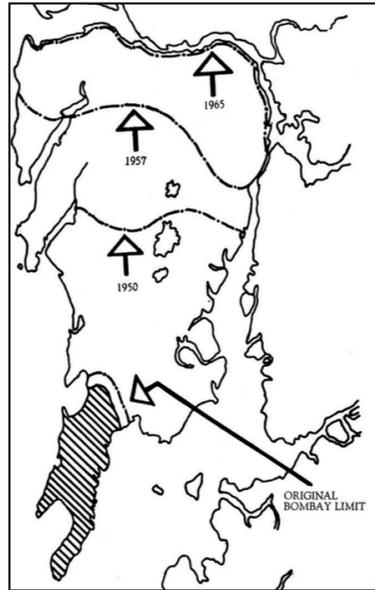
³⁵⁰ Bulsara, *The Future of Our City*, viii.

³⁵¹ Bulsara, *The Future of Our City*, x.

³⁵² Bulsara, *The Future of Our City*, ix.

³⁵³ Bulsara, *Bombay, A City in the Making*, 110.

Planning and Dreaming” was the first attempt to consider seriously what would eventually become the new town of New Bombay (or Navi Mumbai, as it would be renamed in the 1990s with the renaming of Bombay). With this new town, the potential for building and expanding civic spirit was so great that New Bombay was envisioned as both a centre to the new metropolitan region and the new capital of the state of Maharashtra.³⁵⁴



(Figure 5. Correa, Mehta and Patel, *Planning for Bombay*, 34)

Two more practical concerns motivated Correa, Mehta and Patel, to advocate for the new town. First, there was the rapid rate of urban population growth in the nation. In the three and a half decades following the 1960s, the total urban population was expected to see “an increase of 700%”.³⁵⁵ The second concern was the layout of the municipal area itself. Bombay, once the seven islands were unified as a single landmass, and once the suburbs were incorporated into the municipal control area, was still planned as a longitudinal city much like Manhattan (cf. Figure 5). Most of its subsequent development and population movements were along a north-

³⁵⁴ Correa, Charles M., Pavina Mehta and Shirish B. Patel. “Planning for Bombay,” in *Bombay: Planning and Dreaming*, MARG Magazine 18, no. 3 (1965): 36ff.

³⁵⁵ Correa, Mehta and Patel, *Planning for Bombay*, 30.

south layout. However, this longitudinal development came with its own challenges as it shifted the residential populations to the suburbs and led to the rise of traffic and population congestion along the city's major roadways leading into and out of the city center (the hashed region in Figure 5).³⁵⁶

As the city expanded northward, by 1965 it was reaching a critical point in terms of its ability to balance a growing population with the provision of civic amenities and services that will allow this population to prioritize public spiritedness. The only way forward that would allow planners to continue providing for the good life of the city's residents was to expand eastward into the mainland and to expand the role of town planners beyond the development of the existing city to that of the greater metropolitan region, much of which was comprised of undeveloped land. This would allow the existing and future populations to better disperse and decentralize. As Correa et. al. put it, "if ... a single major urban center is created on the mainland directly opposite Bombay, of equal prestige and importance, it could develop into an area as large as the older city ... provide the equilibrium necessary between old and new developments ... [and] be ringed later by satellite towns around it."³⁵⁷ In many ways, this report by Correa and his associates proved to be a work of remarkable prophecy. It not only predicted the eventual rise of this new town but also the idea for a new type of planning authority needed for a project of this scale and importance, i.e., "a single co-ordinating authority ... created so that an overall pattern of growth can be developed".³⁵⁸ The City and Industrial Development Corporation (CIDCO) would eventually be formed by the Government of Maharashtra as this

³⁵⁶ Correa, Mehta and Patel, *Planning for Bombay*, 33-34.

³⁵⁷ Correa, Mehta and Patel, *Planning for Bombay*, 36.

³⁵⁸ Correa, Mehta and Patel, *Planning for Bombay*, 41.

authority. It also foresaw major infrastructure projects that are presently being implemented, like the Mumbai to Navi Mumbai Trans-Harbor Link.³⁵⁹

Always at stake in the original plan for New Bombay was the chance to renew the civic mission of the liberal discourse of town planning. “The development across the water ... would give a new image and new vitality to the citizens of the city and the State”.³⁶⁰ But themes and topics are already emerging that signal a governmental crisis in and eventual transformation of the discourse of town planning. The next section examines this crisis in further detail. Preliminarily, however, a common thread runs throughout and animates the contributions of this issue by MARG. Each of its contributors is trying to draw attention to a perceived crisis of population that is internal to and threatens to undermine the liberal planning project of developing and nurturing subject-citizens and the type of well-balanced future city and nation that such subjects promise.

Practically speaking, the crisis of population is a matter of the projected exponential rise of the number of the city’s residents as the twentieth century draws to a close. More importantly, the governmental implication of this crisis suggests the inability of planners to secure the compliance of the city’s population once it crosses an unknown threshold. Under the liberal model of planning, a key governmental assumption was that the conduct of each and all could be coordinated and their compliance secured if planners took care to command space and produce balanced environments that encouraged the formation of the subject-citizen out of the city’s residents. But it is precisely this assumption that will be undermined and eroded in the coming years and decades, as more and more people arrive into the planned city attracted by its promise

³⁵⁹ Correa, Mehta and Patel, *Planning for Bombay*, 43.

³⁶⁰ Correa, Mehta and Patel, *Planning for Bombay*, 41.

of a well-balanced and civic life for its residents. The fear among planners is that once the city's population is too high, equilibrium between the subject and the city's environment is disturbed and in such a way that higher order concerns about civic well-being will give way to older concerns about personal-well being. The designation of fixed and purpose-driven spaces will give way once again to a mixed and uninhibited form of land-use.

The arguments in the MARG volume also reveal a link between the liberal discourses of town planning and of marketing. Marketing between the 40s and 60s was a logistical field designed to bring the planned and mass-produced goods of the rapidly industrializing nation from centers of production to centers of consumption and to citizen-consumers in waiting. The liberal discourse of marketing dealt with the art of wise distribution. Similarly, an important aspect of the liberal discourse of town planning was its focus on nation-building and city-making through the construction of a system of traffic and transit corridors that would allow people, much like goods, to be better distributed along a regional territory. This was one way that balance could be struck between the city's residents and their environment so that no specific part of the city would be abnormally congested at any given point in time. For Anand, eastward expansion of the metropolitan region has clear implications for a balanced distribution of people's movements. For example, between residentially zoned areas and areas specifically designated for employed activity, "an adequate communication system to allow the incoming and outgoing of the working population to nearby areas" will be needed.³⁶¹ Broadly speaking, the proper distribution of the movements of each and all would permit a balance to be reached in individuals' lives, cultivating them into well-rounded residents who ensure the well being of the

³⁶¹ Anand, *Splendours and Miseries of Bombay*, 15.

city and nation in and through the pursuit of the good life. But the crisis of population threatens to undermine systematic projects such as these.

Through the rest of the 1960s, planners continue to draw attention to this perceived and looming governmental crisis by reframing the concept of the urban to describe this crisis under the umbrella term of ‘urbanization’. The urban, which once constituted the distinctive features of the city now becomes problematized in new ways. On the one hand, it is the urban itself as a means to and reflection of the civic health of the city and its population that is under threat. On the other hand, the threat promises a redefinition of the urban under new characteristics that will distinctly reflect the city’s novel reality if/when this crisis fully surfaces. The urban thus becomes the object of planning thought and practice in order to provide an epistemic register to understand the crisis of population within and around Indian cities. As early as the mid-60s, there are scholars studying urbanization in this context, i.e., as ‘over-urbanization’ and its relationship to ‘urban India’.³⁶² National-level concerns among planners about this urbanization are mirrored in local and regional circles, as well.³⁶³ By and large, there is a commitment among many planners to resolve this crisis of population within the liberal framework of town planning. The arguments in the following paragraphs are presented to better contextualize this perceived governmental crisis through early attempts by planners who tried to understand and address it.

N. V. Sovani was a researcher at the Gokhale Institute for Politics and Economics who conducted the city of Poona’s first socio-economic survey. “Urbanization and Urban India” takes on the task of critiquing the concept of ‘over-urbanization’, which he finds gaining a lot of

³⁶² Cf. Sovani, N.V. *Urbanization and Urban India* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1966).

³⁶³ Cf. Bombay Civic Trust and Yusuf Meherally Centre. *A National Policy for Orderly Development of Indian Cities* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1968).

currency among town planners.³⁶⁴ He finds that while there is clear evidence to suggest a rapid rise of India's urban population, the concept itself is poorly defined and thus the causes and consequences of it are largely understudied. To begin with, as Sovani sees it, one key difference between his definition of urbanization and that of others is in the analysis of factors leading to rural-urban migration, i.e., the influx of rural migrants into urban centers. The TCPO report from 1962, for instance, proposed that the poor standard of living and lack of opportunity in the countryside leads to rural migration to the city.³⁶⁵ According to Sovani, the consensus among planners studying (over-)urbanization seems to be that “‘push’ in the countryside mounts continuously and pushes people out to the city in search of employment and livelihood”.³⁶⁶ This consensus around the economic ‘push factors’ follows from the way the town planners of the liberal regime had instrumentalized the village, seeing the village as too rustic, individualistic and preoccupied with mere existence. But for Sovani, “the causal relationship underlying rural-urban migration is quite complicated and cannot be completely explained by the rural push factors”.³⁶⁷

Even if we assume the economic aspect of the argument, “rural economic conditions are bad, but they are not a necessary nor a sufficient condition for rural-urban migration”.³⁶⁸ Indeed, a singular focus on the economic causes and consequences of urbanization is not tenable. Such a position “assumes that urbanization based on industrial development was mainly responsible for the social and cultural changes associated with urbanism and the urban way of life”, ignoring a

³⁶⁴ Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 1.

³⁶⁵ Town and Country Planning Organization, *Town and Country Planning in India*, 23.

³⁶⁶ Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 7.

³⁶⁷ Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 7.

³⁶⁸ Footnote 13. Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 7.

more textured understanding of urbanization as “a culture-bound phenomenon”.³⁶⁹ There’s reason to believe that, compared to the countryside, “the cultural role of cities ... [does] play a dynamic role [in urbanization]”.³⁷⁰ Taken together, the crucial implication here is that while the economic factors of rapid urbanization are important, they are not as important as the cultural, social, and political factors. To understand the crisis of population, the liberal discourse of planning must admit that economic activity is one among many drivers of urban transformation, without subscribing to economic teleology. In this sense, Sovani recommends a political-theoretical shift away from thinking of urbanization as a primarily economic phenomena.

But Sovani also recommends methodological changes in how demographic evidence and trends must be analyzed. Throughout the 1940s and 50s, and even into the 1960s, planners would focus on basic demographic data from the census to develop population projections on which to base their town plans. This explains the focus of planners like Correa on the rate of urban population growth compared to the total population. Sovani finds that “the proportion of urban to total population ... is a rather crude indicator of urbanization because it does not take into account the distribution of the urban population in the country.”³⁷¹ This issue is partly due to planners’ reliance on census data, which means that their studies are “of an omnibus character and ... can be used for a broad type of analysis only.”³⁷² Existing studies on urbanization are not well suited to understand more contextualized differences between types of towns and how the urban population distributes among them. While demographic studies are very much needed, what is especially important is that the data and data analysis be far more in-depth than at

³⁶⁹ Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 10.

³⁷⁰ Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 11.

³⁷¹ Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 34.

³⁷² Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 39.

present. In terms of data sources, Sovani recommends moving beyond the census to incorporate the National Sample Surveys.³⁷³ Like market research practices, analysis should better classify towns and study the distribution of the urban population among them. This includes national-level findings on “the distribution of households by size in rural and urban sectors and to different size towns”, “the distribution of persons by education attainment in different urban strata”, and “the distribution of persons by sex and industrial status in rural and urban areas”.³⁷⁴

Sovani’s work stresses the importance of studying urbanization not solely for the benefit of commercial interests or even private well-being. Indeed, detailed analyses of urbanization are needed precisely because the nation and its future are at stake. Without proper means to collect and analyze demographic data, and without a deeper understanding of how the urban population is distributed, the crisis of population facing cities will not be adequately dealt with. And since town planners during the liberal era see the nation and its future in the planned development of city, failed attempts to plan for that crisis will necessarily spell the end of the nation-building project. Indeed, demographers will only take on added importance as they move into the coming decades to understand urbanization in more detail. By the 1970s, prominent demographers like Ashish Bose of the Demographic Research Center at the Institute of Economic Growth in Delhi, will have supplied leading demographic studies on urbanization. His “Urbanization in India, An Inventory of Source Materials” attempted a comprehensive account of available quantitative source data, interdisciplinary literature, and detailed bibliographies on the topic of urbanization.³⁷⁵ And his “Studies in India’s Urbanization, 1901-1971” was a detailed

³⁷³ Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 42.

³⁷⁴ Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, 42ff.

³⁷⁵ Bose, Ashish. *Urbanization in India, An Inventory of Source Materials* (New Delhi: Academic Books Limited, 1970).

demographic and statistical study utilizing many of those source materials, and the first in a new book series on Studies in Demography by Institute of Economic Growth.³⁷⁶

The Bombay Civic Trust also contributed to debates on urbanization. In 1966, and in partnership with the Yusuf Meherally Center (a public trust formed in 1961), the Civic Trust organized a symposium titled “A National Policy for An Orderly Development of Indian Cities”. The symposium was designed to develop recommendations for broad national planning principles that address urbanization, which can be hashed out regionally based on local contexts. The presentations and findings from this event were thought to be of public interest and thus published in 1968. At this point, Bulsara was serving as the Director of the Civic Trust. The objective of the text, like the original symposium, was to highlight the need for planning policy that will better direct urban and rural development in India given the looming crisis of population. Early in this text is a characterization of the return of the type of uninhibited growth that preceded the liberal regime of town planning. The potential return of previously uncontrolled and haphazard growth, this time because of a crisis of population, is defined by the organizers of the symposium as “unplanned urbanism”.³⁷⁷ Framing the looming crisis as one of ‘unplanned urbanism’ was done, partly, to historically identify and celebrate the present liberal era of town planning as planned urbanism. A more important reason for this reframing was to describe the present problems of urbanization in continuity with the pre-liberal challenges that planners had worked hard to alleviate through programs promoting civic balance. If left unchecked, the crisis of population threatens to disturb this balance between the city’s residents and its civic milieus and throw the city back into the chaotic growth patterns and practices of the

³⁷⁶ Bose, Ashsih. *Studies in India’s Urbanization, 1901-1971* (New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd., 1974).

³⁷⁷ Bombay Civic Trust and Yusuf Meherally Centre, *A National Policy*, v.

past. It also risks endangering the relationship between rural and urban, leading once again to the problem of uninhibited population concentrations and the disorderly pursuit of private interests in Bombay.

To be clear, the members of the symposium do not mean to reverse or reject urbanization. Indeed, S. M. Y. Sastry, Deputy Commissioner of the BMC, sees urbanization in India as an inevitability.³⁷⁸ But planners are concerned about the effects of the recent urbanization trend if, due to the crisis of population, planners can no longer gain the compliance of the city's residents to coordinate their conduct. This is precisely what Moinuddin Harris, Vice President of the Meherally Center, regrettably refers to as a growing "apathy and inertia on the part of the citizens of this great metropolis," because civic facilities are failing to keep up with the changing urban order to "create conditions of civic consciousness ... [and] for instilling an interest in problems of a civic nature."³⁷⁹ Without a well-balanced relationship between the city's residents and its civic environments, the subject-citizen cannot be produced as "an asset and investment of a permanent nature".³⁸⁰

This approach to address the crisis of population by thinking of residents as assets or investments for the city's future holds true for the current and future residents of Bombay. Balsara sees rural-urban migration and current "rustics as potential and prospective urbanites".³⁸¹ And again, for these prospective urbanites to strive for more than mere existence, they must be developed as subjects with a prospectivism that inspires in each an ethic of responsibility and citizenship. The implication here is that as rustics they do not possess a

³⁷⁸ Sastry, S.M.Y. "Essential Requirements - Legal, Administrative, and Financial - for Orderly Urban Development," in *A National Policy for Orderly Development of Indian Cities* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1968), 2.

³⁷⁹ Bombay Civic Trust and Yusuf Meherally Centre, *A National Policy*, vii.

³⁸⁰ Bombay Civic Trust and Yusuf Meherally Centre, *A National Policy*, vii.

³⁸¹ Balsara, *Social Objectives of Urban Development*, 56.

national and civic consciousness, which can only be attained in and through planned urbanization or the command approach the town planning. Hence, Balsara proposes that the rustic must be actively urbanized in their villages if they are to function as productive members of the civic *corpus*.³⁸² The rustic, then, is a pre-urbanite both in terms of being a future resident of the city and as a potential city resident-in-training in their village. Sastry adds that educational programs can be used “to transform the incoming rustic into a cooperating and efficient citizen”.³⁸³ And Deva Raj, from the Ministry of Health at the Government of India, promotes “conversion from rural to urban way of life”.³⁸⁴

This is also what was meant by ‘rural development’ (in contrast to ‘urban’ or ‘town’ development) within the liberal framework of town planning. The objective of rural development, much like town development, was to ensure the production of compatible, predictable, and compliant subjects who will see to the development of the city’s civic balance and the nation’s future. Failure to execute such rural development will accelerate the return of unplanned development, when the individualistic model of the village was once superimposed onto the fabric of the city leading to its original haphazard growth.³⁸⁵ Within the city, too, even greater attention is needed than before to build “a harmonious social milieu”.³⁸⁶ This is because, for planners, “city-building is an art and science” and urban living is still about pursuing the good life so that the (future) city and nation might benefit.³⁸⁷

³⁸² Balsara, *Social Objectives of Urban Development*, 56.

³⁸³ Sastry, *Essential Requirements*, 15.

³⁸⁴ Raj, Deva. “Urbanization in the Perspective of Rural-Urban Relationship,” in *A National Policy for Orderly Development of Indian Cities* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1968), 64.

³⁸⁵ Balsara, *Social Objectives of Urban Development*, 57.

³⁸⁶ Balsara, *Social Objectives of Urban Development*, 58.

³⁸⁷ Balsara, *Social Objectives of Urban Development*, 59.

By the late 1960s, the liberal discourse of town planning is fully absorbed by the issue of the population crisis and the governmental challenges it presents to the liberal regime of town planning in terms of securing the compliance of each and all in order to build the future city and nation. The 1966 symposium by the Bombay Civic Trust and the Meherally Center signaled robust efforts to tackle these problems head on. However, their proposed remedies were still the solutions from two decades ago when this crisis was not clearly perceived. These solutions looked to re-command and renew the balance between the city's environment and its residents that it had worked so tirelessly to establish. However, as the population growth of the city was expected to keep rising and exponentially so, the work of setting and maintaining such a balance became acutely unfeasible on the basis of two key factors. One factor concerned the drain on public resources to provide for the various civic amenities for this growing population. Indeed, planners will start to become concerned about the general lack of per-capita resources available to meet the demands of the metropolis. The second factor concerns a new assumption among planners about the freedom of the current and future residents of the nation's urban centers.

Under the liberal regime, individual freedom was assumed to be closely tied up with an obligation and responsibility to the well being of the city and nation, thereby producing a compliant and predictable population. However, some planners within the liberal discourse of town planning are now coming to see the city's population as increasingly unpredictable and fluid, concluding that the outcomes of these fluid and active populations are largely unpredictable. It is this very population that is now posing serious challenges to planners looking to coordinate the conduct of the city's residents. The solutions of the liberal regime might have served well until now but were unable to fully come to grips with this crisis of compliance. New assumptions about the individual's freedom will have to be made by planners to better understand and govern

the populations made up by these individuals. This signals an epistemic turn in how planners know and understand individual freedom and how this revised understanding will necessitate novel innovations in the practice of urban planning and development. A counter-discourse emerges that does not make the same libertarian assumptions of the liberal regime, but modifies these to better suit the double realities of an unpredictable population and overextended public resources. And this counter-discourse is internal to the liberal discourse civic town planning, set in motion at another symposium organized by the Bombay Civic Trust.

The Crisis of Population and the Urban Age of Uncertainty

The late 60s and early 70s prove to be a liminal period for the discourse of planning as it transitions from the liberal to a neoliberal regime. This period represents the moment the liberal planning regime will come under enough pressure that it buckles, creating a pathway for a novel counter-discourse of planning to set up and recharge the urban landscape. Shortly after its symposium, in December 1968, the Bombay Civic Trust organized another seminar called “Bombay’s Development and Master Plan - A 20 years’ Perspective”. Papers from this seminar were published in 1970 as part of an edited book under the same title as the seminar.³⁸⁸ A number of contributors, including Bulsara, continue to promote the now familiar analyses and recommendations of the liberal discourse. Additionally, there is now a general consensus about the existence of a crisis of population and an understanding that steps to arrest the crisis have failed to deliver results. For instance, J. B. D’Souza, general manager of the BEST initiative of the BMC, notes in a foreword to this text that “if Bombay is growing at all, it is only in numbers; the body of homeless, thirsty human beings living in subhuman conditions is growing ... The city

³⁸⁸ Bombay Civic Trust. *Bombay’s Development and Master Plan - A 20 years’ Perspective* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1970).

is dying, and we, the citizens, do not know it”.³⁸⁹ In many ways, this seminar is a last attempt at building a liberal minded consensus about what is to be done. The solution proposed by a number of seminar attendees will recall the recommendations of the MARG contributors, advocating for a scheme of ‘decentralization’ predicated on planning and building a new town across the harbor on the mainland.

Planners, too, are now recognizing that the liberal discourse of town planning was based on certain assumptions about the population during the period when practice of town planning was gaining steam in the 1940s. The key assumption was that while the population of Bombay in the 1940s was relatively large, it was nevertheless optimal and this primed it to be fashioned into a civic minded body. “Until 1944, Bombay could really claim the distinction of being the *Urbs Prima in Indis*”, not because it was civically well planned but because its population at the time was optimized for such planning.³⁹⁰ “Greater Bombay then had a population only of 18 lakhs, and our city [the hashed area in Figure 5] had a population of 15 lakhs.”³⁹¹ Consequently, planning attitudes assumed that a civic harmony could be structured by balancing this optimal number residents with the public resources and spaces needed to cultivate those residents as members of the city and nation’s body politic. This is why town planners of this era envisioned Bombay as a type of *polis* (or a city-state) suited to the modern nation-building project, i.e., as the metropolis or ‘mother city’ that Bulsara saw two decades ago. But the population of Bombay doubled to 32

³⁸⁹ BEST stands for Bombay Electric Supply and Transport. It is in charge of supplying and operating the city’s public buses, and supplying electricity to the city’s wards. D’Souza, J. B. “Foreword,” in *Bombay’s Development and Master Plan - A 20 years’ Perspective* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1970), v.

³⁹⁰ *Urbs Prima in Indis*, “the first city in India”, was the title given to Bombay by its second governor general, Gerald Aungier. Bulsara, J. F. “Introductory Observations,” in *Bombay’s Development and Master Plan - A 20 years’ Perspective* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1970), 2.

³⁹¹ 1 lakh = 100,000. Bulsara, *Introductory Observations*, 2.

lakhs by the end of the 1960s.³⁹² And now that relationship between an optimal number of residents and the city's resources was no longer sustainable. In other words, liberal era planners failed precisely in their fundamental assumption about this optimal population level, since it was only ever optimal for a brief period of time and had since then experienced dramatic and seemingly unpredictable changes. And as this crisis became more apparent to these planners, it was also evidence for a broader governmental crisis in Bombay. This is was because planners could no longer assume the predictability of the city's present and future populations in order to secure their compliance to build the city's status as a civic metropolis.

The re-proposed solution of 'decentralization' was an urgent "dispersal and decongestion imperative".³⁹³ Decentralization meant two things. First, it meant decreasing the population of Bombay back down to an optimal level in relation to its civic amenities and spaces. This involved renewing calls for regional planning through the planning and development of a new town near Bombay, permitting planners to disperse and divert existing and future residents and commercial activities.³⁹⁴ To save the future of Bombay as the civic minded metropolis, Bulsara imagined this other town would especially function as a commercially minded industrial town. To serve this function, the new town would have an optimal population in the range "of 100,000 to 300,000".³⁹⁵ The location of the proposed town was on the mainland but significantly south and east of Bombay city in the areas of Alibag or Uran and, thus, it never came to pass. Instead, New Bombay was built directly across the harbor from the city, and was built not as a commercial

³⁹² Bulsara, *Introductory Observations*, 2.

³⁹³ Bulsara, *Introductory Observations*, 6.

³⁹⁴ Bulsara, *Introductory Observations*, 6.

³⁹⁵ Bulsara, *Introductory Observations*, 6.

town but originally as a twin city to that of Bombay in terms of mirroring its balance of residential, industrial, and commercial areas.

Decentralization also meant finding ways to increase provisions for civic amenities and spaces that would foster public life among Bombay's residents. However, the city's residents were often employed in the informal sectors. For instance, about 200,000 residents who lived on the city's pavements and sidewalks were "working in the docks, or the ... godowns, as domestic servants or construction workers".³⁹⁶ Many residents were not part of the city's tax base even as they added to the city's numbers and were expected to engage with its civic milieu as publicly minded persons. How then to pay for increasing the public's accessibility to such amenities? Funding such amenities might be easier if there was a way to subsidize the public cost for those residents who could not contribute towards public funds. Romy Shroff, for example, proposed an approach to do just this. As a town planner from Bombay, he saw that increasing the accessibility to civic amenities for all people "is only possible when you integrate a varied group of people, of whom some can support certain basic amenities by financial contributions and others by personal involvement".³⁹⁷ Along with re-optimizing the city's population, this public support program was thought to "create a much more amiable and homogeneous society".³⁹⁸ This type of program could work at an extra-local level to renew civic purpose within neighborhoods and communities.

³⁹⁶ Bulsara, J. F., S. M. Y. Sastry, M. A. D'Souza, J. Datt. "Slum and Pavement Dwellers, Problems Created by Them and their Possible Solution," in *Bombay's Development and Master Plan - A 20 years' Perspective* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1970), 160.

³⁹⁷ Shroff, R. "Drawbacks in Our Present System of Urban Development and Proposed Alternative Means to Rectify Them," in *Bombay's Development and Master Plan - A 20 years' Perspective* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1970), 81.

³⁹⁸ Shroff, *Drawbacks in Our Present System*, 81.

It would create well-integrated and self-contained communities within the city, adequately supplied with open and public spaces, schools, transit corridors, civic centers and the like.³⁹⁹

Taken together, the 1968 seminar attempted to take on the crisis of population by advocating the solution of decentralization. Its twin objectives of population dispersal and programs subsidizing civic amenities were entirely within the framework of a liberal approach to resolve that crisis. But in the midst of these liberal recommendations, other Indian planners presented papers at the seminar that were diagnosing the crisis of population differently and gesturing towards an urban age of uncertainty. Among these other planners at the seminar was T. J. Manicham, the director of the School of Town Planning and Architecture in New Delhi. For Manicham, “metropolitan development should be made self-financing”.⁴⁰⁰ Such an approach does not go after the informal sector to pay their share in taxes or compel the city’s formally employed residents to pay more in taxes. Either measure would risk stifling potentially spontaneous and diverse productivities within the city. The self-financing approach looks to pay for urban development, rather than specific services and spaces that would foster civic mindedness, by recommending new revenue generation practices for the planning authority. As will be discussed later, the program of self-financing gains momentum among planners and takes root through the new discourse of planning. This program also gives new significance to the notion of a municipal corporation. Previously, a municipality would be assigned the status of corporation because it represented the interests of a civic minded body. But now, this status takes on new meaning insofar as it must increasingly operate as a private enterprise that self-finances its various ventures. Eventually, this double-corporatization skews the discourse of planning to see

³⁹⁹ Shroff, *Drawbacks in Our Present System*, 88-89.

⁴⁰⁰ Manicham, T. J. “Future of Metropolis in India,” in *Bombay’s Development and Master Plan - A 20 years’ Perspective* (Bombay: Bombay Civic Trust, 1970), 45.

to the demands of a private enterprise rather than those of a civic body. And New Bombay through its planning authority, CIDCO, will be a prime example of this type of self-financing program used in urban planning and development.

For Manicham and others, the crisis of population also presented itself as a double edged sword. The swelling population of the city brought with it a crisis of coordinating conduct and securing compliance. But it also allowed the growth of the city as a dynamic center for smaller- and larger-scale private enterprises.⁴⁰¹ He finds that dispersing parts of this population through decentralization would mean renewing the civic body at the expense of promoting the diverse private interests, and spontaneous and voluntary relations that keep present residents in the city and that lure migrants into it. These interests are not just economic in the sense of material interests. They are economic in the more classical sense representing the affairs of private life, or the *oikonomia*. The promise of the metropolitan city, for Manicham and other planners, is not that it offers a fixed template to order civic life. Instead, the city promises to foster opportunities for economic interest to take root, i.e., an interest in undertaking and venturing to a life defined by the personal ends rather than directed by ends outside of the individual's own (such as civic harmony). What is to become of this type of interest should decentralization succeed? What type of balance must be struck, if any, between the obligations to the *polis* and the demands of *oikos*?

The crisis of population that Indian planners find themselves in the midst of during the late 60s and early 70s cues an age of uncertainty for the city. Planners can no longer rely on predictable populations, but instead on populations that are by and large always in flux. That is, one reason there was a crisis of population to begin with is that planners failed to see that populations movements in and out of cities are quite unpredictable. The fatal flaw of the

⁴⁰¹ Manicham, *Future of Metropolis in India*, 36-38.

command approach of planners was that they assumed a predictable population, emerging out of the body of free subject-citizens, fine-tuned in their interests to pursue the fixed outcomes of civic harmony. But if planners now think that populations are unpredictable, then this is because the individual members of these populations are increasingly thought of as themselves unpredictable. The free movements and activities of individuals are not like those imagined in the era of town and country planning. Instead, in the new era of urban and regional planning, these individuals are thought of as free in terms of pursuing their personal interest in maximizing the choices available to them. As such, these interests are themselves understood as always shifting and unpredictable. And it is because they can accommodate a variety of private ventures along with changing interests and choices that large urban and metropolitan regions draw in more and more choice-maximizing individuals. This promises even more uncertainty in the urban population. The individuals who are productive of this population voluntarily (dis)associate with each other in the pursuit of their personal goals and are thus also generative of the unpredictable outcomes that are reflective of such as spontaneous ordering of urban affairs.

If earlier the city was sought after by each and all because it promised the 'good life' of higher order and civically minded pursuits, it is now sought after because it promises a 'better life', i.e., it presents the most opportunities to the free chooser to ensure a personal future for herself. How must planners coordinate such a population, if the relationship between the population and the urban region is now redefined in this way? J. W. Airan and R. N. Karani, professors at Wilson College in Bombay, a new way to think the citizenship of this urbanite and her relationship to the planner. This urbanite is not the liberal subject-citizen who enjoys the rights and privileges of the city and the nation precisely because those rights and privileges come with duties and obligations to the city and nation's future. Instead, Airan and Karani's work is an

early example of the eventual redefinition of what it means to be a citizen in the neoliberal era. To begin with, and crucially, this citizen is a resident of the city who is free to exit from their obligations to the city and the nation. And this is true for all citizens and especially the younger citizens and students, in particular, not only due to the mass student protests of the late 1960s and the crisis of authority such protests reflected in the government of young people. More importantly, it is always the population of young people who will produce aggregate outcomes out of their freely choosing and voluntary activities as adults that promise the future well-being of any city. And so, “whatever contribution we are seeking either from the citizen or the student cannot be otherwise [than] *voluntary*.”⁴⁰²

If the obligations of citizenship are to be made voluntary, this is because individuals are now seen as “spontaneous” characters who, in their voluntary and freely choosing activities, are the very “source of [the city’s] energy”.⁴⁰³ If the city is to thrive, the source of its energy cannot be controlled and directed as it was in the past, towards outcomes other than those defined personally. “The voluntary or spontaneous nature of the citizen’s contribution would mean ... that it is unofficial: it is not controlled by government or by the officially constituted civic body.”⁴⁰⁴ It follows that “a reasonable attitude of the citizen in relation to the official institution should be that the activities of the former supplement the latter”.⁴⁰⁵ This is because the doctrine of spontaneity entails “that this contribution to the life of city would not be made out to be obligatory upon the citizen.”⁴⁰⁶ Here, we find that voluntarism most certainly advocates a

⁴⁰² Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 293.

⁴⁰³ Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 293.

⁴⁰⁴ Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 293.

⁴⁰⁵ Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 293.

⁴⁰⁶ Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 293.

libertarianism but one that is emptied of the duties and responsibilities of the liberal free subject, replacing it with a responsibility to secure personally defined ends. The urban subject is no longer capable of being directed by civic interest. Instead, urban planners must encourage her to coordinate her conduct in compliance with the choice-maximizing imperatives that initiate and retain the urban catallaxy. Hence, this new type of citizen plays a more supplemental and passive role in urban and regional planning. Planners no longer see the citizens role as integral to the planning process through their active participation in making the city a civic center. Taken together, the spontaneous energies of private pursuits produce various and uncertain outcomes. While these outcomes do not promise gains to any specific person, in the aggregate, they produce unspecified benefits that promise to aid the (re)development of the urban region. As citizens go about pursuing their interests to best secure their personal futures, they become bystanders to the planning of that region, only participating when planning threatens to minimize their opportunities to choose for themselves and endangers spontaneous ordering of urban affairs.

The individuals in an urban region are citizens only because in the relentless pursuit of their singular interest and personal futures they incidentally reflect the city's state of well-being. Citizenship becomes a personal pursuit of the individual's interest encouraged for their own benefit and as they define it, only a side effect of which is the promise of an energized city. The city of the liberal regime was marked by a civic harmony. The city of the neoliberal regime will be defined by spontaneity and unpredictability. Released from their public responsibilities, the type of organized efforts by such citizens no longer inspire or encourage mass public participation and mobilization. "It is an error to assume that for an effective impact of citizens upon the community what we need is a hundred per cent participation of citizens. *Even a five per cent participation of individuals fired with enthusiasm would release more constructive energy than a larger number*

of regimented, sullen people."⁴⁰⁷ In the realm of politics, the era of the public involvement and education of each and all now gives way to an age of special interest groups. Temporary organizations based on a shared private interest take the place of civic participation based on a common and public interest. The type of politics and collective action that is made possible from this redefinition of the free subject will be, for instance, those of the independent homeowners associations rather than of a publicly spirited and broad collectives formed out of the city's diverse neighborhoods and communities.

These new subjects also bring with them new modes of political influence. First, they bring a renewed alertness to matters of public interest but limited to the policing of corruption, such as the "misuse of money or property, [and] the indifference of public officials of all ranks and cadres".⁴⁰⁸ Given that individuals are seen as responsible for building and ensuring a personal future for themselves, instances of corruption increasingly interfere with their spontaneous activities threatening to misallocate the fruits of their energies. And so the renewed public interest is entirely preoccupied with ensuring that the rules of the political, social, and economic game are followed by all stakeholders and that the game arrives at natural and value-neutral outcomes. This still leaves the parameters or environment within which the game is played to be determined by planners. At the same time, it heightens a demand for better policing practices to ensure that the rules of the game are followed. Indeed, if the planners must ensure the compliance of each and all, the type of governmental practices that will rise to the top are those that more effectively police and surveil each and all in ways that ensure compliance to the rules of conduct and free choice. The use of surveillance tactics and techniques by planning is

⁴⁰⁷ Emphasis in the original. Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 294.

⁴⁰⁸ Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 296-297.

also about observing individuals in their quotidian affairs to develop plans that will better appeal to their prospectivism, and in ways that will secure their compliance to the perpetuation of the spontaneous ordering of urban affairs. For the neoliberal planning regime, the twin axes of policing will be to prevent rule-breaking (i.e., to ensure compliance to the rules of free choice) and to maximize individual choice.

The second mode of political influence is through this new citizen's "contribution of talent and services".⁴⁰⁹ The city's free subjects of choice are each differentiated by their proficiency in certain types of activities, most of which are not simply limited to the marketplace. Planners must accommodate these diverse proficiencies in order to ensure that each and all can contribute to the city by pursuing their private interests. That is, each plays the game differently, and planners must allow for all types of players as long as they follow the rules of the game. The final mode of citizen influence is "the contribution of material goods".⁴¹⁰ The material fruits of each individual's private pursuits will contribute to the general growth of the city. More broadly stated, the outcomes of the game not only benefit the individual players but the city in which they reside and play the game. The precise nature of the outcome for a specific player does not concern urban and regional planners. It might be to that individual's gain or their detriment. In the final analysis, what matters to planners is that the game is played voluntarily and spontaneously and, while there may be particular winners and losers, that energies expended playing the game reveal an aggregate outcome that benefits the city (materially, culturally, socially, or politically).

⁴⁰⁹ Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 296 and 299.

⁴¹⁰ Airan and Karani, *The Role Citizens and Students Can Play in Improving the City*, 296 and 299.

If the source of the city's future under the liberal regime was the sacrificial and sacrificing subject-citizen, the source of the new city's future will be the spontaneity of the free and choice-maximizing subject. And if spontaneity means anything here, it means that individual interest and choice is no longer yoked to a public interest that directed her conduct to pursue ends other than her own. It means that individual interest and choice is to be unhinged from anything other than the pursuit of her personal future, thereby always making her interest and choice unpredictable. At the planning end, there is a looming shift away from previously active planning to a more reactive planning. Planners must (and can) no longer actively plan to foster a civic mindedness, but must react to changes in individual interest. They must plan to foster a spontaneous urban order by removing pressures that constrict its condition of possibility, namely, a program of free choice. It must remove limitations placed on individual interest that obliged each to pursue ends other than those personally defined. But planning for such a spontaneous order will also mean having to secure the urban region against the unpredictable outcomes of such an order. And so the planner must react and plan according to always changing individual interest and choice. Planners will have to invest in techniques of surveillance to know individuals interests and appeal to these by organizing urban space in ways that keep up with the shifting interests of urban populations. In so doing, planners do overcome the crisis of population. They make this crisis a permanent state of things because it promises a new type of urban region that spontaneously arranges itself and that planners must work to foster for the aggregate benefit of the city.

To read Airan and Karani's text is not to suggest that this text singularly marks the epistemic shift from a liberal to a neoliberal discourse of freedom. Instead, to read this text is to see how by the 1970s and in the midst of a governmental crisis of population, planners begin to think of other ways to know and understand the urban subject. And this other way is not of the

individual obligated to the nation and the *polis*. Instead, a new type of individual is imagined who is more suited to make sense of the crisis of population precisely because this free individual reflects an unpredictability now assumed inherent in the broader population. This individual is now seen as a repository of the city's spontaneous and unpredictable energy and who may or may not take up broad nation-building agendas, instead prioritizing their own interests to secure a more suitable and personally defined future for themselves. And if this free subject now makes up the current and future urban population, then the new era of urban and regional planning since the 1970s will be marked by a fundamental state of uncertainty. The aleatory is made permanent to urban space and populations. Where once this subject's interest was made more predictable, it is now the source of spontaneity and unpredictably that always holds out the possibility of a new crisis should planners fail to closely track and appeal to it. Novel governmental challenges become apparent to a new crop of planners. Given this perpetual uncertainty, planners will pivot to practices of policing and surveilling to know and appeal to the individual choice-maximizer's shifting interests, and to do so in ways that will secure the compliance of this new subject to a now required spontaneous ordering of the urban region.

Under this new regime of planning, the crisis of population is never done away with but must be managed as the very condition of possibility of urban and regional planning, defining a new age of uncertainty. With the neoliberal discourse of planning, the task of planners is not so much to limit the population of the urban region thereby risking of the vital energies of that region. But if the population is always unpredictable, then the crisis of population is always already present and lurking just over the horizon, threatening the future of the urban region if planners cannot quickly make urban space respond to always shifting interests within the urban populations. This creates a general sense of unease among planners and intensifies calls to

perpetually surveil the now assumed and mercurial dynamism of a population, in relation to which planners' schemes are potentially always a step behind. Planners now work under these unpredictable ebbs and flows in the urban population and look to ensure metropolitan region's future through the freedom to choose of its residents.

By the late 70s, planners themselves were documenting in greater detail the effects of this crisis of population, specifically for the family, the individual, and in terms of gender. The Bombay regional chapter of the Indian Institute of Town Planners published "Selected Papers in Urban and Regional Planning" in 1977 to celebrate the Institute's silver jubilee. The crisis of population and urbanization features prominently among its contributors since it forms the backdrop for the new era of urban and regional planning. H. D. Kopardekar, chief planning officer at the Bombay Metropolitan Region Development Authority, noted that one effect of the urban and regional turn during the 1970s has been an increase in social disorganization in urban areas. If the ways in which individual freedom is understood changes, then all sorts of traditional social structures and relations become destabilized. This is "particularly noticeable in the changes in the family organization ... from the large or joint family system to the small family system".⁴¹¹ But within and outside of the family, Kopardekar also noted that individuals were experiencing personal disorganization.⁴¹² If individuals are now responsible for themselves and securing their future, this introduces an uneasiness not previously experienced by them when their personal futures were closely tied up with public consciousness and civic meaning-making. The student protests of the late 60s were an early indication of this as young Indians across the political and

⁴¹¹ Kopardekar, H. D. "Metropolitan Growth and Social Change in India," in *Selected Papers in Urban and Regional Planning* (Bombay: Bombay Regional Chapter Institute of Town Planners India, 1977), 33ff.

⁴¹² Kopardekar, *Metropolitan Growth and Social Change in India*, 34.

economic spectrum expressed a growing discontent with what they perceived as limited immaterial and material outlooks.⁴¹³

For Kopardekar, social disruption was not just undermining older notions of the family and of individuality. The loosening of urban free subjectivity now looks to include the spontaneity and energies of as many people as possible, including women, for the effective development and government of the urban region. This means that in the realm of gender relations, “women’s traditional role as wife and mother is changing” because of “the increasing role of women in the urban life, business, industry, and politics.”⁴¹⁴ And so the effects of these new gender relations, along with the personal and familial disturbances, must be studied by planners in ways that seek to understand how urban residents’ conduct themselves and must be conducted by planners in the era of urbanization. It is in response to such call that more detailed studies about the relationship between urbanization and the changes to the urban family structure are undertaken by researchers like R. D. Naik at the Tata Institute for Social Sciences.⁴¹⁵

The Era of Urban and Regional Planning

The shift from town and countryside planning to urban and regional planning did not simply occur at the local level. National level planners were already preparing the way for a new approach to planning that would better accommodate the individual as a subject of choice and manage the crisis of population. For example, the TCPO’s planning approach now concerns the

⁴¹³ For example, on the political right, one prominent student Hindu-militant group was the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (or the All-India Students’ Organization), and on the political left were groups involved in the Naxalbari uprising whose rank and file was made up of students inspired by the Cultural Revolution in China.

⁴¹⁴ Kopardekar, *Metropolitan Growth and Social Change in India*, 34.

⁴¹⁵ Naik, R. D. *Some Structural Aspects of Urban Family* (Bombay: Tata Institute of Social Science, 1979).

development of the metropolitan regions of India rather than of the town and countryside (as it was in 1962). “An Approach to Development for Metropolitan Regions in India” was published by the TCPO in 1970. The TCPO was still under the direction of the Ministry of Health. Notably, and by the time of this new publication, the Government of India reorganized this Ministry as ‘The Ministry of Health, Family Planning, Works, Housing, & Urban Development’ to better assess the new demographic realities of urbanization. The novelty of the TCPO’s revised approach to planning is that it now looks to the urban metropolitan region instead of the dichotomies of town and countryside. This means that this regional approach collapses that dichotomy into the metropolitan region insofar as the region is large enough to now incorporate both cities and villages. It does not look at cities and villages as separate from each other, or the village in an instrumentalized relationship to the city. Instead, it looks at the city and the village as part of a new metropolitan reality and urban catchment area. As the urban region expands out from the city-center, it slips into the city’s broader periphery and incorporates villages and small communities known as ‘gaothans’ from its hinterland. CIDCO will exemplify this type of regional approach because rather than eliminate or remove gaothans, it will develop around gaothans and look to blend these into the broader project of urban development.

Importantly, this regional approach largely neglects villages that are not part of the urban hinterland. The earlier town planning approach looked at the entire countryside, not just on the city’s periphery, as home to potential and prospective urbanites. While liberal era town planners did not see rural to urban migration as the sole cause of the growth of the city’s residents, they did see it as a leading cause. Therefore, they needed to have a plan for the rural development of the countryside, no matter its location, if rustics were to live up to their potential as urbanites. However, regional planners no longer concerned themselves with why or how the population of

the urban region increases or decreases. Assuming that such changes are largely unpredictable, the regional planner looks for ways to deal with simply leveraging the energies of a given population to establish a spontaneity within the urban region. To the regional planner, the number of people in the urban region matters less than the management of that population, no matter its number, by appealing to the shared and personal interests of as many residents.

The TCPO report of 1970 begins with an explicit critique of the liberal discourse of planning. It finds that “most of our cities today are in the grip of an acute urban crisis ... [and] from the experience of the past 20 years in the field of planning, it can be inferred that the goods it delivered and the results it achieved did not make an appreciable impact on the mind of our masses”.⁴¹⁶ Accordingly, the TCPO proposes basic changes to the way the practice of planning is structured, moving away from national and nation-building imperatives and giving more control to regional authorities. In this reconfigured field of planning, the central government “should deal only with broad physical structures of the area and the principle politics and priorities for its future development. Specific allocations and details of the implementation should be the responsibilities of the local planning authority.”⁴¹⁷ Put another way, the recommendation of the TCPO is that planning authorities must be decentralized to the local and regional level. And at these localized levels, planning must become flexible and adaptable to the perpetual changes of their locality and its residents.

If plans must reflect the fluidity of its population, then this means that planning must approach the metropolitan region not in a wholesale fashion imposing a comprehensive vision onto the entire region, but in a piecemeal way of implementing highly contextualized schemes

⁴¹⁶ Town and Country Planning Organization. *An Approach to Development for Metropolitan Regions in India* (New Delhi: Government of India, 1970), 1.

⁴¹⁷ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 4-5.

for ‘action areas’.⁴¹⁸ These are areas “on which attention is to be concentrated over the next 10-20 years or so for large scale development, redevelopment or improvement.”⁴¹⁹ And the most suitable actions areas are spaces that were once part of the urban hinterland but are now incorporated into the metropolitan region. This region itself will be “an area of 200-400 miles on all sides from the main metropolis and serving a population of 15-50 millions”.⁴²⁰ In the case of Bombay, the action area was Navi Mumbai planned and implemented under the authority of CIDCO, which was formed in 1970. And the metropolitan region would become the Bombay Metropolitan Region (BMR and later, MMR) under the direction of the Bombay Metropolitan Region Development Authority (BMRDA and later, MMRDA), formed in 1975.⁴²¹

The TCPO’s endorsement of action area plans sees planning in a novel way. It is not about making provisions for public amenities and spaces, like large public buildings and parks, well proportioned roads, adequate utilities, such that if balanced together can form the backbone of a public milieu that nurtures and develops subject-citizens. Planning is now about relying on interdisciplinary knowledge, from politics, demography, psychology, economics, sociology, anthropology, geography, and so on, to observe and create insights that will help “to shape and improve the environment within which human activities are best performed”.⁴²² The work of regional planners must organize urban space not by directing individuals towards predefined ends, but by releasing the reflexive energies of urban populations to produce the spontaneous

⁴¹⁸ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 5.

⁴¹⁹ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 29.

⁴²⁰ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 29.

⁴²¹ To clarify, the MMRDA was originally set up to develop the rest of the Bombay metropolitan region not including the cities of Bombay and New Bombay, which were being developed by the BMC and CIDCO, respectively. It is currently the overall development authority of the region, including Mumbai and Navi Mumbai. But the government of these towns within the region is still carried out by the municipal authorities, which is the BMC for Mumbai and Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation (NMMC) for Navi Mumbai.

⁴²² Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 7.

outcomes. And since individuals are now understood to pursue personally defined ends, planning looks to govern individuals by shaping and improving the urban environment to maximize the choices available to each to seek and build a personal future. Simply put, if liberal planning looked to directly command the urban environment to foster and produce subject-citizens, the neoliberal approach seeks to indirectly manage and develop urban space to encourage and produce subjects of choice. And if liberal town planners were preoccupied with designating specific land use in order to produce certain fixed outcomes, then neoliberal town planners will look to engender a spontaneous ordering of urban life by making land use more flexible.

The work of governing urban populations through urban development is carried out through the practice of “spatial planning”, which ensures “the optimum use of land and optimum functioning of human activity”.⁴²³ Command based planning was based on governing an optimal number of people, balancing them with the civic amenities and spaces that will produce a vibrant and publicly minded body of residents. By contrast, spatial planning is more flexible and seeks to deploy land use in a manner that optimally appeals to the dynamic activities and shifting interests of the subject of choice. The command approach designated specific use for land in order to reverse the pre-liberal era’s trend of uninhibited mixed-use development and did so in ways that intended to cultivate subject-citizens. As will be described in the next section, the spatial approach and its promise to make space more flexible and responsive to always shifting interests, recalls the practice of mixed land-use but this time in a more planned and controlled manner. And so this new planning framework not only seeks to decentralize the role of the central government, but also looks to steer the role of local government away from the command

⁴²³ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 15.

approach to planning that sought to fix the use of space, towards the spatial approach to planning that looks to make space at least as flexible as individual interests.

The flexibility that comes with spatial planning means that land use can be designated to mimic and appeal not just to the shifting interests of the individual. For example, catering to the always changing needs of the marketplace through flexible land use will ensure that the economy of the metropolitan region will remain national and globally competitive.⁴²⁴ Indeed, the TCPO identifies a need to merge together spatial planning and economic development in ways that benefit this competitiveness of the urban region.⁴²⁵ Another advantage of spatial planning is that it can create traffic infrastructures that better appeal and adjust to the region's fluid population.⁴²⁶ Moreover, this planning still allows for land use to be designated for more specific purposes, such as residential or recreation, but is flexible enough to re-designate un-utilized or under-utilized land to better appeal to the activities and interests of various individuals and special interest groups.⁴²⁷

This more flexible form of planning relies less on juridico-political mechanisms and more on politico-economic mechanisms. The juridico-political mechanisms of the liberal discourse of planning relied on juridically secured obligations of subject-citizens and legislatively granted powers of public officials in order to carve out the city's civic environment. This, of course, exacerbated the crisis of population insofar as the work of planning could often slow down due to the collective action of citizens and/or public officials. The politico-economic mechanisms of the neoliberal discourse of planning, by contrast, depends more on quotidian and strategically

⁴²⁴ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 15.

⁴²⁵ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 14-16 and 30-31.

⁴²⁶ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 16.

⁴²⁷ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 16.

targeted *policies* (rather than more politically costly legislation) to more efficiently execute and implement the government of the urban region's population. Unpredictable populations lead to urban regions that are in a state of constant flux. Such "rapidly changing situations of our metropolitan cities call for realization of realistic policies plan as a perspective plan for the vast hinterland ... which should be dynamic enough to sustain enormous changes with time and must integrate the pattern of regional development as a whole and as a part on a long term basis".⁴²⁸

Compared to the work that goes into the juridically ordering cities, and given that individuals are more and more differentiated in their interests and in ways that limit the formation of any sizable public consensus, policies are more flexible and implementable because they are based on the perspectival judgements of planners. As such, policies are not liable to be slowed down by or made dependent to the juridical and legislative willpower of the city's residents who are, in any case, expected to only serve a supplemental role in the planning of urban region (and only if they so choose). The seemingly sluggish response of juridico-political mode of government to changing and uncertain urban conditions was seen as a major restraint on the planner's ability to adopt spatial planning and create more flexible plans. Policies, then, are more suited to quickly respond to the challenges of coordinating the compliance of an unpredictable population made up of individuals with always changing interests.

In the same year, 1970, the Maharashtra Economic Development Council (MEDC), published a report on spatial planning or what it called "elastic planning".⁴²⁹ The report echoed the need to decentralize planning from the central government and hand planning authority over to the regional development bodies. The MEDC also echoed Manicham's proposal for self-

⁴²⁸ Town and Country Planning Organization, *An Approach to Development*, 35.

⁴²⁹ Maharashtra Economic and Development Council. *Twin City for Bombay - Development Prospects and Problems* (Bombay: Maharashtra Economic and Development Council, 1970), 1.

financing urban and regional development bodies and their spatial and flexible planning projects, rather than relying on tax revenues. As the MEDC saw it, “urban development ought to be a self-generating process,” where after an initial capital investment by the state a “revolving fund” can be established.⁴³⁰ The fund would be set up to purchase undeveloped land in bulk, develop it (add infrastructure to it, such as roads, sewage, utility lines), and then resell it to private developers for a profit to the planning authority. The profits would be used to finance future land purchases and development (thus a revolving fund). As will be elaborated through interviews with planners from CIDCO, the specific bulk land acquisition policy that such self-generating processes depend on will compensate any potential project affected persons (or PAP) for their undeveloped and unsettled land (that is, land not used for dwelling). But these PAP are often villagers who own agricultural land and lose that livelihood when they surrender their land to the planning authority. And so the MEDC recommends that the authority’s revolving fund make provisions to rehabilitate PAP and retrain them for job opportunities in the now regionally developed space. Importantly, this PAP rehabilitation will not be about preparing civic minded urbanites out of rustics. It will prepare prospective subjects of interest and max-choice out of these villagers, who seek to maximize the choices potentially available to them in their new urban reality.

Through interviews with CIDCO’s planners, it also becomes apparent how this organization is best suited to synthesize and implement these new approaches and techniques of planning that have been gathered from the TCPO and MEDC reports. For now, however, it is worth highlighting some of the preliminary visions of CIDCO’s planners from 1970. CIDCO was formed in March 1970, and by September 1970 its planning department had released a preliminary and brief report titled “New Bombay - The Twin City”. This is one of the first

⁴³⁰ Maharashtra Economic and Development Council. *Twin City for Bombay*, 12.

reports published by CIDCO. Its purpose was to provide a history of how New Bombay and CIDCO came about, and the vision of CIDCO's planners for the new town across the harbor. CIDCO was formed as a public corporation under the direct authority of and answerable only to the Government of Maharashtra. It was formed as a technocratic body to more efficiently generate and implement policy since it was not politically constituted (unlike its counterpart in Bombay, the BMC) nor were its day to day operations subject to political and legislative pressures and requirements that other planning authorities experience (like the BMC). Its board of directors is unelected but appointed by the state government, and its day to day operations are conducted by career planning experts.

Given their mandate and history, CIDCO's planners see New Bombay as an urban focal area forming the nucleus of the newly imagined Bombay metropolitan region. This "new focus or counter-magnet [to Bombay] ... is seen as a centre from which it would be possible to reach into the hinterland and encourage development by more direct links than are possible from the island [of Bombay]".⁴³¹ If the decentralization of Bombay is the focus for regional planners, then CIDCO's planners saw residents moving into New Bombay in order to maximize their choices for work or housing or recreation and so on, rather than to build a new civic body.⁴³² The hinterland also needs to be developed to accommodate the urbanites' skills and interests in ways that allow individuals to freely and spontaneously perform their activities. Rather than forcing these individuals to move into areas deprived of the facilities that will allow them to flourish, New Bombay has to begin by "making areas in the interior readily accessible from the city" for

⁴³¹ City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra. *New Bombay - The Twin City* (Bombay: The Government Central Press, 1970), 3.

⁴³² City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra, *New Bombay*, 6.

diversely skilled urbanites.⁴³³ CIDCO's planners have to provide a type of "efficiently functioning environment ... directed towards satisfying the needs of the common man" that will allow the freely choosing subject to see New Bombay as the ideal setting to pursue their interests and to secure a personally defined future for themselves.⁴³⁴

At a 1975 seminar in Bombay organized by the Tata Institute of Social Science, Surendra K. Gupta (formerly of CIDCO) argues that "a city opens new vistas to an entrepreneur. His vision is enlarged and his attitudes are amenable to change due to constant interaction".⁴³⁵ But it is important to clarify that Bombay has always been a center for the entrepreneurial spirit of the commercial type. What's distinctive about the new discourse of planning is that it sees every urbanite as invested with an entrepreneurial ethic that directs them to seek ventures that will better secure their future. Urban regions are now developed to invite subjects of choice into environments that each individual judges as most suitable to maximize their choices and where each can aspire to a future version of themselves. This is because the urban region's well-being can only be secured through spontaneous and voluntary interactions that produce aggregate outcomes to the benefit the region. If the liberal era's urbanite came to urban settings and stayed there to pursue a good life defined by civic purpose, the neoliberal era's urbanite comes to and stays in these settings to pursue a better life defined by personal interests. This replays the difference between the prospectivism of the subject of liberalism and of neoliberalism, and this time within the field of urban planning. The latter is no longer defined by and responsible for an interest in ensuring city or the nation's future and well-being, but in a responsibility to secure a

⁴³³ City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra, *New Bombay*, 7.

⁴³⁴ City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra, *New Bombay*, 7.

⁴³⁵ Gupta, Surendra K. "Economic Aspects of Urbanization," in *Urban Development - A Perspective*, ed. P. K. Muttagi (Bombay: Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 1976), 31.

personally defined future. This personal pursuit of a ‘better life’ comes into strong relief for planners who, by the mid-70s, are steadily focused on planning spaces that appeal this pursuit.

The findings from this 1975 seminar were published a year later by the Tata Institute for Social Science (TISS) in an edited volume called, “Urban Development - A Perspective”. In his introduction to this text, P. K. Muttagi of TISS writes that planners and social scientists “should clarify the concept of better life in urban areas ... by studying people’s preferences.”⁴³⁶ Planners not only need to study individual preferences, but attempt more in-depth studies of the quotidian aspects of “urban socio-cultural patterns and problems”.⁴³⁷ Such studies must also look to understand “the lifestyles of the various strata in the lower, middle and upper ranks of urban society”.⁴³⁸ For instance, before planning for low income housing, planners should learn about the preferences of this target population in terms of “the priorities that these households have ... their ability to pay for housing ... the extent to which they would be prepared to participate in the construction of their own houses.”⁴³⁹ Put another way, planners have to better observe the populations under their charge, surveilling them in their quotidian exercises, in order to know their preferences and present them with plans that draw in their interests and in ways that secure their compliance to a larger spontaneous urban order. That is, the personal pursuit of a better life must direct the efforts of planners to govern in and through that pursuit.

A decade later, in 1987, historian and member of the Indian Administrative Service, V. K. Bawa will echo this way of thinking about how planners must cater to and govern through the individual’s pursuit of the good life. For Bawa, “a city is not merely a port, a trading centre, or an

⁴³⁶ Muttagi, P. K. “Introduction,” in *Urban Development - A Perspective*, ed. P. K. Muttagi (Bombay: Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 1976), x.

⁴³⁷ Muttagi, *Introduction*, ix.

⁴³⁸ Muttagi, *Introduction*, xv.

⁴³⁹ Muttagi, *Introduction*, xi.

industrial centre, although it may be all of these. It is primarily a place where people come to lead a more abundant life.”⁴⁴⁰ Given the entrepreneurial ethic of the new urbanite, this abundant life is a life of enterprising choice-maximization. The urban center must present the choice-maximizing individual with social, cultural and economic opportunities. The individual’s interest in such opportunities are not directed by a pursuit of civic awareness and spirit, but by a venturing subject’s quest for a personally relevant future. To make this possible, and against the command based approach to planning, Bawa advocates the managerial and policy-directed approach of the spatial planner. Now that planning corporations are self-funding their undertakings, with CIDCO leading the way through the 70s and into the 80s, what is needed is “the efficient and cost-intensive management of cities”.⁴⁴¹ And since the aspirational mentality of the urbanite-as-subject of choice is best personified in the middle class, “the norm of development should be not the rich or the poor, but the middle class.”⁴⁴² For Bawa, planners are no longer representatives of a civic corpus but make up “an urban management cadre with all-India links and a long term commitment to the goals of urban improvement”.⁴⁴³

The next section analyzes the developments of this managerial cadre of planners and the practice of spatial planning that has emerged since the 1970s. The section describes findings from interviews conducted at CIDCO and the BMC, with an eye to inspect the specific techniques, strategies, and tactics urban planners rely on to make urban space reflect and cater to the reflexiveness and flexibility of its population. These interviews were conducted between 2015 and 2016 in Mumbai and Navi Mumbai. The three respondents from CIDCO included high- to

⁴⁴⁰ Bawa, V. K. *Indian Metropolis: Urbanization, Planning and Management* (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1987), 21.

⁴⁴¹ Bawa, *Indian Metropolis*, 248.

⁴⁴² Bawa, *Indian Metropolis*, 248.

⁴⁴³ Bawa, *Indian Metropolis*, 292.

mid-level planners from various departments, including land acquisition and traffic management. The respondent from the BMC was a key member of its planning department and was part of the relatively small group of planners that drafted the most recent development plan for Mumbai, DP-2034. Out of the four total respondents, two were men and two were women all of whom were middle-aged professionals who have served as town planners for at least two decades in the metropolitan region. Once again, formed in 1970, CIDCO is a technocratic organization specifically constituted to plan and develop new towns and is largely run by planning experts. As Mumbai's governing body since 1888, the BMC is a deeply political organization with a planning division made up of career planning experts who plan and develop Mumbai. CIDCO's position as a single-minded planning corporation allows it far more latitude as a planning authority than the BMC's planners, whose recommendations can be regularly scrutinized by legislative oversight.

Becoming Flexible

One of the key functions of the practice of spatial planning was to adapt to the assumption that an optimal population can never be sustained because population variations are largely unpredictable. Rather than command space through an optimal population, spatial planners would have to stimulate a spontaneous urban order by acting on the assumption that the urban population is made up of diversely interested individuals and smaller groups. This meant that as individual interests changed, spatial planners needed to be just as flexible (if not more) to appeal to and reflect these changing interests. In the final analysis, such plans had to cater to individual interests because it was in the individual's pursuit of their better life that the city's future could be ensured. The art of spatial planning will be judged on the degree to which it is

flexible and maximizes opportunities for the individual to aspire to a better life. In contrast to the command-based approach of fixing space to serve the goal of nurturing a civic minded body politic, spatial planning makes space flexible to reach its objective of governing individuals through their freedom to choose. In short, if the liberal discourse of planning fixed space, the neoliberal discourse of planning makes space flexible. In this sense, the practice of spatial planning can also be understood as flexible planning.

The following pages outline how the technique of flexible planning is strategically deployed in three sections of urban and regional planning in New Bombay: land use designations, PAP compensation, and transit infrastructure. While these sections are discussed here under separate headings, they are not mutually exclusive. They interact with each other in many ways. For instance, the ways in which land use can now be reclassified according to the interest of the PAP in securing a future for themselves will allow planners to offer PAP compensation packages that contain land use privileges and benefits exclusive to the PAP. The increasing need for flexible transit infrastructures to cater to shifting preferences for transit among the city's population will also be a matter of classifying land use in ways that encourage certain types of transit infrastructures over others in order to better coordinate the population's movements.

Flexible Planning and Land Use: The principle tool that made possible flexible land use was given to CIDCO in the 1970s. This tool gives CIDCO the ability to designate and purchase in bulk or part the entirety of any land needed for the town's development. In the early days of CIDCO's land acquisition, this meant "a blanket eminent domain is given into the hand of the

planning authority to acquire the entire land [projected to begin developing the new town].”⁴⁴⁴ This is significant as it avoids the old problems of incorporating the juridico-political role of this town’s resident or to its public officials in the planning of the town. It streamlines the process of planning and the implementation of the plan by submitting the entire undertaking to the policy proposals of technocrats working with CIDCO’s mandate. The original projected area for New Bombay totaled 344 sq. km, out of which an area of 200 sq. km. was bulk acquired by CIDCO in the 70s with the understanding that the rest was to be taken up later and gradually with reference to variabilities in the urban population. But the planners of CIDCO do not simply have the expanded capability for land acquisition. Indeed, and increasingly, they were allowed to re-designate land use as individual interests shifted.

Until the 1960s, and especially in Bombay, land use based on acquisition was directed by strict plans and “there [wasn’t] much flexibility and scope for interpretation” among planners and public officials.⁴⁴⁵ There was fixed compensation given to the individual whose land was (in whole or part) purchased by the BMC because of two factors. First, land had to be commanded and negotiations with landowners took a back seat to the development of the city as civic center. The second factor was the public funds had to be balanced with an optimal population, and so compensation for land acquisition had to be kept in check. But in the 70s, and with New Bombay being planned and developed, CIDCO overcomes the limitations of the second factor that were placed on the BMC. In the case of New Bombay, “land was to be used as resource” to support a revolving development fund for CIDCO.⁴⁴⁶ “It was a cyclical type of development, where CIDCO was given seed capital of 3 crore rupees in the 70s. With the seed money, you could start

⁴⁴⁴ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁴⁵ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁴⁶ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

developing an area [through land acquisition], sell that area, [and] use that money to develop the next batch. So it's a cyclical thing, and this is the way you develop the entire city."⁴⁴⁷ The implication here for the planning authority and its planners is that because undertakings must always be based on capital generation and reinvestment, "there is always a tendency to think like a market developer."⁴⁴⁸ That is, there is now a tendency among planners to think about the planning authority like a market-based corporation, rather than a civically-based corporation. And there is a tendency among planners to think about their role as managing ways to cost-effectively (re)invest capital, rather than as custodians of the city's public resources and spirit. CIDCO has always walked a thin line between the demands of the state to effectively govern its subjects and those of the market to efficiently manage capital expenditures and investments. So, "sometimes its governmentization, sometimes it is coporatization."⁴⁴⁹

The challenges of the first factor, too, were addressed and overcome by CIDCO in the 70s. Prior town plans were sanctioned based on the command model of fixing space, to curb the uninhibited growth of the the city. "In the case of New Bombay, the government sanctioned the [town] plan with flexibility. The Navi Mumbai Development Plan [NMDP] says ... that [previously] we planned with land uses that became frozen in time. But, life isn't like that. And a city doesn't grow that way. We need a little bit of flexibility to make changes."⁴⁵⁰ And what does flexibility entail? It means placing "autonomy in the hand of the [planning] authority."⁴⁵¹ Until the 60s, if planners at the BMC wanted to make a change to land use for a specific place, there

⁴⁴⁷ 3 crore rupees = 30,000,000 rupees. Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

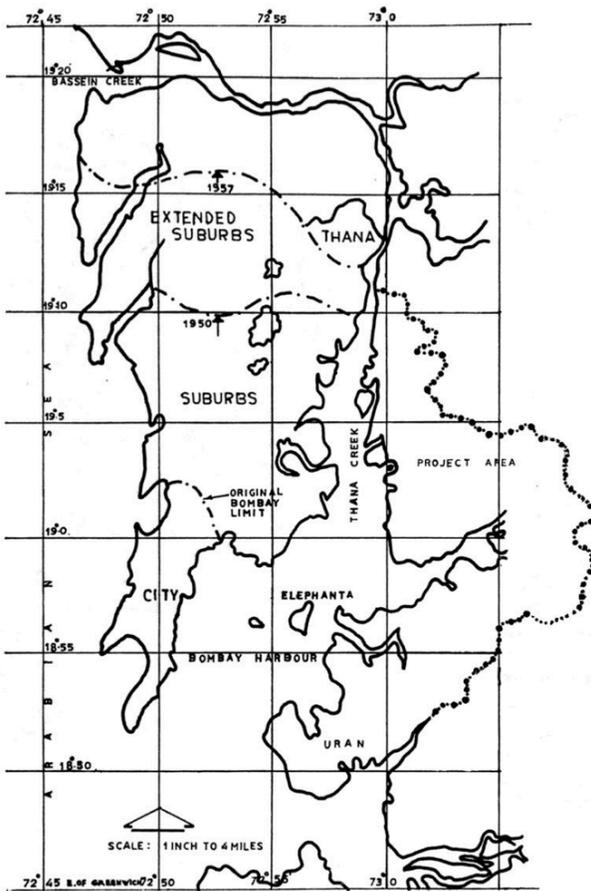
⁴⁴⁸ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁴⁹ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

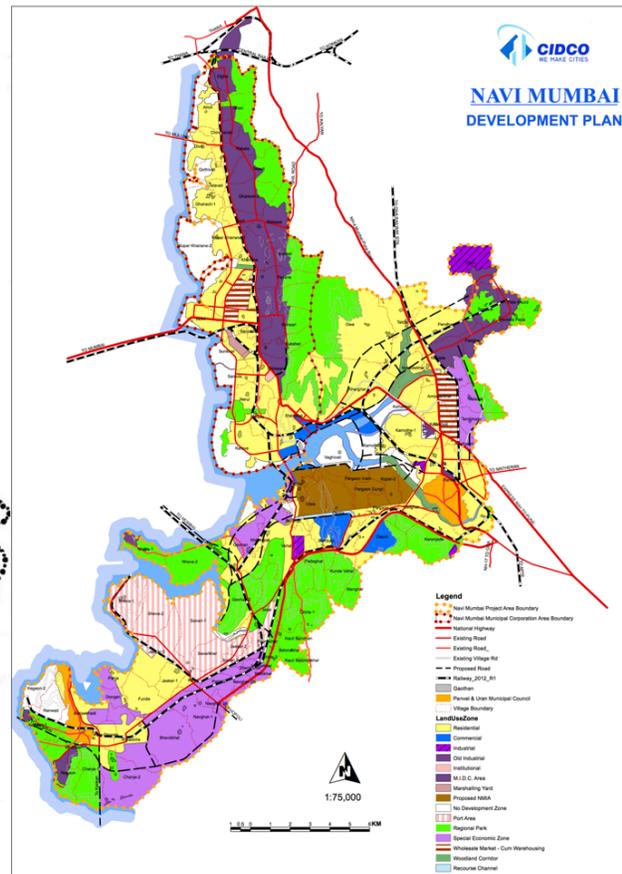
⁴⁵⁰ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁵¹ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

would be significant juridico-political stakeholders between the residents, the planners, and public officials who would need to form a consensus. This was not always the case, and at other times “the BMC [didn’t] have to face anything from the people”.⁴⁵² This is because consensus was already there and stakeholders prioritized land use to better foster civic harmony in the city. This changes with CIDCO, which has full authority to designate and re-designate land use.



(Figure 6. City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra, *New Bombay*.)



(Figure 7. City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra.)

Figure 6, above, shows the Bombay Metropolitan Region as it was in 1970, and New Bombay’s location in it (the area labeled ‘projected area’). Figure 7 was the most up to date

⁴⁵² Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

development plan map for Navi Mumbai in 2016. In it, the yellow areas are designated for residential zones. In terms of land use, for example, flexibility meant “that inside the yellow there has to be a next level plan, which was left to CIDCO.”⁴⁵³ The reason why the residential zones, especially, needed flexible planning was that urban individuals were quite active within these zones, and it was through these zones that individuals pictured and reimagined a better life for themselves. But it is not simply residential zones that are subject to the flexibility of planners. Indeed, areas previously designated as Non-Development Zones (NDZs) due to their environmental value, such as the coastal areas with their rich and varied habitats, can be re-designated to serve additional functions. Within the NDZs certain areas were designated as low intensity development areas to accommodate recreational farmhouses or resorts that can be sold to developers. In the early plans, CIDCO’s planners kept most of the hills and foothills surrounding the projected area for New Bombay for such low intensity development. “Because at that time ... CIDCO didn’t know what kind of pressure the city would be dealing with.”⁴⁵⁴ But as the city’s population grew, the flexibility available to CIDCO’s planners allowed them to reclassify these low intensity development areas as residential zones.⁴⁵⁵

For context, the overall area encompassing New Bombay was divided into 13 large nodes for development. The nodes are strung along major transit corridors and, within any given node, there are a number of sectors. And each sector is divided into plots of land, each of which can be (re)classified as residential, commercial, industrial, or some combination of these. CIDCO develops the land within a node by building engineering infrastructure (roads, highways, bridges, sidewalks, sewage, water supply, so on) and then designating plots to be sold to private developers

⁴⁵³ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁵⁴ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁵⁵ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

according to the residential and/or commercial and/or industrial classification of that plot. In designating plots, CIDCO goes a step further and certain developed plots are assigned for essential social infrastructures such as, schools, hospitals, hostels and so on. To be clear, CIDCO does not build the schools or hospitals. It simply assigns the plots for these within a node after it develops the node, i.e., equips them with engineering infrastructure. Typically, CIDCO has a Chief Social Service Officer [CSSO] who receives proposals from private enterprises looking to purchase land designated for certain social services. “Let’s say, other than schools, our chief social service officer receives an application for a working women’s hostel. These people are saying that they are a trust that needs a plot for their hostel. If they’re a reputed institute, a template is used to cross check their credentials. If they pass, the plot goes to them. The [sale] price is already fixed, but its very discounted, you know, 50% of the reserve price.”⁴⁵⁶

In this way, CIDCO incentivizes the sale of developed land initially designated for social services to private developers who will bid amongst themselves for the rights to construct on that plot, and for clients who operate in the education business or the hospital business or hostel business. How does the flexible planning approach play out with such essential social infrastructure plots?

“Let’s say you’re planning for a community [within a given node], and you’re doing schools and hospitals, et. cetera. In this case, you have projections and you’ve given five schools. You’re not going to the government to get the plan approved. It is totally up to you ... you have placed the schools in certain areas ... but by the time you’ve given four schools, let’s say at the end of 20 years, you think that instead of in this [designated plot], I should place [the fifth school] there [i.e., someplace else] maybe you’ve planned a garden, but you move it from there to some other place [and re-designate that plot for the fifth school]. Basically this was the power given to CIDCO ... The purity of the land use is not an issue. Reducing the number of facilities is not an issue. It’s open ended. This is the flexibility. Parks can be shrunk, schools can be reduced, many things can be done.”⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁶ Interview with urban planner AV. August 1, 2016.

⁴⁵⁷ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

Flexible planning allows for land-use itself to be made flexible within nodes. And this is because planners have to change land-use designations according to the assumed inherent unpredictability of the population. If a given node's population does not demand schools, then the plots initially developed and purposed for schools can be repurposed to better appeal to the population's interests. Since individuals interests are always shifting, the interests of this population (as an aggregate of similarly shared individual interests) will be just as mercurial. Because planners have to know and appeal to these interests, they have to generate flexible ways to manage space in order to more closely coordinate the reflexive activities of free choosers. Sometimes, a community's interests change before the planner has a chance to observe them. In such cases, "what happens is ... the city develops, but some plots remain. These are plots you thought were the need of community ... we've advertised [a plot of land] for a working women's hostel but there are no respondents. ... Then there will be a discussions among [new] groups of trusts and the CSSO, and the CSSO will say that they need an put and orphanage there. So [instead of a hostel] we go for the orphanage."⁴⁵⁸ By changing the designation of a plot originally earmarked to accommodate a hostel to now accommodate an orphanage, planners are able to better utilize their land resources to keep generating revenue and adjust to the shifting interest of the communities under their supervision.

This is not the work of legislation, but of policies that can be generated and perpetually adjusted according to the planners observations about individuals' shifting interests. Planners call them "disposal policies".⁴⁵⁹ There are policies that allow planners to re-designate unsold plots

⁴⁵⁸ Interview with urban planner AV. August 1, 2016.

⁴⁵⁹ Interview with urban planner AV. August 1, 2016.

and sell [or dispose of] them to private developers based on the prevailing interests of the community. Flexible planning in the area of land-use makes it so that what counts as an essential social infrastructure can be modified in order to better secure the urban space against the aleatory outcomes of freely choosing activity within the urban region. What was once defined as essential can change, for instance, if individuals' no longer think of community centers as essential. "We can definitely have a look and redefine the list of essential facilities."⁴⁶⁰ In this way, and based on the urbanite's interests in securing a better life for themselves, the number of schools can be reduced. Indeed, this is very much the case in Navi Mumbai. Many parents choose to send their children to schools further away from their community, in entirely different nodes, rather than send them to community schools within their own node. And this is because parents are maximizing their own choices in terms of their child's education, and they're maximizing their child's future choices by sending her to a school they believe will develop her in a manner that allows her to better secure a desired life for herself in the future.⁴⁶¹

The technique of flexible planning allows for the return of mixed land use but in a more supervised manner. Planners no longer plan specific areas for public gardens separate from private residential areas, or residential areas separated from commercial areas. Now, "residential condominiums have these [garden] lots inside. So we no longer have external garden lots outside the residential plot."⁴⁶² This means that space for gardens can be privatized in the sense that if they are built into private residential plots then the planners do not provide for gardens out in the neighboring area of the plot. Alternatively, an earlier plan by CIDCO provided commercial and

⁴⁶⁰ Interview with urban planner AV. August 1, 2016.

⁴⁶¹ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁶² Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

shopping plots “in the four corners of a [residential] sector” along major roadways.⁴⁶³ But individual interests gradually revealed a preference to planners for “convenience and shopping” in residential areas.⁴⁶⁴ So now, “what’s happening is that most of the plots that we’re tendering as residential plots are mixed land use, which has a 10% mandatory commercial area.”⁴⁶⁵ That is, 10% of every residential plot can be built up as non-residential commercial space.

This is not the first time CIDCO has introduced plans for mixed land use. Indeed, since its early days, CIDCO’s flexible planning approach always made it open to designating more adaptable and varied uses for space. Initially, CIDCO had develop residential plots based on plans that placed commercial shops in the ground floor of residential structures. This was known as a “g+3 structure, or ground floor plus three residential floors.”⁴⁶⁶ The structure would be within the residential plot, along with some open garden space for the residents and gates to ensure non-residents cannot come in. These shops were so integral to the gated residential community that each structure had shops providing basic services such as a flour mill or a hair cutting salon for the plot’s residents. This was done in the 70s because residents expressed an interest in convenience and because New Bombay was still being built and lacked many basic services. Later on, by the 80s and 90s, individual interests changed. Residents would now report that the decade old flour mill shop was causing too much noise. So planners adjusted the g+3 structure and moved the mill to a location separate from the structure but still within the plot. CIDCO would “advertise and sell just the flour mill space”, apart from the rest of the plot.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶³ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁶⁴ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁶⁵ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁶⁶ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁶⁷ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

Eventually, and as the city grew, individuals sought commercial and shopping options outside of the residential plot and not just limited to the shops available in their gated community. And so the g+3 plots would be replaced by residential plots that simply designated 10% of that area for commercial use of any kind.

With this 10% allotment, commercial spaces do not have to cater to basic services. They can be as flexible as the individual residing in those spaces and their preferences. However, these are not commercial plots. They are residential plots with a commercial component built into them. Another mixed-use scheme issues “residential-cum-commercial” plots.⁴⁶⁸ The key difference is that a “residential plot has a floor space index of 1, and residential-cum-commercial plot a floor space index of 1.5”⁴⁶⁹. Floor space index, or FSI, is a tool planners use to regulate the built up area on a given plot. A higher FSI means an increase in the total floor space and so, theoretically, more floors can be built on that plot. If a residential plot of 10 acres has an FSI of 1, then the structure that is built on it cannot exceed 10 acres in total floor area. That is, the floors within this structure must total 10 acres (a taller structure will have to divide those 10 acres between all the floors). And in the 10 acres of total floor area, 10% commercial allotment designates 1 acre for commercial spaces. A residential-cum-commercial plot of the same 10 acres but an FSI of 1.5 means that the floors within this structure cannot exceed 15 acres (but, theoretically, it can also be a taller building) and 1.5 acres is reserved for commercial space. There are clear monetary benefits of residential-cum-commercial plots over residential plots (in terms of real estate value), and increasingly, plots are being designated as residential-cum-commercial.

⁴⁶⁸ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

⁴⁶⁹ Interview with urban planner AV. June 10, 2016.

Taken together, this type of flexibility in land use was not possible in the liberal era of town planning because land use had fixed designations designed to prevent such mixed structures and plots from developing as haphazardly as they did in the colonial era. The key difference between the colonial era's practices and post-liberal tactic of mixed land use is that the latter does so in a regulated and coordinated manner. This might be done by providing the number and types of commercial spaces within residential plots, or just earmarking a percentage of that plot to accommodate such spaces. The object is to cater to the individual's interest (in terms of her of property valuation and compensation) and in ways that promote the free circulation of diverse interests and choices that are now constitutive of the spontaneity of urban life.

Flexible Planning and PAP Compensation: With bulk-land acquisition, CIDCO planners had the ability to both buy large tracts of land and make that land's use more adaptable than previously practiced. But, as CIDCO's 1970 report clarified, the ability to buy land in bulk and build a new town mostly from scratch gave planners the chance to imagine and accept a different type of resident for the city, i.e., the resident as a free chooser. This resident did not yet exist, and initially had to be formed out of the countryfolk of the 95 gaothans (or small village-like communities) scattered across the acquired area. Many of these villagers would become project affected persons, or PAP, who have to sell their land to CIDCO so that the region can be further developed. These PAP will not only become New Bombay's first residents. They are an early indicator to the new type of urbanite who will reside in the greater metropolitan region. They will be known and appealed to as residents who are invested with an enterprising ethic and are prospective choice maximizers, rather than prospective public minded members. As such, the

PAP will be compensated accordingly in ways that will appeal to their newly invested interest in seeking out a personally defined future for themselves.

Between 1970-80, as New Bombay was developed, landowners were monetarily compensated according to the market value of their land. This was known as the original Gaothan Expansion Scheme, or GES, and was partly tenable because land acquisition was being carried out in bulk among largely isolated gaothans. During the 1980s, most of the land that was originally identified to build the city was acquired and an urban space was being carved out of this land. The type of land acquisition that was now needed was to be executed on a more gradual basis and adjusted to requirements of an always changing urban milieu. That is, land acquisition policy had to follow a more flexible path. At the same time, individuals became more resistant to simply accepting the monetary compensation offered by the state, choosing instead to negotiate for a better outcome in order to securing a better deal for themselves. Even the revolving fund for land acquisition could not keep up with increasing monetary demands of individuals. As a result, compensation packages had to be generated that would blend monetary and other forms of compensation that landowners would find appealing. And as individual interests changed, these packages had to be modified from time to time in order to keep appealing to individuals and in ways that still allowed planners to coordinate urban development.

In other words, planners needed planning policies that could be flexible in a double sense: in terms of adjusting to shifting social, political, and economic realities in the urban environment, and in terms of adjusting to the mercurial interests of the individuals from whom land had to be acquired. The first revision to the GES that was tested and implemented during the 80s was the 12.5% GES. From its establishment, it was always CIDCO's policy that under any GES measure the goathan dwellings would not be disturbed. It was non-settled land that was acquired, i.e., land

traditionally used for agriculture or grazing or that was just lying dormant. And any villagers who did not have this surplus plot to sell but still lived in gaothans would now live on developed land. This was part of a Grant-in-Aid or GIA policy within the GES that stipulated that the existing and settled plots where the PAP housed themselves and socially interacted with each other were fitted with modern infrastructure and utilities. And so “the original village was always there”, but now it was equipped in a way that made it suitable to its new urban surroundings.⁴⁷⁰ One can also imagine that this GIA policy was a cost-efficient measure where potentially higher expenses of resettling the PAP would be avoided by paying for existing settlements to be retrofitted with infrastructure. The GIA was still active under the 12.5% GES, and CIDCO still offered the PAP monetary compensation at a market rate for this non-settled land along with the GIA. But the amended compensation package also added a salable land component to these other components. Planners observed that PAP landowners had started to express an interest in securing their prospects for a steady income if their source of livelihood was to be sold. That is,

“they wanted some land as developed land [designated] for commercial use. They wanted a salable component because farming is over for them. They wanted to build shops [on this component] or they wanted some economic factor to sustain their livelihood. Therefore, they requested that the government give them developed land ... Let’s say I have one hectare of farmland and I’ve surrendered one hectare. Under the acquisition policy, I will get monetarily compensated for this. But over and above this, I get 12.5% of that one hectare area as additional developed property. That becomes an asset to the villager ... They can do whatever they want with it. They can use it as a residential plot. And 15% commercial use is allowed in that 12.5% component.”⁴⁷¹

Adding this salable component meant that out of the acquired area from the landowner, 12.5% would to be developed and returned to the landowner at another location and designated as a mixed land use plot. In terms of brass tacks, 30% of this returned parcel would be needed to

⁴⁷⁰ Interview with urban planner RM. June 14, 2016.

⁴⁷¹ Interview with urban planner RM. June 14, 2016.

supply infrastructure like sewage, roads, water supply and so on. Therefore, the net salable component returned to the landowner would work out to about 8% of the land that they initially surrendered to CIDCO. Up to 15% of this net plot area could be converted for commercial use. Again, this was given in addition to the monetary value of the total surrendered land and the development of the existing settled land. On CIDCO's end, they develop and sell the rest of the acquired area from the landowner. That is, they would outfit it with infrastructure, designate an appropriate land use for it that meets the present conditions of that urban region, and then solicit bids in the open market from private enterprises looking to establish an operation on that area according to its current designation.

The 12.5% GES became standard compensation policy between 1990 and 2014.⁴⁷² This type of compensation policy does not seek to displace villagers by compelling them to vacate their homes. Flexible planning, instead, admits that these villagers are likely to lose their traditional productive activities and so PAP compensation policy had to be adjusted. The monetary component simply paid for lost land. The salable component was the compensation for lost productivity. Because this returned plot was also designated for mixed use and allowed commercial activity, villagers could either start a new life and business there, or they could sell the plot outright to a private developer. In many cases, the PAP would combine their individual plots to create a larger plot area that could be leveraged during any negotiations with private builders. Often, they would stay in their villages waiting for real estate prices to rise and then sign an agreement looking to maximize the compensation they can receive from the builder. There are two common types of such agreements. Either the agreement with the builder will be to build the PAP a new residential structure on this plot (for example, an apartment building) and, in

⁴⁷² Interview with urban planner RM. June 14, 2016.

exchange, the builder gets a percentage of the plot's total floor space to build additional homes or commercial spaces that can be sold to others. Or they could sell the entirety of the combined plot to private developers, choosing to stay in their villages and thus receiving more in compensation since the builder can dispose of that property as they see fit. In such case, developers often build large mixed use complexes in this area. Whatever options chosen by the PAP, the key is that their interest in this salable component was entirely motivated by a new sense of prospectivism. It reflected the future productive aspirations of the PAP. While the immediate monetary payment would help run their daily lives, the salable component was an asset and investment in their pursuit of a better life.

But even as this revised GES was implemented throughout New Bombay, the urban setting remained variable and individual interests shifted once again requiring even more flexible compensation policies from planners. This time, the fluidity of the urban region and its population called for a second international airport to serve the metropolitan region. Navi Mumbai received preliminary approval as the new site for this second airport in 2007. Of the 2268 hectares projected for the airport, about 671 hectares were not yet acquired by CIDCO. This was partly due to the fact that the original plan for New Bombay did not envision space for a major international airport. But the inherent flexibility of CIDCO's planning policies and operations allowed them to adjust to the demand for this new space. It meant that the acquisition of 671 hectares required further revisions to PAP compensation policies because, unlike the first and second GES, there were 10 gaothans that could not be left as is and just developed under the GIA policy. They had to be physically moved away from the airport area and resettled in another node because the land on which they settled was projected to contain key airport operations. The other issue was that by the time CIDCO's Navi Mumbai International Airport (NMIA) project

received preliminary approval, the urban region and Navi Mumbai had developed to an extent that raised the market price for real estate. CIDCO's revolving fund could no longer sustain its planned undertakings if it still had to finance the monetary component of PAP compensation.

The revised compensation policy proposal was the 22.5% GES, which did away with the monetary component and was entirely comprised of a salable component. Landowners having to give up their non-settled land would now receive 22.5% of their surrendered land as mixed use land, with the same 15% set aside for commercial use, but also a higher FSI of 2.⁴⁷³ Like the 12% GES, 30% of this salable component would need to be outfitted with infrastructure. So the net salable component received would be 15.75%. And again, landowners could dispose of this land in ways that best secured their future lives. Since the 1970s, the flexible planning approach allowed CIDCO's PAP compensation policies to be refashioned from an entirely monetary component to an entirely salable component. When time came for the NMIA project to start land acquisition in 2014, the relevant PAP had identified the potential benefits from the real estate market in terms of generating higher returns, which made them value the salable component even more. Under these new conditions, planners were only able to appeal to the interest of the PAP by dropping appeals to their present interest (the monetary component) and refashioning the compensation package to fully appeal to their prospective interest (salable component).⁴⁷⁴ This flexibility permitted planners secure PAP compliance in ways that still self-financed this NIMA project, which was now required to respond to and accommodate the expanding and spontaneous outcomes of the regions free choosers.

⁴⁷³ Interview with urban planner RM. June 14, 2016.

⁴⁷⁴ Interview with urban planner GP. June 16, 2016.

As to the matter of resettling the 10 gaothans, further flexibility was needed. In this case, the GIA policy of the old GES was no longer a viable option. And again, direct monetary compensation was both unfeasible for planners and undesired by the PAP of the 10 gaothans. In this case, CIDCO further revised compensation policies to resettle these 10 gaothans and “agreed to give them 3 times the area of their original settlement”⁴⁷⁵ For example, if the household plot size in one of these gaothans totaled 1 acre, then this household would receive 3 acres in resettlement compensation designated for mixed use and located in another node. And, again, villagers could pool together their now trebled plot areas, wait for prices to rise if they chose, and sell their combined plots to a builder under mutually beneficial agreements for all parties involved. The number of possible combinations of this compensation policy really speaks to the degree to which planners are constantly trying to adjust and appeal to individual interests. For instance, if a villager was part of these 10 gaothans and a landowner then they received both resettlement and salable components. If the villager was simply part of the 10 gaothans, they received the resettlement component. If they were not part of the 10 gaothans and were not landowners, their present settlement would be developed. If the villager was not part of these gaothans but a landowner whose unsettled land must be surrendered, they received the salable component along with having their settlement developed. With the NMIA project, the number of possible PAP categories expanded to four.⁴⁷⁶

Since 2014, the 22.5% GES is the standard compensation policy for any land acquisition project in Navi Mumbai. As Navi Mumbai developed into a bustling urban and metropolitan center, CIDCO’s revolving fund could no longer keep up with rising real estate prices and any

⁴⁷⁵ Interview with urban planner RM. June 14, 2016.

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with urban planner RM. June 14, 2016.

potential PAP now seeks to maximize their choices. And so, the policy of self-funding CIDCO's undertakings had to be revised. Land was still used as a resource that could be sold by CIDCO to private builders and developers for profit. That is, CIDCO still developed land acquired through the new GES and sold it at profit. In the case of the NMIA project, the acquired land would be sold to airport developers and the consortium that would win the right to operate the airport for a number of years. However, the use of those proceedings to finance further land acquisition became increasingly untenable given the speculative conditions of real estate. Consequently, the practice of land acquisition was turned away from cash-for-land schemes and towards land-for-land schemes. The compensated party would now receive land that was more productive than it was previously, insofar as it is more speculative. Since this land was developed and classified as mixed-use with a higher FSI, it would be highly prized in the real estate market and generate stronger returns for the PAP than previously possible.

But the NMIA project did not just bring with it the policy of PAP compensation in land-for-land terms. It also compelled planners to launch a new program called the CIDCO Social Responsibility program or CSR. Under this program, PAP impacted by the airport project would receive vocational training and stipends to pay for secondary and post-secondary education.⁴⁷⁷ This was done specifically because these PAP expressed a concern about a loss of livelihood. Previously, this loss was only covered by the salable component. But this time, the PAP were additionally interested in covering this loss by receiving subsidized training for job opportunities in the services and logistical sectors that would spring up in and around the new airport area. While it is entirely up to these PAP to enroll in the CSR programs, most do because they are responsible for securing the best possible options of their future. These individuals still look to

⁴⁷⁷ Interview with urban planner RM, June 14, 2016.

maximize the valuation of their physical assets. But they also move beyond such typical measures of wealth accumulation and onto standards that think of such accumulation as driven by proper investment in and development of their human capital. Under these newer standards, individuals are interested in the salable compensation because they see it as generating better prospects for material wealth that can support human capital investments in the future for themselves or their personal relations. And so, while the PAP specifically impacted by the airport would benefit from the CSR programs, these standards suggests that any PAP sees their compensation as supporting the development of and investment in their human capital.

Taken together, we find that the flexibility of planning policies with respect to PAP compensation reveals how the regime of private property is increasingly directed by individual interest in human capital investment. Any PAP, landowner or not, is a beneficiary of the CSR programs. With their agrarian and rural means of life no longer possible, they come to terms with this new urban reality by presenting and communicating an interest in human capital development. The subject of choice being produced in the era of urban development and regional planning has detached their interests from those of the nation and its future. Instead, they choose to amplify and prioritize a prospective commitment to the self and the interest of future self by exhausting all available choices to ensure that they can invest in and develop their skills and capacities. When it comes to the prospectivism of this neoliberal subject, this human capital component of compensation takes precedence over and defines its material components.

In the case of the airport impacted PAP, CIDCO conducted surveys known as Social Impact Assessments, or SIA. The specific objectives of the SIA were “to identify PAPs by type and extent of loss; identify the possible adverse effects of the project on the people and the area and suggest culturally and economically appropriate measures for mitigation of adverse effects of

the project.”⁴⁷⁸ And so, in the case of the airport, “CIDCO went and conducted surveys [of the PAP]. What is their perception? What do they want? What is the socio-economic condition of each of these households? And for the rehabilitation of the 10 villages, we’ve done surveys by house. CIDCO officials have gone there, to each and every village and spoken to people.”⁴⁷⁹ And while, initially, there was a lot of resistance “over a period of time, this resistance has come down through continuous interactions and they understand ... that for their future there must be better prospects.”⁴⁸⁰ It was out of such survey’s that CIDCO’s compensation policy included the CSR programs for affected PAP.

The CSR programs applied across genders, as well. Based on detailed interaction with the women of these impacted villages, CIDCO made provision for vocational centers that would train these women in the garment and fashion trades to start their own commercial operations. The key is to assume these women, just like every PAP, as prospective subjects of choice who are motivated by an enterprising ethic to secure the best future for themselves.

“CIDCO was basically engaging them. We asked them, what is your interest? Many women said that they want to learn fashion. They said they want training in stitching so that they can start something of their own. We then arranged something with the National Institute of Fashion Technology and Tata Institute for Social Sciences. They came and gave these women entrepreneurial training in two things: in stitching, fashion and garments, and the other was in the beauticians courses.”⁴⁸¹

These CSR programs, as human capital schemes, are based on feedback (actively or passively) received by planners about what interest’s individuals and how those interests can be appealed and responded to in ways that ensure that planning policies foster a spontaneity in

⁴⁷⁸ City and Industrial Development Corporation. *Social Impact Assessment* (Navi Mumbai: City and Industrial Development Corporation, 2010).

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with urban planner GP. June 16, 2016.

⁴⁸⁰ Interview with urban planner GP. June 16, 2016.

⁴⁸¹ Interview with urban planner GP. June 16, 2016.

urban affairs. Perhaps in no other segment of planning is this striving for feedback more relevant than in the planning and development of transit infrastructure.

Flexible Planning and Transit Infrastructure: Flexible planning in the areas of transit infrastructure takes two forms: one concerns active observation, and the other involves passive observation. In both cases, observations are obtained of individuals and aggregated to generate actionable insights about the types of transit infrastructures that individuals would prefer and that would better and more efficiently regulate the movements of each and all in the urban region. The following pages consider examples of each of these forms of observation and the ways in which individuals as choice maximizers are managed through their freedom and interests. While these examples will have elements of both types of observation, the NIMA example primarily concerns the art of active observation and the example of the railway stations chiefly speaks to the art of passive observation.

The viability and parameters of an imagined transit project, especially one of the scale and impact of the NIMA project, is subject to feasibility studies. A key assessment of the NIMA project's feasibility was a 'perception study' planners undertook to gain insights into individual habits and preferences regarding airport transit. "You really have to think about the behavior of people ... Who will be attracted to the airport and how would they prefer to travel?"⁴⁸² This perception study consisted of surveying a representative sample of the population CIDCO expects will utilize the new airport. Respondents were selected from in various sectors of the economy and included a range of those earning less than Rs. 15000 (~\$200) per month to more than Rs. 1000000 (~\$1400) per month, with the bulk of respondents (44%) being middle income

⁴⁸² Interview with urban planner GP, June 16, 2016.

and earning Rs. 15000-30000 (~\$200-400) per month.⁴⁸³ Questions for the survey were designed to get the opinion of these respondent's perceptions on the proposed project. There were over 30 such questions, including the following:

“Given a choice [between the existing and the new airport] would you prefer traveling through the new airport? (give reason) ... What type of airport do you prefer at Navi Mumbai? ... Will your daily life get disturbed or affected by noise from the airport? ... Do you agree that the new airport will reduce the socio-economic gap in the city? ... What according to you will be the positive impacts of the new airport on Navi Mumbai? (Please list them) ... What according to you will be the negative impacts of the new airport on Navi Mumbai? (Please list them) ... Narrate problem/issues to be addressed while planning and before commissioning the airport ... In your opinion what measures should be given special considerations while planning the Master Plan for the new airport”⁴⁸⁴

From this perception study, insights about the individual's preferences included details like “people will be carrying a lot of bags to and from the airport” and that “generally, in India, we observed that people don't prefer public transport for the airport, cars are more popular.”⁴⁸⁵ Such observations of preferences reveal a composite interest in traveling to the airport by cars that will comfortably transport a good amount of luggage. This makes for quicker and hassle free travel to and from the airport since existing public transit would take too long and cannot properly accommodate luggage. However, the planner's appeal to this interest was not to simply build bigger roads that would efficiently bring cars and automobile traffic into and out of the airport. The population is still unpredictable, and planners thought that such an accommodation would cause an increase in traffic congestion over time as the airport got busier. Their proposal suggested direct routes to the airport by trains and the development of new train corridors to

⁴⁸³ City and Industrial Development Corporation. *Project Perception Study for Navi Mumbai International Airport* (Navi Mumbai: City and Industrial Development Corporation, 2008).

⁴⁸⁴ City and Industrial Development Corporation, *Project Perception Study*, Appendix A.

⁴⁸⁵ Interview with urban planner GP. June 16, 2016.

quickly move airport travelers, with train cars that made provisions for luggage storage during transit. So now, “CIDCO is trying to bring in suburban rail networks near the airport”.⁴⁸⁶

The perception study, then, was not simply a matter of knowing the preferences of each in order to attract individual airport travelers. It was about knowing these preferences in ways that identified a composite and monistic interest out of such preferences, and that could be aggregated to reveal a broader interest among a representative group of people. This knowledge was then used to propose transit interventions that would both appeal to the interest in ways that still secured the type of transit flows that were more productive of a more open and spontaneous urban landscape. And so the movements of the urban region’s population is governed in ways that leveraged their interests to encourage them to change their existing preferences. In the above case, the proposed train interventions are designed to change or *nudge* people’s preferences for cars into preferences for public transit. This is about the working out of individualized observations to develop interventions that will open up urban movements in order to better expand the spontaneous energies of urban populations.

These interventions are not so much about enforcing transit discipline for the sake of civic balance by compelling each and all to use public transit. It is about (re)designing transit corridors to better suit the personal preferences of each and all and in ways that produce new habits and preferences in each and all for public transit. Just like land use and PAP compensation, transit corridors and infrastructure policy must be made malleable so they can better adapt to and secure against mercurial individual interests. And these direct observations through surveys and interactions with individuals are unceasing. This is because the observations themselves are never conclusive, since all observations and insights are based on current interests that are assumed to

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with urban planner GP. June 16, 2016.

always be variable. And so “CIDCO keeps experimenting with all new modes of transportation infrastructure”.⁴⁸⁷ Flexible planning policies must keep intervening, surveying, and modifying spaces to stay in line with changing populations and their interests.

Required, then, is a perpetual effort in testing and intervening at the nexus where the interests of each and all meet urban spaces. Techniques of testing, such as surveys, are always designed to observe and verify insights about the individual’s interests. The objective of the techniques of intervention is to take those insights and develop plans that can be deployed to better secure a compliance with more open transit patterns. Going beyond the cycles of testing and intervention, we find a relentless policing at this exact point where individual interests meet urban space. And this is precisely because it is there that planners must always anxiously work to keep the crisis of population and its unpredictable consequences at bay. Planners must relentlessly work to respond to the always shifting interests within flexible urban populations. Since the affairs of these populations produce outcomes that are uncertain, i.e., since there is the inherent risk of the aleatory assumed by each and all if urban regions are to succumb to fluidity and impulsiveness of urban populations, planners can only ensure that the urban environment is made flexible enough to respond to the diverse and changing interests of individuals whose freedom to choose, in the aggregate, promises potentially beneficial outcomes for the urban region.

It is at this point that planners must secure urban development and its future through practices of policing. This is policing in an early modern sense where it is not so much a question of the use of force and enforcement, but of administering a population by observing its spaces and the ways in which it orders itself. It is less about guaranteeing safety through the threat of

⁴⁸⁷ Interview with urban planner GP. June 16, 2016.

punishment and more about securing the spontaneity internal to urban space by (re)ordering space through the use of policy.⁴⁸⁸ And insofar as they are designed to discern a given set of conditions or attitudes, surveys always reflect the art of surveillance on which they are based. They are a means to a more efficient and comprehensive oversight of each and all. Active forms of surveillance invite the individual to speak, and its passive forms observe individuals in their most quotidian movements.

Policing measures are not just about actively surveilling the population. Nor should we draw a straight line from the interventions that come out of policing insights to immediate and expected results for the planners. There are ways in which such insights do not deliver with respect to their corresponding intervention precisely because individual interests are very unpredictable. Further policing is then required in order to develop better interventions to deliver more effective results, as reflected in the case of the development of railway stations in Navi Mumbai. The development of the railway networks of New Bombay/Navi Mumbai is not principally an exercise in actively surveying the population expected to use these networks, but in passively observing how populations move through these networks and how their movements are always changing in order to build structures that will more effectively open up the movements of each and all better sustain the spontaneous possibilities of the urban area.

In one case, planners had visited a railway station in the Kharghar node and observed that pedestrians entering and existing this station would often cross a highway adjacent to the station, separating the residential areas from the station. “A ten lane highway. They’ll simply cross it. There were so many accidents, but they didn’t care because [crossing the highway] was the

⁴⁸⁸ This early modern sense of police arises from the post classical Latin word for policy, or *politia*, which concerned the improvement of an estate. Oxford English Dictionary, Online. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Accessed: June 2019, <https://www-oed-com>.

shortest way. That's the main thing. Pedestrians wanted to take the shortest possible route."⁴⁸⁹ CIDCO's first intervention was to place a barrier to block pedestrians from crossing the highway. This did not work precisely because it was not appealing to the interest of individuals to take the shortest route possible. An underground walkway, under the highway, was also designed to direct these pedestrians from the residential area to the train station. But this underground walkway did not draw enough commuters because it was not the shortest possible route, and people were still crossing the highway. Interventions based on passive observation are not "a forced thing. If you observe something on a site visit, you try to resolve it. So we came up with a skywalk."⁴⁹⁰ This above ground solution was still not the shortest possible way, but it was short enough that it began to draw some commuters away but not enough. Further observation revealed a preference for not climbing the stairs of this skywalk. The planners knowledge about the individual's interest had to be amended to now produce a more composite interest, which was to take the shortest possible route without stairs. And so, "CIDCO gave escalators from the station to the skywalk."⁴⁹¹ Once again, and no matter the type of observation, there is a persistent relationship between the planner's observation of each and all and interventions designed to move people more efficiently. These interventions are (re)deployed in smaller planning cases like the Kharghar station's pedestrian walkways, and in larger planning cases like the very structure of the stations.

In fact, the entry of the railways into New Bombay was entirely dependent on CIDCO's flexible planning policies. In India, the entire railway network is under the supervision of the Ministry of Railways. And the stakes of bringing the railways to Navi Mumbai were especially

⁴⁸⁹ Interview with urban planner GP. June 16, 2016.

⁴⁹⁰ Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016.

⁴⁹¹ Interview with urban planner GP. June 16, 2016.

high, because “wherever the railways go, development follows”.⁴⁹² In the 1970s, the Ministry through its regional department, Central Railways, had refused a network for New Bombay due to the costs of the such a undertaking. But CIDCO was able to get the Ministry’s approval because of its self-funding policies. They “entered a tripartite agreement between CIDCO, Central Railways, and Maharashtra State Government. CIDCO agreed to develop the railway line with their funds ... In lieu of the money CIDCO spends for this development, they were given the rights to use the airspace above the tracks on all of the railway stations. CIDCO would sell this airspace under a commercial designation and use the sales to generate revenue.”⁴⁹³ This agreement was reached and the railways came to New Bombay by the 1980s. To clarify, by getting the rights to the airspace above the tracks, CIDCO was essentially building train stations. But the commercial land use attached to these stations actually made them mixed use, i.e., they were public-cum-commercial spaces. So CIDCO was never just developing a train station. With an FSI of 1.5 attached to the commercial spaces in these stations, CIDCO was developing “huge commercial complexes”.⁴⁹⁴ Figure 8 illustrates one such complex in the Vashi node.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹² Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016.

⁴⁹³ Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016.

⁴⁹⁴ Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016.

⁴⁹⁵ Nadar, Karthik. *Vashi Railway Station Aerial View*, January 23, 2016, CC BY-SA 4.0 license, Accessed: August 9, 2019, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vashi_railway_station_aerial_view_2016.JPG.



(Figure 8: Nadar, *Vashi Railway Station Aerial View.*)

The rationale for these mixed use complexes was that planners observed through site visits that most commuters are people moving to and from work. “The idea behind these complexes was that people will come out of the train and directly go up to their offices”.⁴⁹⁶ This of course, would once again appeal to commuters’ interest in getting to and from work in the shortest way possible. But also, it was thought that commercial ventures and businesses would be motivated to buy spaces in these complexes given that they come fully developed and situated on prime real estate. As big a coup it was for CIDCO’s planners to get the railways into New Bombay, these massive commercial complexes “did not generate the revenue as much as CIDCO expected.”⁴⁹⁷ Planners observed that the reason for this was that “the architectural design was too heavy”.⁴⁹⁸ As such, these complexes did not appeal to the aesthetic preferences of individuals who might want to work in such spaces. Based on these revised insights, planners proposed to reduce the size of future complexes. The original complexes “were 150000 square meters. Now

⁴⁹⁶ Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016.

⁴⁹⁷ Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016.

⁴⁹⁸ Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016.

we've stopped that, and we're only building very small stations."⁴⁹⁹ But given that these smaller stations will not generate as much revenue to cover the cost of their development, CIDCO adapted its building policy to let private developers bid for the right to build and operate the new complexes for a period of time. Under this public-private partnership (PPP), "rather than putting money onto those complexes, CIDCO has bid out the contract."⁵⁰⁰

Given these are private developers and operators, the cost of building and operating the complex does not concern CIDCO. What matters is that it is built with the facilities for a modern station. The winning bidder can build it as large as the original stations, if they like. One such case is Seawoods-Darave Grand Central in the Nerul node. Larsen & Toubro won the bid to build and operate this station. "It was a big bid actually, CIDCO got money in the crores."⁵⁰¹ In exchange, Larsen & Toubro received an area of ~16 hectares to develop this train station as a mixed use space. Seawoods-Darave Grand Central is an experiment where a privately run complex looks to make provisions for public transit. But this new type of commercial-cum-public complex also houses white collar workspaces for businesses with high level security and facility management, indoor gardens, high end restaurants offering cuisine from around the globe, food courts for fast food enthusiasts, retail centers with premium brands, and entertainment options like a multiplex movie theatre, all for locals, commuters, and office goers. The objective of such a structure is to leverage the potentially high foot traffic of a transit hub and encourage commuters to pursue their work and lifestyle interests in the the same space. It not only invites the commuter and office goer to indulge in their various interests, but even presents them with new lifestyle

⁴⁹⁹ Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016.

⁵⁰⁰ Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016.

⁵⁰¹ Interview with urban planner GP. June 21, 2016. CIDCO received nearly 250 million dollars from Larsen and Toubro for the rights to the property. Singh, Varun. "Rs. 270 cr. Freebie," *Mid Day* (Mumbai), July 29, 2017.

options to aspire to on their way to their destination and in order to change their existing preferences. One can imagine a good amount of market research and perception surveys go into the vigilant management and coordination of each and all within such a space.

If the TCPO's 1970 report signaled a decentralization of planning from the national to the regional and local planning authorities, then the recent PPP partnerships reveal the dispersal of at least certain planning functions from the local planning authorities to private sector planners. These PPP complexes are an example of the ways urban planning in India is now so flexible that it actually delegates and hands off the day to day administration of certain public spaces to private planners and developers. This can occur in cases where these private sector planners might exhibit a more perceptive sense of knowing and appealing to individual interests in ways that can still coordinate their open movements and ensure the spontaneity of urban spaces. Such handoffs are especially likely in the development of mixed-use spaces with high commercial allotments. And this new mixed use space now sits is in stark contrast to the fixed use spaces under the liberal discourse of planning.

In the liberal era, fixed use spaces had designated the utility of a plot based on the specific function it would serve. These space utilities were either residential, or commercial, or industrial, to say nothing of separating public transit infrastructure from these other three categories. The mixed use spaces of the pre-liberal era were unregulated developments. The new mixed use spaces that have come up under CIDCO's oversight are regulated spaces that are nevertheless without any specific purpose. In this sense, they are non-spaces, serving no particular function but capable of everything and eminently flexible to the shifting interest of each and all. In offering nearly everything under one structure, these spaces try to cater to the individual's interest in making their commute to work as short as possible by offering the choice to work in the same

building as a transit hub. Moreover, these individuals can work in an aesthetically pleasing environment and indulge in a variety of retail and entertainment experiences. These plots are so flexible in their mixed utilities that based on changing interests, their spaces can always be redesigned to appeal to new preferences. Unsold office spaces can cater to retail. Underused retail spaces can become a swimming pool, or provide for even more retail or office space.

With land use, anything is possible now through the relentless pursuit of and appeals to the interests of each and all. For planners under the neoliberal discourse of flexible planning, everything must be made possible precisely because individual interests and the populations they represent are unpredictable. The crisis of population is not remedied but forms the precondition for this discourse of planning and is always on the horizon for planners. And in order to plan and develop the urban region in a manner that still conduct the compliance of each and all, planners and planning policy must increasingly rely on the practices of policing and surveillance in order to actively or passively observe and know its mercurial population. But it is not simply CIDCO taking up this charge, anymore. Indeed, and as recently as 2016, the BMC has adapted to the demands of flexible planning in order to redevelop Mumbai. This chapter concludes by briefly considering this recent episode in Mumbai's planned development.

Flexible Planning and Mumbai's Future

In 2015, the BMC released Mumbai's third Development Plan to be implement by 2034. It is known as DP 2034. The first Development Plan was approved in 1964 and implemented by 1981. The second Development Plan revised and reused the command-based approach from the first. Whereas New Bombay was an experimental site and was where the neoliberal regime of planning was first deployed, Bombay's planners were still working within the older edifice erected

by the liberal regime of planning. The second Development Plan was approved in 1981 to be implemented by 2001, and then extended until 2013. By 2015, the discourse fully changed in Mumbai. Individuals in the city were full-fledged subjects of choice and the populations they made up were assumed to be increasingly unpredictable. The city had to be energized through the spontaneity promised by its choice-maximizing residents, as Airan and Karani might put it.

These new citizens of Mumbai had a renewed sense of interest in guarding against lapses in governmental practice, especially when those lapses were because planners' did not sufficiently observe and appeal to their residents' interests and thereby threatened the spontaneous outcomes for the city. When the third Development Plan was introduced in 2015, planners had expected that as with previous development plans the city's residents would come to a consensus on the plan and it would be approved the same year. But this expectation was based on the assumption that the subject-citizen still lived in the city, when they had not for the better part of three decades. Just as the second Development Plan was being approved, the old subject of the city was making way for the new. And so, the third Development Plan had to be abandoned due to the voluntary activism of special interest groups raising concerns about governmental lapses in their planning objectives, all of which reflected a broader concern that planners were not really appealing to the interests of the city's residents. In other words, BMC planners and their planning policies were faulted for not being flexible enough to cater to the city's spontaneous order and to secure the city against the aleatory outcomes of that order.

One of the main problems at this time was that the BEST initiative of the BMC and the BMC planners intervention to resolve this was not well received by the city's residents. The BEST initiative provides public bus transit and electricity for the residents of Mumbai. Due to increasing traffic congestion, BEST was losing ridership on the buses and thus was losing

revenue. BEST decided to “compensate for these losses by introducing a surcharge on their electricity consumers. So electricity consumers were getting a surcharge on account of losses in transportation, and they [publicly] raised their concerns.”⁵⁰² Based on feedback from the vested populations in the city, BMC planners proposed new policies to generate revenue for BEST while appealing to its residents’ preferences. These included dedicated bus lanes to bypass traffic congestion and ridership passes to reduce the cost per ticket.⁵⁰³ A further development was that until these policy changes, BEST bus depots were empty lots as buses went about their routes during the daytime. These lots are scattered across the city, many in prime locations. Since this land was already owned by the planning authority, the BMC planners took a page out of the self-funding planning approach and introduced a policy to sell the daytime rights to those lots for commercial activities (such as parking lots for the city’s car commuters).⁵⁰⁴ Consequently, many BEST bus depots are now mixed-use, public-cum-commercial plots of land that can generate revenue for BEST and the city’s development projects.

Generally speaking, the third Development Plan was subject to calls from special interest groups for more flexible planning. These calls are based on an increased awareness of the role of planners in developing spaces in ways that can impact the individual’s pursuit of their future life, and in so doing risk the very choice-maximizing energies that promise a spontaneous ordering of the city. Between the second and third Development Plan, “the biggest change that’s happened is people’s participation at every level [has increased].”⁵⁰⁵ This is not participation in terms of demands by residents to compel planners to pursue schemes that will develop civic harmony.

⁵⁰² Interview with urban planner HD. June 23, 2016.

⁵⁰³ Interview with urban planner HD. June 23, 2016.

⁵⁰⁴ Interview with urban planner HD. June 23, 2016.

⁵⁰⁵ Interview with urban planner HD. June 23, 2016.

This participation is based on individuals with a shared interest getting together temporarily to form fierce action groups upon recognizing that this interest is overlooked by the planner's development plan. It is the participation of prospective and entrepreneurial subjects, seeking to maximize the choices available to them in their pursuit of a personally relevant future in a city that is no longer planned with fixed ends in mind but by making outcomes unpredictable.

In 2015, the BMC began the process of surveying individuals to gain insights on their interests, recording 65000 unique instances of such feedback.⁵⁰⁶ Based on this feedback, the BMC adjusted planning policies and made them more adaptable to the city's population and its variabilities, thus embracing the flexible planning approach. In 2016 a revised Development Plan was released. Planners sought further feedback and insights from individuals and by June 23, 2016 (the last interview I conducted at the BMC), roughly 500 unique instances of such feedback were obtained.⁵⁰⁷ After making additional adjustments in order to generate more flexible planning policies, BMC planners submitted their revised proposal for official approval to their publicly elected leadership in 2016. After further contestations among leadership, the third Development Plan was approved two years later in 2018. In the era of urban and regional development, the BMC's planning efficiencies are still sluggish as it slowly adapts to the new discourse of planning being deployed in other areas of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region.

⁵⁰⁶ Interview with urban planner HD. June 23, 2016.

⁵⁰⁷ Interview with urban planner HD. June 23, 2016.

5. CODA

On the Sangh Parivar

As a sanskritic term, ‘hindutva’ means the state of being a Hindu, or exhibiting the qualities of a Hindu. But ‘hindutva’ is also a modern political doctrine, advocating the hegemony of Hinduism and its way of life in India. That is, it seeks to initiate and make permanent the supremacy of Hinduism and the Hindu people in all Indian affairs. Towards this end, it strives to capture and consolidate state power. As a political doctrine, Hindutva was emboldened during the early twentieth century in the midst and verve of the independence movement.⁵⁰⁸ But it never gained any serious currency during the early decades of the postcolonial governmental regime because it championed the social and political primacy of India’s Hindus over its non-Hindus (including, Dalits, various tribal groups, Muslims, Christians, and Jews), thereby threatening the nation-building directives outlined by political thinkers like Panikkar and Ambedkar.

The ‘Sangh Parivar’ is the organization of Hindutva groups aligned with the Rashtriya Swyamsevak Sangh (RSS), an volunteer group championing the hegemony of Hindus.⁵⁰⁹ Under the tutelage of the RSS, the Parivar has developed to represent the constellation of Hindutva movements in modern India. The Parivar began to take shape in the mid-60s but only started to build serious socio-political momentum in the 1970s. It is in that decade that the student wing of the Parivar, known as the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), intensified its agitations

⁵⁰⁸ Perhaps the first and most influential Hindutva text was produced during this period. “Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?” was published in 1923, written by V. D. Savarkar while he was imprisoned by the British for his involvement in the colony’s struggle for independence. Nussbaum, Martha. *The Clash Within: The Clash Within : Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's Future* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 156.

⁵⁰⁹ The ‘Rashtriya Swyamsevak Sangh’ translates to ‘National Volunteer Organization’. A ‘sangh’ is an organization of like minded groups, or a coalition. The word ‘parivar’ is commonly used to mean family. Nussbaum, *The Clash Within*, 169. Rodenbeck, Max. “A Mighty Wind,” *The New York Review of Books* (New York), April 19, 2018.

against the ruling National Congress Party (NCO) and its commitment to secularism. The Vivekananda Kendra, a Hindutva think tank, was formed in 1972. The Akhil Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana was envisioned and formed in the 1970s to culturally revise ancient history, downplaying centuries of Islamic dynasties while celebrating stories of Hindu resistance to ‘foreign’ dynasties and invaders.⁵¹⁰ In the same decade, the Shiv Sena, a Marathi-nativist group significantly expanded its political range within and outside of Mumbai, India’s most cosmopolitan city, by ideologically aligning with the RSS’s Hindutva movement.⁵¹¹

The National Congress Party did not emerge unscathed from consolidating political power in the decades immediately following India’s independence. By the late 60s, it experienced an internal split between a new reformist wing (the NCO-R) rallying around the leadership of Indira Gandhi and the old guard of the Congress Party (NCO-O). As India’s Prime Minister between 1966 and 1977, Indira Gandhi had to directly contend with the crisis of authority among India’s youth, and with the crises of planning and population within India’s private and public sectors, respectively. She intended to resolve these crises, and the broader crisis of Indian liberalism that these reflected, by trying to expand the governmental authority of Parliament and the Prime Minister. But the very rights India’s liberal nation-building project had relied on in order to govern Indians had also established juridical protections on individual freedoms that limited Gandhi’s ability to rule more authoritatively. And so, in 1975, she moved to declare a State of Emergency that lasted nearly two years. She then proceeded to oust political opponents

⁵¹⁰ The effects of such efforts can be seen in recent and very mainstream Bollywood films. For example, the 2019 film *Panipat* glorifies the Hindu Maratha Empire’s resistance to the expanding Islamic Durrani Empire. The film’s synopsis on its official social media account reads, “PANIPAT is set in 1761, when the Maratha Empire had reached its zenith and their grip on Hindostan reigned supreme with no-one to challenge them until an invader set his eyes on the throne of Hindostan.” Reliance Entertainment. “Panipat,” *Youtube* video, November 4, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zpXnmy-6w1g>.

⁵¹¹ The Shiv Sena or the Army of Shivaji, is named after a seventeenth century ruler of the Maratha empire, Shivaji Bhonsle I, who famously battled the last of the Mughals and the first of the colonial powers.

from Parliament and the Supreme Court, and arrested and imprisoned political critics including from the Hindu right. Having removed opposition both within and outside of the Indian state, Gandhi pressed a more submissive Parliament to pass the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution that officially subverted the six Fundamental Rights of Indian Citizens (outlined in Articles 14-35) to the authority of Parliament, and suspended Judicial Review.⁵¹² In the final analysis, the amendment granted unconstrained political authority and full political freedom solely to Parliament and the Prime Minister, at the expense of the rights of the free subject-citizen in India. These actions made Gandhi and the NCO deeply unpopular among the Indian electorate and encouraged further political mobilizations by the Parivar, which now could directly point to its affiliated members' imprisonment as proof that the liberal regime was in crisis. Bolstered by the citizenry's distrust of the NCO, the Parivar's activism finally paid off and for the first time in modern Indian elections the NCO lost the general election to the Parivar. In 1977, the RSS-affiliated Janata Party, the precursor to the presently ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), were swept into the Indian legislature and executive office.

In this final chapter, I'd like to think about the rise of the Sangh Parivar contemporaneously with India's epistemic shift in governmentality and the crisis of liberalism. My objective is not to explain the modern Hindutva movement as simply the cultural wing of neoliberal economic restructuring (akin to interpretations of Reaganite or Thatcherite conservatism). Nor is it to suggest that the steady momentum gained by the Parivar is solely the

⁵¹² While the 42nd Amendment has never been fully abolished, its suspension of Fundamental Rights and Judicial Review were reversed by Parliament after the Congress Party's defeat in the national election of 1977. Nussbaum, *The Clash Within*, 127.

result of the neoliberal reordering of governmental affairs in India.⁵¹³ Instead, I'd like to begin to attempt a mapping of the key features of the relationship between this neoliberal discourse and the Hindu right. Towards this end, I position my efforts along two points of analysis.

First, I stress the way in which the rise of neoliberal regime in India during the final quarter of the twentieth century removed implicit barriers previously placed to limit the counter-national (or anti-secular) tendencies of the Hindu majority. It is not that these propensities were repressed or suppressed. Instead, it was the clear and present threat that such tendencies posed to the future nation that justified the need to place limitations on them through, most importantly, the production of the liberal subject-citizen who would implicitly reject agendas opposed to the secular civic- and nation-building projects. Consequently, the Hindu majority and its interests that once controlled the ancient Hindu state could not be satisfied through the now modern and secular Indian state. In other words, the interests of this majority were simply displaced from their formerly privileged position within the governmental regime, which does not mean that they were repressed. They still very much circulated outside of that regime. The removal of the limitations on anti-secular propensities of the Hindu majority reopened the possibility that the interests of this group could once again direct the state. But in spite of these limitations being lifted, the issue for the Hindu right was that it still could not gain mass appeal amongst Indians who, with the shift to Indian neoliberalism, were increasingly starting to see themselves as free individuals with an interest in pursuing and securing their personally defined futures for themselves.

⁵¹³ Indeed, major wars were fought under the rulership of the NCO that bolstered the Parivar's attempts to question and undermine the ruling legitimacy of the NCO. The first of these was the Sino-Indian War of 1962, which India lost. Then came the Indo-Pakistani Wars of 1965 and 1971, both of which helped stir anti-Islamic sentiment with the latter leading to the formation of Bangladesh.

This challenge for Hindutva of gaining the support of the broader set of free individuals is addressed by the second point I would like to emphasize. As an overarching critique of liberal governmentality, the discourse of neoliberalism provided this historical majority with some of the principal reasoning to critique, along libertarian grounds, the limits placed on it during the nation-building era. This reasoning, I argue, gives the Hindutva project an individualistic appeal precisely because it allows the majority to couch its majoritarian intentions in libertarian terms of maximizing choice rather than in endogamous principles of the four varnas, or castes. This is not to say that endogamous relations do not animate the Hindutva movement. Rather it is to suggest that the rationality of choice allows such relations to be recast not in terms of the individual's duty to a specific varna, which deliberately prefers the pursuit of certain ends over others (and is thus freedom-unfriendly), but the individual free chooser's spontaneous membership to a like-minded aggregate group, the Hindu majority.⁵¹⁴ In this way, the constitutive parameters of endogamy are expanded to reflect all Hindus regardless of caste.

The Hindutva Counter-Nation

Benedict Anderson defined the nation as an “imagined political community” that is “both inherently limited and sovereign” and exists in the minds of each member of the nation as “the image of their communion”, which “is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship”.⁵¹⁵ But if we follow Anderson, we would be misled to think that the society of Hindus qualifies as a nation. That is, his criteria for a nation prove too broad and prevent an analytical distinction to be made between the nation that India's postcolonial governmental regime was looking to form,

⁵¹⁴ Here, I understand term ‘endogamous’ not to simply mean marriage within one's caste, but to reflect the mutually beneficial results attained through broader and various kinds of intra-caste associations.

⁵¹⁵ Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections On The Origin And Spread Of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6-7.

and the society of Hindus advocated by Hindutva. In the case of this Hindu society, the criteria of limitedness, sovereignty, and community all apply. It is limited to and by its membership and by the imagined territorial boundaries that it has set for its members. It claims sovereignty insofar as it assumes an independent position with respect to other societies, i.e., it seeks not to be dominated by these (and even seeks to dominated these). And it sees itself as a community of individuals horizontally linked to each other by their status as Hindus. Such criteria might then lead us to conclude that the Hindutva movement is a form of nationalism.

I would like to distinguish my arguments from ones that might label Hindutva as ‘Hindu nationalism’. Hindutva favors the management and administration of conduct based on a cluster of governmental principles and strategies selected from and for the benefit of a specific religious group, the society of Hindus. In practice, this ideology looks to dominate governmental affairs through the implementation of these principles and strategies, especially by repurposing the instruments of the state. It would be historically misguided to call this religious grouping a nation in the strict sense of how thinkers like Ambedkar thought about the nation, i.e., as a composite and pluralistic community administered through a secular and modern state. As a counter-movement taking issue with the liberal era and its idea of the nation, I see Hindutva as fundamentally counter-national insofar as its directives promote an hegemonic reordering of relations among Indians around the presumed supremacy of the Hindu way of life. What is more is that by referring to Hindutva as ‘Hindu nationalism’, scholars risk normalizing it as a movement in continuity with the older nation-building regime. This also hazards diverting critical attention from how Hindutva efforts have long worked to undermine and have succeeded in undermining that regime by coopting the concept of the nation and redeploying it to serve a counter-national effort.

For a better sense of the specificity of Hindutva movements in modern India, not as advocates for the nation but for the defense of a specific society, it might be more useful to see how this society has always existed, flowing beneath the secular nation building era. The efforts by Hindutva to subvert the nation building regime betray an historico-political discourse that seeks to rediscover and celebrate a past as a means to political and governmental critique.⁵¹⁶ This is a mythologized and ancient past where we find the ‘true’ set of force relations that have been concealed by the liberal juridical regime and that, nevertheless, remain thoroughly scored into the history of the Subcontinent. On this view, the efforts to conceal the past hegemony of the Hindus were animated by centralized juridical attempts to define what it means to be a free Indian subject, i.e., the subject of right who sacrificed conflicting personal and tribal interests to prioritize nation-building ones. And in obscuring these past relations, the liberal regime reveals itself (in its tactics and organization) to the Hindutva discourse as fragile, temporary, and illegitimate. But, in addition to recalling a mythologized past, this historico-political discourse of Hindutva also seeks to begin overcoming its concealment by politically de-centering its mobilizations. That is, in addition to the historical axis of the myth, it must rely on the political axis of ascendant mobilization. And so, initially at least, Hindutva discourse will not refer to the previously established facts of the liberal regime, since these have only served to obscure what Hindutva perceives as older and more legitimate set of affairs. Moreover, its initial political mobilizations will not descend from above through the arms of a state that it sees as illegitimate, but will ascend from below through various extended grassroots campaigns. These mobilizations take on a new life with the neoliberal turn in Indian governmental thought and practice.

⁵¹⁶ Foucault, *Society Must be Defended*. cf. Lecture of 21 January, 1976, on the rise of historico-political discourse in the West.

The Hindu Majority, Recalled

My first point of analysis, again, is to suggest that certain juridical barriers that were placed on each and all were removed, creating an opening for the Hindutva movement to begin to assert itself onto the Indian political and governmental landscape. By securing the rights of free individuals, liberal governmental discourse was not simply interested in permitting individuals to pursue their personal interests, unmolested. Instead, it secured those rights in order to produce a certain type of subject out of these free individuals. Individuals' rights tied them to certain obligations, and for the postcolonial regime, the supreme obligation was to the development of the nation and its future. Consequently, in the realm of the family, and in the private and public sectors, we see various efforts in youth development, market research, and urban planning to direct the conduct of free individuals in a manner that aligns their personal interest to the nation-building vision. Each and all, regardless of their affiliations, was invested with this ethic of sacrifice where local and tribal affiliations were sidelined in favor of the future nation. This was certainly the case for individuals generative of India's historical majority and was evidenced in Ambedkar's concerns about the tyranny of this Hindu majority. Consequently, the impulses of such individuals were redirected towards interests other than those of Hindu society thereby confining the threat of the rising ambitions of that society. Individuals who might have previously enjoyed their status as Hindus were invested with a more superordinate status, of Indian subject-citizen.

But the neoliberal critique of liberal governmentality and the resulting crisis of liberalism paved the way for neoliberal thought and practice to take off in India by the 1970s. The libertarian register of governmental intelligibility and limitation shifts from the free subject of rights to the free subject of choice. If the freedom of the rights bearing individual established a

negative governmental project in terms of of telling government what it must not do, it also provided government with a positive project, i.e., allowing government to program the endeavors of free subject-citizens towards a nation-building effort. But the neoliberal critique argues that such deliberate ordering of individual affairs limits the individual's freedom to choose. Consequently, the positive project of nation-building drops out, leaving only the negative project of not limiting individual free choice. But if free individuals cannot be obliged to pursue outcomes other than self-betterment (however each person defines their personal betterment), then the limits placed on the interests of the counter-national majority are also lifted.

The neoliberal turn presents governmentality with a novel paradigm of individual freedom that will ensure the spontaneous and voluntary ordering of human affairs and conduct. This voluntarism manifests through each person freely choosing their means and ends, and by entering into mutually beneficial agreements, thereby producing aggregate outcomes that are unpredictable but interpreted by neoliberal thought as value-neutral and positive-sum, and thus to the common benefit. Even so, individuals could no longer be motivated by anything other than personally defined ends. This posed a challenge for Hindutva ideology, which clearly sees certain Hindu-serving outcomes as more desirable than others. And such deliberate intentions could never gain traction in the midst of neoliberal transformation where individuals increasingly were thought of and imagined themselves as in charge of their own interests, choices, and outcomes. The challenge, then, was to pursue the broader project of achieving a Hindutva society through the free and spontaneous activities of individuals. It is here that the Hindutva movement reconciles itself with the rationality of free choice and the challenge of securing against the unpredictability of the outcomes of free choice.

Recall that the neoliberal subject of choice is both invested with a freedom to choose as well as a responsibility for the outcomes of their free choice. Again, my freedom is not limited when the outcomes of my choices are not to my advantage. It is limited when I do not have the opportunity to choose. Consequently, my freedom is expanded when the choices available to me are optimized and maximized. Government, too, in order to govern well must not concern itself with deliberately preferring certain outcomes that benefit some but add costs to others. Instead, it must work to maximize opportunities to choose for each and all. That is, the new positive governmental project under neoliberalism calls for government to produce relatively stable aggregates out of similarly interested free choosers and appeal to their aggregate interest. In so doing, government ensures that the conduct of each and all complies with the rules of conduct that make possible the spontaneous ordering of human affairs and the production of value-neutral outcomes. The larger the aggregate government produces, the greater the compliance to and reach of this spontaneous order. Put another way, in order to govern the conduct of free choosers, government must know the interests of each and all so that it can develop an aggregate and shared interest that can be used to appeal to and maximize choices of as many as possible. It is here that we find that the free chooser's economic rationality encourages them to link up with other like minded individuals in order to form an aggregate that the governmental regime will cater to and expand the freedom of. That is, because the subject of choice has an interest in maximizing outcomes available to them, and since neoliberal government only looks to appeal to aggregated interests (not to the interests of any particular person), this subject also has an interest in associating with others so that they form a majority whose shared interests government cannot ignore but must instead appeal to. At the level of the free chooser's thought and practice, the unpredictable consequences of the spontaneous order produces a keenness among each to link

up with others who share similar interests and to create a large enough aggregate whose interest government must appeal to and maximize.

To be clear, and at the level of governmental practice, I do not mean to argue that neoliberal freedom deliberately produces favorable outcomes for majorities. It favors majorities as a matter of technical process, observing the spontaneous relations of free choosers as it works to maximize choices for as many as possible and to perpetuate the order of the catallaxy among them. That is, it ultimately does so not to deliberately benefit any particular grouping of individuals (even though such groupings are likely to benefit) but to produce and secure the conduct of these aggregates to reflect the conduct required for the continuation of the spontaneous order. And so the link connecting India's Hindu majority and the doctrine of Hindu majoritarianism is an enterprising one, and is established as means to best protect the majority against the aleatory. The Indian subject of choice now recognizes the advantage that can be secured to them if their interest broadly shares in and aligns with the aggregate interest of the Hindu majority, which (again) governmental efforts must appeal to and maximize. Meanwhile, Hindutva must work to appeal to such individuals by offering them a vision of their personal future that promotes and maximizes their personal interests through free and voluntary association with other like-minded individuals, and in ways that better secure the associating individuals' choice-maximizing efforts. Taken together, it is the condition of the aleatory, so essential to the spontaneous order, that produces an appetite for Hindutva among India's majority. Consequently, government responds by appealing to fascist interests.

The endogamous relations typically associated with the Hindu orthodoxy are also changed and greatly expanded, no longer associated with one's obligation to their varna but instead with one's freedom to voluntarily associate with like-minded persons in order maximize

outcomes for each and all in this association. And so the members of this society, the historical Hindu majority, do not practice the politics of the civic-minded citizenry imagined by thinkers like J. F. Bulara. Instead, this is the politics of special interest groups imagined by Airan and Karani, where each voluntary associates with others because they share a similar interest in the maximization of the personal choice. Accordingly, the gains secured by sustained membership to this group hold the promise that each in the group will have an expanded range of choices to pursue their personally defined futures for themselves. In other words, individuals align themselves with the Hindutva movement because they see it as an efficient means to reach and secure this future, shielding against the unpredictable outcomes of such personal pursuits.

The economic rationality of the Indian subject of choice that encourages her to align her interests with others in order to expand her choices thus allows Hindutva to position itself as a movement that appeals to and protects the choice-maximization impetus of its associating subjects. In so doing, Hindutva is able build up and maintain a mass appeal. In the process, and as a majority, Hindu society gradually commands the attention of the state to pursue any number of governmental reforms inspired by various critiques of counter-majoritarian governmental policy that promote and expand the choices of a minority at the cost of limiting the choices of the majority. The ban on the sale of beef in several Indian states officially endorses, expands, and protects the preferences of the majority to practice their faith while removing the special status non-Hindus have possessed to own and operate beef slaughterhouses, as does the recent Ayodhya verdict by the Supreme Court giving full control of a long disputed religious site to Hindus while relocating the Muslim patrons of the site. Such efforts point to governmental adjustments being made to expand the possible outcomes for and appeals to the majority's interests by removing privileges that formerly supported India's minorities. The rush to secure the expansion and

development of the majority and its choices can also be seen in the recent abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, removing special status afforded to Jammu and Kashmir as a minority-majority territory. It can also be seen in the campaign promises made by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi (formerly of the RSS and now leader of the BJP) that towns with Muslim cemeteries must be matched by Hindu crematoriums and that electricity provided to communities for the observance of Ramadan should also be provided for Hindu festivals.

By appealing to the interests of the Hindu majority, and in order to continue to the positive governmental project of (re)producing the catallaxy within Indian affairs, these recent governmental reforms in India have certainly taken on an authoritarian and right wing character. But it might be useful to observe these and other instances not just as the rise of chauvinistic rhetoric and policy. It might be more helpful to ask what appeal such rhetoric and policy has, to begin with, and to investigate the ways in which it has been made increasingly attractive through the rationality of choice-maximization to the almost 80 percent of Indians who are classified as Hindu.⁵¹⁷ Ultimately, having to secure oneself in midst of the spontaneous order and against its permanent threat of the aleatory can produce a taste for fascism.

In the Ruins of Neoliberalism?

In her mostly recently published book, Wendy Brown argues the rise of the far right in the North Atlantic nations takes place “in the ruins of neoliberalism” during the “second decade of the twenty first century”.⁵¹⁸ The project I have undertaken finds that, on the contrary, the rise of the far right has been transpiring in the midst of and through neoliberal transformation since

⁵¹⁷ Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs. Census of India (2011), https://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/population_enumeration.html.

⁵¹⁸ Brown, Wendy. *In the Ruins of Neoliberalism: The Rise of Antidemocratic Politics in the West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 7.

the very beginning. To see how this is taking place, it might be useful to not use the West as our point of reference, but to look East. But this is also not, to use Brown's terms, a "return of the repressed" aiming to "an 'enraged' majority rule".⁵¹⁹ The society imagined by Hindutva was never repressed, in the sense of being forcefully kept out of the realm of politics. This society was simply displaced and concealed from view. That is, its mythical hold over governmental power (especially through the ancient Hindu state) was eliminated and replaced by a more secular government of Indian affairs.

But it is also important to note that the resurgent Hindu majority is animated not by rage for a lost mythical power, even though this anger drives those who more openly identify with Hindutva and those groups that make up the Sangh Parivar. Instead, this aggregation is driven by an interest to claim a monopoly over the choices presented to it by government so that its members can best secure their personal futures. That is, the Hindu majority is not principally motivated by the Hindutva movement and doctrine. It is the economic rationality of choice-maximization, which Hindutva must also co-opt in order to appeal to freely choosing individuals in India, that animated the resurgence of Hindu majoritarianism. Neoliberal discourse unintentionally supplied the critical tools Hindutva needed to gain legitimacy among the Indian masses. And so it might be useful to think how the Hindu right gained political currency among this majority principally by appealing to their personal interests as neoliberal subjects of choice, rather than as the members of a displaced ancient congregation. It might also be useful to think this aggregation as testimony to the type of social redefinition and change made possible through neoliberal governmental shift.

⁵¹⁹ Brown, *In the Ruins of Neoliberalism*, 16.

The Thatcherite claim that ‘there is no such thing as society’ was based on the principles of a deliberately ordered community that sought to direct the affairs of individuals towards ends not necessarily their own. Indeed, it is not society *tout court* that is the problem for neoliberalism. The concern is for the production of a society that intentionally values and provides for certain outcomes over others. The Latin *societas*, or the body public, allied and associated to pursue a common interest is thus the object-target of neoliberal censure because it subordinates interests other than the common interest. But while neoliberal government goes against how society has been historically established and understood, i.e., as an entity that works towards the general welfare by often limiting individuals whose interests and actions go against such an objective, it also encourages and produces its own novel society by fundamentally reorganizing the conditions that define society. It is no longer an intentional ordering of relations that bring about a desired society. Instead, society and its relations are now brought about by the spontaneous ordering of human affairs. This other type of society imagined under neoliberalism is a cluster of freely choosing individuals entering mutually beneficial agreements with each other in ways that reveal and produce an aggregate that seeks to secure (as best it can) against the lack of an explicit guarantee that the outcomes of their agreement will be to the consenting parties’ benefit. Society is thus redefined as an instrument of neoliberal security.

Once again, such societies are the very stuff of the neoliberal order of things, allowing this order to maintain and grow the scope of the catallaxy until it permeates all human affairs. And the work of expanding the reach of this governmental order and securing it is increasingly being done through the various techniques of neoliberal surveillance in order to know individuals and secure their conduct and compliance, as outlined in previous chapters. And so society takes on new meaning under a neoliberal governmental regime. While society as a recognized or

deliberately produced entity (the future composite nation, for instance) is dismissed by neoliberal governmentality, society as an aggregation of individuals who share the same personal interest in maximizing and securing their personal choices is recast as the very field of governmental knowledge and intervention. This society is not deliberately produced but is spontaneous and voluntarily constitutes itself.

In India, again, the society of Hindus is recalled but not as an ideological alignment that deliberately means to restore the ancient hegemony of Hindus over India. The pursuit of such intentional outcomes are now explicitly precluded by the neoliberal turn in India, which certainly works against the stated interest of Hindutva. But this society can be (and is) reconstituted as an aggregation and voluntary association based on the choice maximizing interests of individuals who also happened to make up a significant majority in India (the Hindus). And again, freely choosing individuals take an interest in this majority society because they see it (and this is how it is presented by Hindutva) as way to secure themselves against the unpredictable consequences of the spontaneous ordering of human affairs. If the order of the catallaxy promises once thing it is that its outcomes are entirely unintentional and uncertain. That is, such an ordering of human affairs promises disorder. But if the spontaneous order must be preserved in and through the government of free choosers, and if the catallaxy must define the order of things, then the threat of disorder and the aleatory is always-already present. Just as governmental thought and practice has an interest in knowing this society in order to secure its compliance to the catallaxy's order, the majority society has an interest in forming itself so that the technologies of government can defend its members against the threat of the aleatory.

This threat warrants and multiplies the permanent state of exception.⁵²⁰ Such a state is the condition of an always looming crisis of the aleatory within each sector of human affairs, once those affairs are ordered in and through the neoliberal catallaxy. With the neoliberal libertarian order, that is, we find an indefinite “production of emergencies”.⁵²¹ And even this is entirely unintentional according to neoliberal discourse. It is no coincidence, then, that society’s measures to defend itself and be defended often take on the mechanisms of surveilling and policing in and through permanent states of exception. Such mechanisms are directed at society in order to better know it as an aggregate and shared interest, and at those groups outside of the majority in order to better know and govern them. And, especially in the case of the latter, policing takes on its more modern role as the executive arm of the majority society’s interests. It so happens then that “security becomes the basic principle of state activity”.⁵²²

Is it correct that the far right emerges in the ruins of neoliberalism, as Brown’s account puts it? Or does it appear alongside and parallel to neoliberal discourse, even though it is not neoliberalism’s deliberate intention to produce such outcomes? Globally speaking, too, perhaps the winds heralding the rise of the right in and through neoliberal transformation blow east to west, rather than west to east. Moreover, if the neoliberal turn in India marks an epistemic shift in how individuals are thought of as free choosers, then the politics of the Sangh Parivar also suggests that neoliberal libertarianism has been and continues to be constitutive, generative, and productive of these politics. Through that epistemic shift, we can note adjustments in the

⁵²⁰ Agamben, Giorgio. “On Security and Terror,” in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, trans. Soenke Zehle (Frankfurt, Germany), September 20, 2001.

⁵²¹ Agamben, *On Security and Terror*.

⁵²² Agamben, *On Security and Terror*.

This is certainly all too apparent in the Indian state’s policy towards Kashmir since the 1970s, and especially with the abrogation of Article 370.

government of the family, in the regulation of the marketplace, and in the administration of urban spaces. The individual, too, undergoes inherent changes that reveal her as a subject of choice in her status as a young person, as an economic agent in marketplace, and as an urban resident. And so governmental adjustments in the family, and the private and public sectors, respond to changes in the very constitution of the free subject. More specifically, such adjustments are pursued with an eye to better appeal to the individual as a subject of choice whose conduct complies with and can be conducted in ways that ensures the perpetuation of the spontaneous order.

But, as I have tried to highlight, these adjustments and changes have not occurred outside of and in isolation from the historical legacy of the Subcontinent. Indeed, they have taken place in a manner that allowed certain historical forces to appear once again, and this time a little differently to be sure. The members of the society of Hindus now reappear as subjects of choice, animated by an economic rationality and clustered around a shared interest in maximizing and securing their personally defined futures. With the neoliberal turn in India, this resurgent society of Hindus is also reacquainted with an older set of force relations, seeking to recall a mythical social order that is born in and promises the return of an ancient dissonance.

APPENDIX

Exemption Granted

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RE: Research Protocol # 2016-0301
“The Art of Governing Well: Freedom and the Practice of Modern Government in India”

Sponsors: None

Dear Aviral Pathak:

Your Claim of Exemption was reviewed on March 24, 2016 and it was determined that your research protocol meets the criteria for exemption as defined in the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services Regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects [(45 CFR 46.101(b))]. You may now begin your research.

<u>Exemption Period:</u>	March 24, 2016 – March 24, 2019
Performance Site:	UIC
Recruitment:	Mumbai India
Subject Population:	Adult (18+ years) subjects only
Number of Subjects:	at least 6 cases

The specific exemption category under 45 CFR 46.101(b) is:

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You are reminded that investigators whose research involving human subjects is determined to be exempt from the federal regulations for the protection of human subjects still have responsibilities for the ethical conduct of the research under state law and UIC policy. Please be aware of the following UIC policies and responsibilities for investigators:

- Amendments You are responsible for reporting any amendments to your research protocol that may affect the determination of the exemption and may result in your research no longer being eligible for the exemption that has been granted.
- Record Keeping You are responsible for maintaining a copy all research related records in a secure location in the event future verification is necessary, at a minimum these documents include: the research protocol, the claim of exemption application, all questionnaires, survey instruments, interview questions and/or data collection instruments associated with this research protocol, recruiting or advertising materials, any consent forms or information sheets given to subjects, or any other pertinent documents.
- Final Report When you have completed work on your research protocol, you should submit a final report to the Office for Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS).
- Information for Human Subjects UIC Policy requires investigators to provide information about the research protocol to subjects and to obtain their permission prior to their participating in the research. The information about the research protocol should be presented to subjects as detailed in the research protocol and Claim of Exemption application utilizing the approved recruitment and consent process and documents.

Please be sure to use your research protocol number (listed above) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

OPRS does not send hard copies via campus mail of protocol-related correspondence to investigators, research staff and Department Heads. For more information, please refer to the following: <http://research.uic.edu/node/4117>

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact me at (312) 355-2908 or the OPRS office at (312) 996-1711. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Hoehne
Assistant Director, IRB #7
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

CITED LITERATURE

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VITA

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- Ph.D., Political Science, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2020
- TEACHING: Graduate Instructor, University of Illinois at Chicago
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 - POLS 290: The History of Political Thought I
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 - POLS 190: The Scope of Political Science
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- HONORS:
- The Society for Business Ethics, Founders' Award, 2018
 - University of Illinois at Chicago, Institute for the Humanities, Resident Graduate Fellow, 2017-18
 - University of Illinois at Chicago, The Graduate College, Chancellor's Graduate Research Award, 2016-17
 - University of Illinois at Chicago, Department of Political Science, Milton Rakove Memorial Award, 2016
- PRESENTATIONS:
- "Non-domination as Max-choice: Late-twentieth Century Neo-Republicanism's Debt to Neoliberalism" presented at the *Northwestern Graduate Student Conference in Political Theory* at Northwestern University – November 16, 2018
 - "From Planned Development to Unplanned Planning: The Rise of Market Research in Modern India" presented at the *Society for Business Ethics Annual Meeting*, August 10-12, 2018
 - "The Nation Must be Created: Liberalism and Individual Freedom in Post-Independence India" presented at the *Comparative Historical Social Sciences Conference* at Northwestern University, May 10-11, 2018
 - "Non-domination as Max-choice: Late-twentieth Century Neo-Romanism's Debt to Neoliberalism" presented in 'Freedom, Liberalism, and Democracy' at the *Western Political Science Association Conference*, March 29-31, 2018

(cont.)

- “Governing Youth: Individual Freedom and the Discourses of Youth Development in Modern India” presented at *Interdisciplinary Dissertation Writing Workshop* organized by the Institute for the Humanities at the University of Illinois at Chicago, November 14, 2017
- “Governing Youth: Individual Freedom and the Practice of Youth Development in Modern India” presented at the *5th Biennial Texas Asia Conference* organized and hosted by the Department of Asian Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, September 22-23, 2017
- “Freedom and Modern Practices of Governing” presented at the *Advanced Graduate Workshop on Poverty, Development, and Globalization*, July 4-18, 2016
- “Weak States and the Onset of Post-Coup Civil Wars” presented in ‘Coups, Civil Wars, and Authoritarian Regimes’ at the *Midwest Political Science Association* (with Clifford Deaton), April 2012
- “The Absurdity of Authenticity: Examining the Social Value of Being-thus versus Being-for-others” presented in ‘Examining Exclusion’ at the *Midwest Political Science Association* (with Robert Oprisko), April 2012