

**THE ABJECTED SELF: A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF FEAR
AND VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS IN DELHI**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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2019



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Date: 15.07.2019

DECLARATION

This thesis titled, 'The Abjected Self: A Psychoanalytic Study of Fear and Violence in Schools in Delhi', is a presentation of my original research work. Wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due reference to the literature, and acknowledgement of collaborative research and discussions. The work was done under the guidance of Prof. Minati Panda, ZHCES, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Minati Panda. Her unmatched academic excellence and scientific temperament gave me the direction necessary for completing this research. Besides, I am filled with gratitude towards my Master whose spiritual discourses helped the withering plant within me to bloom, grow and shine better. Air Vice-Marshal D.S. Guram benignly restored spiritual calmness and silence in me. My parents, Mrs. Suman and Col. (Retd.) B.B.Bali and my partner for life, Hemant gave me the nourishment in the form of their constant encouragement and unconditional support. I am thankful to my sister, Shweta who yet being far away from me, has always been there whenever I needed her. My friends, Komal Yadav, Vijith, Sakshi and Rita Mishra have always boosted my morale and patience in completing this venture.

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Abstract

This study attempts to bring to the surface the subjectivity of a suffering subject, who is repressed under the dominant social symbolic system. It seeks to decipher that subjectivity is linked to power relations, economic exchange principle and universality of identity that shape and define subjectivity. It is guided by two major research questions, which are: 1). What constitutes psychical alienation in the most interior and intimate space in a child from a poor and deprived home studying in a government school in Delhi? 2). How and when does the external world of exclusion enter a child's internal world? This study is based on Julia Kristeva's Psychoanalytic theoretical formulations. It also incorporates Theodor Adorno's Critical Theory, as they both share similar methodological viewpoints (Singh, 2008). Both the approaches illuminate on the mediatic relations between an individual and society that neither a psychoanalytic account of personality formation nor a Marxist account of class conflict can be able to provide answers to the alienation faced by people. The sample of this study comprised two government schools from north-west district of Delhi selected using snow-ball sampling. Out of the 30 students, this study incorporates the case studies of four students. The method of data collection applied is the Thematic Apperception Test, storytelling and verbal logorrhoea.

The key argument of the thesis forms around idealisation, object-cathexis and identification with the object. The onset of abjection is attributable to the primary relationship with parents and how well the child can idealise or not in the formation of the subject. However, idealisation and object cathexis from the Adornoian theory explicates that idealisation of parents, especially the father is problematic in this modern world as it is the economic impotence of the father and reification which can explain the object-cathexis and loosening of emotional ties. At the surface level, children of poverty are seen as having limited cathexis with their parents psychoanalytically, but at a deeper level, economic exchange principle mediates the minds of children psychologically. This frame of argument induces a view that narcissism/self-love is symptomatic of individuals under modern society having social roots. In the similar lines, Adorno's notion of enlightenment, self-preservation mimesis and identification with the aggressor is used to understand how abjection of self transcends into social abjection mediated by the society, where self as the other and self as a stranger is seen as a dialectically reified category. The present study concludes that the praxis of school perpetuates a deeper layer of discrimination and a prerogative that sublimation and idealisation remains a privilege of the dominant group. The defense mechanism left for the poor remains conformity to the status quo and dissolution of self against the demands of sociality. Abjection yields an external reality for the children whose social existence assumes otherness. The schools are opening the gate of violence through normalising education for children of poverty in the form of aggression, fear,

humiliation, alterity and narcissism. Analysis of the self of children under the psychoanalytic lens makes a child a social object. The 'I' of the children is a prejudiced form of personality which is easier to dominate, and it confirms their 'non-being'. School is creating a hyper-masculine image of the society, and the children are exceedingly developing a mimetic relationship as a result of cultural hollowness. The power vacuum and the lack of intimate revolt become the epithets of a monolithic culture wherein the children as modern subjects decry their own isolation, a symbolic collapse and severance of social ties.

List of Abbreviations

CE	Civilisation and its Discontents
DE	Dialectic of Enlightenment
IQ	Intelligence Quotient
IACCP	International Association For Cross Cultural Psychology
COPD	Children of Poverty and Deprivation
RQ	Research Questions
TAT	Thematic Apperception Test
GBSSS	Government Boys Senior Secondary School
SV	Sarvodaya Vidyalaya
ND	Negative Dialectics

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Translated Data

Data transcribed in Hindi is presented in *italics*, and the translation of stories in English are in the Annexure. Some significant interactions and conversations with the children or teachers are presented in Hindi with their English translations included within the text in brackets. For transcribing and translation of data collection; the researcher listened to audio recordings of TAT and transcribed these files into Hindi (in Roman script), and translated the data into English.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

The names of the school have been changed. The students' names have been replaced with pseudonyms (H, M, D, & K). Teachers' names have not been included.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Poverty and Deprivation in India and the Psychology of Abjection

1.1 Introducing the Research

This study is an endeavour to explore the totality of reality into the lives of the children of poverty and deprivation. It attempts to see how the experiences of children in modern society are constructed and co-constructed, structured and acquired in the school. This study is guided by two major research questions, which include:

RQ1: What constitutes psychical alienation in the most inner and intimate space in a child from poor and deprived home studying in a Government school in Delhi?

RQ2: When and how the external world of exclusion enters into this child's internal world?

This study aims to understand the experiences of children who come from economically weaker section of the society and to establish how these experiences get situated in their sub-conscious mind which leaves a lasting impact on their identity and the sense of self. It examines the role of the school in reifying the identity of such children as inferior and non-existent, which renders them vulnerable to the feelings of fear and violence that subsume their individuality. According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, 'Abject' means: 1. Sunk to or existing in a low state or condition 2. Cast down in spirit. It refers to "a form of disgust as experienced and lived by those constituted as disgusting in their experiences of displacement and abandon[ment]" (Tyler, 2013, p.27). Abjection is an internalisation process occurring with in the individuals who repress within themselves the social judgements lead stigmatisation. This internalised stigma is concomitant to an intra-psychic shame, which beseeches an individual to loath itself, have a self-disgust, show self-contempt and possess a self-hatred. The present study draws on the theoretical underpinnings of Julia Kristeva (1982), who describe abjection "as something that is neither subject nor object. It is always in conflict with the I. Intimately connected to the experience of disgust [...] it is something that disturbs identity, system and order. Abjection is the experience that threatens the subject externally by disturbing its boundaries; it is an experience internal to the subject. This internal experience of abjection reveals a loss or emptiness at the individual's core" (Singh, 2008, p.147).

The present study is based on the Psychoanalytic theory of Julia Kristeva. It also incorporates Theodor Adorno's Critical theory. It is grounded on the premise that both Kristeva and Adorno have a semblance in their methodological approach that illuminates the relationship between the individual and society. The shared methodology address the critical gap in understanding the mediatic relationship between the self and the society in a way that "a psychoanalytic account of

personality formation or a Marxist account of class conflict is unable to provide the appearance of reality in modern society as ultimately false” (Singh, 2008, p.142). Most pertinently, Kristeva’s theory of abjection and Adorno’s theoretical notions in his book *‘Dialectic of Enlightenment’* (2016) (DE) attempts to theorise the relationship between society and the individual critically. It is rooted in the premise that “a society proliferates false image of a happy, fulfilled life even though the experience of reality engendered by individuals in ‘crisis’ is vacuous and empty” (Singh, 2008, p.142). Kristeva’s theory reflects a critique of the social order and accounts for cultural depression and abject violence. The psyche of the children operating as individuals as Hansen and Tuvel (2017) stated: “exposed to real social and political dangers”. It is based on the notion that “modern institutions and discourses have failed to provide everyday social and symbolic sites or practices for the adequate connection of the semiotic and symbolic” (Beardsworth, 2004, as cited in Hansen and Tuvel, 2017).

Kristeva in unravelling the meaning of semiotic, stated that “Discrete quantities of energy move through the body of the subject who is not yet constituted as such, and in the course of his development, they are arranged according to the constraints imposed on this body-always already involved in a semiotic process-by family and social structures...drives, which are ‘energy’ charges as well as ‘psychical’ marks, articulate what we call a chora: a nonexpressive totality” (Kristeva, 1982, p. 25, as cited in Smith, 2000, p.52). The symbolic element in Kristeva’s theoretical notions is the meaning proper. “In relationship to language, the symbolic is the structure or grammar that governs the ways in which symbols can refer” (Oliver, 2002). The semiotic on “the other hand is the organisation of drives in language. It is associated with rhythms and tones that are meaningful parts of the language, and yet do not represent or signify something. Semiotic does not represent bodily drives; rather deals with how bodily drives are discharged through rhythms and tones” (Oliver, 2002). There is a dialectical relationship between the semiotic and the symbolic. Oliver (2002) stated that “without the semiotic element of signification, signification would be empty and without the symbolic elements of signification, we have only sounds or delirious babble”. Kristeva’s theoretical notions are a critique to Lacanian premises of paternal law within language (Butler, 1988). According to Lacan, the “paternal law structures all linguistic signification termed ‘symbolic’, and so becomes a universal principle of culture itself. This law creates the possibility of meaningful language and, hence, meaningful experience, through the repression of primary libidinal drives, including the radical dependency of the child on the maternal body” (Butler, 1988). In Kristeva’s arguments, it is the semiotic which is associated with the maternal body, and during the

process of development, the child has to repress, subvert and displace his/her original libidinal drives to identify with the symbolic paternal law, i.e., the post-oedipal phase.

The semiotic has to be repressed using a proper language which facilitates in sublimating these drives and in this process, signification occurs within the symbolic domain. At a secondary level, semiotic is linked to pre-oedipal primary processes. Geerts (2010) stated that “semiotic can be seen as a pre-discursive, ‘distinctive mark’, trace, index, precursory sign, it functions as some sort of a ‘material order’, ‘drives’ or ‘energy charges’ within a discourse. Meanings can only be produced, according to Kristeva, when the semiotic meets the symbolic and they seem to interact in an almost dialectical, yet intertwined manner. They necessarily co-operate in producing meaning”. The maternal body is linked to the pre-oedipal phase of development as the child shares a symbiotic relationship with the mother. Until the child enters the Symbolic realm, where the semiotic is suppressed, and the semiotic starts to operate in the shadow of the Symbolic (Geerts, 2010).

The distinctions as well as the dialectics between the semiotic and the symbolic elements of Kristeva’s theory in the present study assists in delving deeper into how the identity of a subject is constituted in the social order. The social order for Kristeva is a socio-symbolic order and as a reason no social transformation can occur without transformation of meaning and the subject (Beardsworth, 2005). “In a bourgeois capitalist social-symbolic system, psychoanalysis allows to recognise that meaning and the subjects are altered fundamentally through a reactivation of what the symbolic order tends to repress: its process of production, and centrally what Kristeva calls the ‘semiotic,’ a functioning, close to instinctual, that is distinguished from strictly symbolic functioning” (Beardsworth, 2005, p.38).

Symbolic order and the repression of the subject through the renunciation of powerful instincts in the name of civilisation comprises Freud’s famous treatise. In *‘Civilisation and its Discontents’*, (CE), Freud (1962) explicated that the pleasure principle is sabotaged and undergoes distillation under the influence of the external world, thus transforming into a reality principle. It is the economics of libido on which a man’s happiness and suffering contest. The struggle for happiness invigorates a greater degree of freedom. However, due to the pressure of reality, one finds refuge in sensibility. The process of civilisation and the libidinal development of an individual is dialectical, as argued by Freud (1962). “This process coincides with that of sublimation (of instinctual aims), and the sublimation of instincts becomes a conspicuous feature of cultural development; it is what makes it possible for higher psychical activities, scientific, artistic or ideological, to play such an important part in civilised life” (Freud, 1962). Due to the defense mechanism of sublimation and

repression, happiness becomes a distant reality. The individual's relationship with the self and others becomes contingent on the suffering experienced "from three directions: from his/her own body, which is doomed to decay and dissolution and which cannot even do without pain and anxiety as warning signals; secondly from the external world, i.e., the overwhelming and merciless forces of destruction, and thirdly, from our relations to other men" (Freud, 1962, p.24). Thus, civilisation is both oppressive and repressive (Lee, 2014, p.323). "The idea of personal happiness is at the same time emphatically replaced by threat and violence; inordinate sacrifices are imposed on them, their existence is directly endangered, and an appeal made to latent death-wishes" (Adorno, 1967, p.67). In the post-mortem of a subject in perceivably modern society, one can see how the subject's supposed autonomy has been undermined, its integrity violated, its capacity for an agency called into question (Jay, 1994). The subject gradually is disappearing from the modern discourse, as the political judgments and the praxis binding the society has made the subject disappear even when the discourse has a direct inference on its subjectivity. The psychoanalytic discourses in general and particularly on poverty and deprivation fail to see poverty as an inner reality. Contestations and tensions persist within the discipline.

On the one hand, its propagators see "Psychoanalysis as a critical theory of society, and on the other hand, it is seen as a practice of individual therapy" (Lee, 2014). The dominant psychoanalytic researches on poverty describe poverty in terms of ego's impoverishment or ego's poverty, i.e., loss of fulfilling an ego ideal. The impact of poverty on the human well being and the psychic life of individuals who are compromised under the socio-economic conditions have not received much attention. In the discipline of psychology, poverty as defined by Girishwar Misra (2000), R.C.Mishra (2000), Ajit Dalal (2000), and many others, have largely focussed on deficit models and give a generic statement that the psychological effect of poverty leads to inappropriate cognitive functioning, attention problems, learning disability, inadequate linguistic skills, stagnant or unrealistic aspirations, and low self-esteem; and secondly they have focused on the intervention programs to level off the difference between the deprived and the privileged.

In such a scenario, Adorno contemplated that while psychology attempted to unravel the subjective conditions of the psyche under the objective irrationality, "with a shift to the inner life, the human being and his so-called existential qualities" (Adorno, 1967). However, the researchers, as well as, the revisionist psychoanalysts with their theoretical considerations, reduced the psyche imperilled under the objective conditions to mere methodology. It gave rise to the proliferation of false consciousness, as Adorno (1967) stated that

“The separation of society and psyche is false consciousness; it perpetuates conceptually the split between the living subject and the objectivity that governs the subjects and yet derives from them. But the basis of this false consciousness cannot be removed by a mere methodological dictum. People are incapable of recognising themselves in society and society in themselves because they are alienated from each other and the totality. Their reified social relations necessarily appear to them as an in itself” (Adorno, 1967, p.69).

Significant research has compartmentalised the psyche as something intra-psychic. The chief task of testing reality and adapting to it becomes the most ambitious objective for the ego in Adorno’s terms. The critique of prominent research in the discipline of psychoanalysis and psychology on poverty is thus juxtaposed with the idea that, “Psychology is constructed within the horizons of capitalist society to enable society to run more efficiently, and it constructs within that society its images of pathology” (Parker, 2007, p.12). The individuals belonging to poverty and deprivation are reified as the ‘other’ or as ‘different’. The existing literature further reifies the old dialectic of sick/healthy, sane/insane and transcends its binaries to compartmentalise normal/abnormal. The poor children are reified under this paradigm, which pathologises them when they do not fit in such binaries or labels. The psychological researches through their euphemism employed for children of poverty such as deviant, deprived, etc., attributes to abjection in which the individuals start questioning, “We do not know, directly or immediately, who ‘we’ are. Our ‘we’ has gone underground, appears only through the theoretical tracing of the fact that has rendered us strangers to one another” (Bernstein, 1992, as cited in Jay, 1994, p.236).

Along with it, such research mystifies the relationship between poverty and mental health, for instance, when Freud (1918) in Budapest conference expressed the need for free clinics for the poor. An upsurge of researches began to question that projective techniques cannot be administered on the poor as they cannot garner enough material for projecting their unconscious, as they cannot go beyond the rudimentary description of the projective technique. “Research has also shown that growing up in conditions of poverty significantly affects how people perform on tests of abstract thinking, tests of intelligence, and tests of academic achievement; the question was raised as to whether this extends to the Rorschach. The lack of sufficient research on the effect of socioeconomic status on responsiveness to the Rorschach precluded that question being answered” (Frank, 1994, p.95).

There is a disappearance of the subject of poverty and deprivation and its subjectivity both in the totalising society as well as in the dominant researches. This subjugation of subject can also be understood through the turn towards enlightenment as discussed by the critical theorists Adorno and Horkheimer (2016) in their book *‘DE’*. Adorno and Horkheimer (2016) provided an insight into

their theory by stating that the present state of society represents a calamitous situation. There is a pernicious power philosophy upholding the society which seeks to cling together with the minds of the individuals captive in order to seek domination of the external nature as well as the internal nature (libidinal drives, instincts, etc.). It is the economic powers that nullify the individual. This power, as Adorno and Horkheimer (2016, p.xvii) stated, is “taking society’s domination over nature to unimagined heights. The individuals are vanishing before the apparatus they serve; they are provided for by that apparatus” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2016, p.xvii).

‘DE’ (2016) propels one to seek answers to questions such as “If the enlightenment’s program aimed at liberating human beings from fear and instilling them as masters, why does earth radiates with triumphant calamity?”, If enlightenment seeks “disenchantment of the world, and disenchantment means the extrication of animus” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2016), why does the world become a form of chaos? Why does then, the chaos that contrives the society seems to possess no evident difference between the primitive man and a man of modern contemporary society? Why does myth which the enlightenment promised to dispel, becomes the products of enlightenment? Why does myth become enlightenment and nature mere objectivity? Why rational human beings become prey to the power and dictatorship that enlightenment propagates? In seeking answers to the questions that the enlightenment program promised, Adorno and Horkheimer conceived the relationship between an individual and the society as a totalising relationship. “This society is rooted in a false conception of reason; one equates reason solely with calculation and utility. Correlatively, the most rational behaviour in such a society is considered to be behaviour that can be standardised” (Singh, 2008, p.144). An unprecedented form of barbarism is a result of external domination in the hands of the ones possessing social wealth. The human beings under domination transform themselves into disciplined, purposive agents, and the society into totally a bureaucratised and administered system (Whitebook, 1996, p.23). Well-developed ego has precedence over the individual. “Under the pressure of society, the psychological sector responds in the end only to sameness and proves incapable of experiencing the specific. Healthy becomes normal, and the traumatic is the abstract. The unconscious therein resembles the abstract society; it knows nothing about and can be used to weld it together” (Adorno, 1968, p.80).

Primarily, Kristeva’s theoretical notions on Abjection have facilitated my proposition that the abjection and its onset is attributable to how an individual views his/her relationship with parents, kin and his/her primary caregivers. To form an individual sense of self, the child experiences liminality within oneself. In the mind of the child looms the question of whether ‘to separate from

the mother or to remain associated with the mother'. This ambivalent relationship with the primary caregiver to establish a separate identity becomes the underlying theme of Kristeva's (1982) psychoanalytic perspective. The return of abjection in an adult's life, as Singh (2008) states that, is "an indicator of an unsuccessful transformation in the phase of subject formation". Adorno on debilitating relationships with one's parents noted that the father in modern society is despised and his authority is expunged. The relationship with the father has undergone a vital crisis, as it is the father's monetary power that plays a pivotal role in establishing an intimate relationship.

To explicate this further, I explore two key concepts in this chapter, which framed my doctoral research on Abjection. They are, 'Psychical Alienation' and 'The Body as a Site of Repression Contrived by the Society'. Subsequently, I will introduce the psychoanalytic and psychological studies in the related areas of poverty and deprivation, and outline the overall structure of the thesis.

1.2 Operationalising Abjection

1.2.1 Psychical alienation

Individuals and the psyche are thoroughly social in nature as are the psychoanalytic concepts of alienation, sublimation, and idealisation (Oliver, 2004). It is highly improbable to conceptualise a direct inference on the development of individuality or subjectivity apart from its social context. "Alienation and its psychic consequences incorporate the theory of Freud who acknowledged the effect of social conditions on the psyche, perhaps without reducing the social to merely a relationship between infants and caregivers. Rather social defines the subject's position as one's sense of oneself as a self with an agency and one's historical and social position in one's culture" (Oliver, 2004). Subjectivity or selfhood in our contemporary society posits an argument that "the individual or the self is not an unencumbered, stable individual, but is divided, de-centred or subjected" (Schippers, 2011, p.5). To put it starkly, "subjectivity is always a tenuous accomplishment, a dynamic process which never gets completed" (McAfee, 2004). Subjectivity in Kristevian theory is an alternative to the conventional understanding of the self, where the self is a "being who is fully aware of her/his own intentions, fully able to act as an autonomous being in the world, and guided by her/his reason and intellect" (McAfee, 2004). However, this definition of the self is highly contentious in the modern world for those who proffer that being is not only autonomous but also a master of her/his being. Subjects are shaped and co-shaped, constructed and co-constructed by various covert and overt phenomena, such as culture, history, language, class, race, etc., and cannot be understood as autonomous, as one is never completely aware of one's unconscious and its subtleties of desires, drives, repressions and sublimation. Thus, McAfee (2004)

stated that “the experience of subjectivity is not that of coming to awareness as a ‘self’, but of having an identity wrought in ways often unbeknownst to the subject herself or himself” (p.2).

Further, the term subjectivity explains people’s relationship to language, instead of seeing language as a tool used by selves, and that language helps produce subjects (McAfee, 2004, p.2). Under the aegis of a subject, who should be subsumed under the labels of man and woman and what possible inflexion such labels have on the subtleties of race, class, ethnicity or sexuality also become a glaring question. Harrington (1998) posits that one may also question whether these protruding dimensions of exclusionary practices and strategies which is primal to make one feel like *manqué*, wherein the central question of subjectivity lies at the core of the identity of the self as excluded or necessarily a stranger. The divided subject of Kristeva outlines the agency of the subject, including the subject’s positioning within the wider social realm. The subject is always divided till the time it inhabits the societal sphere because it is reminded of the lack and the quest for pleasure at the same time as that of the restraints imposed on its being, which is subject to the symbolic law. Kristeva writes that “our civilisation not only fails to produce [an] integration of the symbolic Law in the deep strata of [the psyche] that aggravates the Law and desire” (Oliver, 2009, p. 49). The law is the law of the father which states the Freudian view that “when the male realises that the mother is not almighty and that she lacks a penis, the boy turns towards his aspirations toward being like his father” (McAfee, 2004, p.32). Lacan theorises this as the name of the father or the law of the father as McAfee (2004) states that “it is not the father per se that the child turns to but what the father represents: language and the law which includes the universal taboo against incest” (p.32). The subjects are positioned as speaking subjects, and a speaking subject Kristeva aligns her thoughts and concerns with a human agency with an emphasis on the historical, social and corporeal constitution of the subject (Schipper, 2011). With her theory on speaking subjects, it can be inferred that the children who in their pre-oedipal stage are dominated by the bodily needs, and are yet to acquire control over its drives develop a symbiotic relationship with the mother (Butler, 1988; Schipper, 2011). This stage represents the *echolalia* in the child’s development of language, which lacks sense, meaning, and structure. It is the transition from pre-oedipal to post-oedipal that represents Kristeva’s thought of semiotic and symbolic. The subject is open and fluid and indicates the breakup of the symbiotic mother-child relationship, which leads to the establishment of identity and a subject-object relationship.

Stone (2006) summarised the abjection that invades the psychic space of individuals, and said that

“In Kristeva’s idiom, the narrator-any of us-are ‘split subjects’, are always subjects in the process. As such, and the theory develops across her work, we must call ourselves (continually) into question. This is the psychoanalytic project; this is the life project of human beings. The central term, subject in process, appears early on, alongside the very significant concept of the semiotic, a prelinguistic aspect of experience and identity development” (Stone, 2006, p.124).

Abjection, in the present study, can be defined as a harrowing experience which facilitates to access to the origin of the subjectivity of a suffering subject who is repressed by the dominant socio-symbolic system. “The abject, as described by Kristeva, is derived from the Latin word ‘*abjicere*’, which means to throw away-has both biological and cultural dimension” (Jay, 1994, p.237). Here abjection is propositioned to decipher how subjectivity is linked to power relation, exchange principle and the universality of identities that shape and define subjectivity. The next section attempts to project how the definition of abjection transcends into the body of a suffering subject, whose body derelicts under the gamut of the culture industry by this totalising society.

1.2.2 The Body as an Intimate Self and Bodily Repression Contrived by Society

Abjection can manifest itself in the interactions of everyday life; it is something that transgresses the normal convention of symbolic discourses (Jay, 1994). It represents an apocalyptic moment in someone’s life, “where any ideology, thesis, interpretation, mania, collectivity, threat, or hope has become drowned” (Jay, 1994, p.239). Adorno’s epistemic theory enables to access the origin of experiences of a subject who is reified by the society. It emphasises on “the propensity of various forms of influence (often social) that interferes with the correct and clear experience of those properties and processes which feature in or constitute, one’s experience” (Hulatt, 2015, p.41). As Adorno and Horkheimer (2016, p.192) stated that “beneath the known history [of Europe] there runs a subterranean one. It consists of the fate of the human instincts and passions repressed and distorted by civilisation”. When the hidden comes to light, it has its connection to the dark side, and as Adorno and Horkheimer (2016) posited, that the dark side contains a form of mutilated relationship to the body. While, the body conjures up sentiments such as a site of desire, lust, passion and jouissance (Lee, 2016). The body, according to Adorno and Horkheimer (2016), is an ideological reflection of the oppression practised on people who are counted as inferior. The body becomes exploited in which the body of the oppressed splits from the cultural transformation of emancipation and is regarded as the bad. “The society achieves its desired sublime cultural achievements as the control over the body increases, and it permeates and intensifies the obscene malice, i.e., the love and hate towards the body. In the relationship of individuals to the body, their own and that of other is reenacted the irrationality and injustice of power as cruelty; and that irrationality is as far removed from the judicious insight, and serene reflection as power is from

freedom” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2016, p.193). This view echoes with “Freud’s doctrines of narcissism and the death impulse when interpreted psychologically” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2016). Lee (2016) stated that Adorno views the body-as the thing which differentiates us and makes each individual unique, but at the same time acts as a ground for intersubjectivity. The experience of the self as a body entails a relationship between the mind and the body. Adorno, as quoted in Hulatt (2015), considers “both body and mind abstractions of experience. All mental things are modified physical impulses, and such modification is their qualitative recoil into what not merely is” (Hulatt, 2015, p.43). It is the love for the body and a simultaneous hatred for the body which contours the body in the colours of the whole of modern culture. It is intimate affair with the body that has turned the sensuous body into a corpse (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2016). It implies that the sadistic impulses of society result from the repression of the libidinal body; “the compulsive urge to cruelty and destruction springs from the organic displacement of the relationship between the mind and the body” (Lee, 2016, p.13). The body in the present study undertakes Adorno and Horkheimer’s (2016) understanding of the body in the modern era as “scorned and rejected as something inferior, enslaved, and at the same time is desired as forbidden, reified and estranged”. Under the spell of modernisation, the body of the individual becomes an object of analysis and a form of raw material for sublimation and repression. Thus, the present study seeks to visualise the relationship of the children with their bodies as conditioned by power. This understanding of the body emerges from the ideals of the socially sanctioned body, cultivated with a social objective. The study also seeks an enquiry into “the external forms domination and internalisation of the external forms of domination and oppression” (Lee, 2016, p.15). This understanding of the body using Adorno’s conceptual machinery corroborates with the Kristevian thoughts on abject. The abjection is a response to the body, which is considered as an abject, i.e., where identity, order or system are thrown into disarray (Rudge, 2015, p.504). The body of the children as an abject is based on the theory of exclusion. According to Singh (2017a), Freud’s theory of the unconscious was based on the idea that repression renders certain affects and presentations inaccessible to the conscious mind. Abjection of the self begins when “abject is seen as social situations and activities that are polluting, betrayals of what is considered ‘right’, and social positions that are considered defiled, stigmatised or associated with what destabilises our sense of certainty” (Rudge, 2015, p.504). The body as abject becomes an ego’s defense and an embodiment of exclusion or marginality at the same time. The body forms a closed connection with the utopian ideals of the society. In the absence of a reified society, the body is a site of utopia (Lee, 2016). However, the mechanism of repression acts as a form of mediation between the external and internal forms of repression of libidinal instincts. In modern society, the psychic states of some individuals come to

represent as lacking a coherent sense of self as they are uncertain about [their] boundary (Singh, 2017a). Kristeva's notion on the abject explains that some "lives are not sustained by desire, as desire is always for objects. Such lives are based on exclusions" (Kristeva, 1982, p.6). Further, the experience of abjection abounds in modern society, as a state that elicits both horror and fascination in the individual. The bodies of individuals become commodified. The primary proposition is that Kristeva's theoretical premises reinterpret Freud's theory as "a pre-symbolic ternary structure, where the emerging subject is neither absolutely fused with the mother, nor fully separated from her" (Chanter & Ziarek, 2005, p.2). In a similar line, the present study seeks to situate the relationship of a CoPD with the society in which a border mediates the relationship between the self and the other. This brittle border is conceptualised as Abjection in which the child is neither fully separated from the society, nor fully associated with the society. As a modern subject, "one is not sure of themselves, of their borders, or of their identity, one is on the border between security and insecurity, between fusion and separation" (Kristeva, 1996, as cited in Chanter & Ziarek, 2005, p.2). In the present society, an ideal image is consecrated, which approximates a particular kind of body which is inhabitable. The ideals of the body get embodied in the society which determines which bodies can be integrated and which are nonassimilable. Ahmed (2005) using Kristeva's argument stated that "recognition of otherness is a right and a duty for everyone...it is reasonable to ask foreigners to recognise and respect the strangeness of those who welcome them" (p.99). Thus, it can be inferred that even though one is not entirely a stranger to the other, yet this form of strangeness is universalised due to the concreteness of one's difference from the others (Ahmed, 2005). As Ahmed (2014) suggests, there is a concrete distinction of the inside from outside,

"the skin surface itself, as that which appears to contain us, but as where others impress upon us. This contradictory function of skin begins to make sense if we unlearn the assumption that the skin is already there, but begin to think of the skin as a surface that is felt only in the event of being 'impressed upon' in the encounters we have with others" (p25).

It means that abjection is vital in a society which insists that the border between the self and the other ought to be preserved to constitute some lives as abject, disgusting or dirty vis-à-vis those bodies which are non-abject, non-oppressed and non-dominating. The next section attempts to present a critical analysis of the significant research on poverty from a psychoanalytic and psychological perspective.

1.3 Review of Literature

In this section, a dominant view on the psychoanalysis of poverty and deprivation is presented using the research by Freud (1918), Anna Freud (1927), Winnicott (1975), Weiss (1942), among others in

an attempt to understand what constitutes poverty and deprivation in psychoanalysis. This section attempts to delineate a timeline by using Danto's (2005) explication of Freud's envision of Free clinics for poor and deprived in Budapest conference to its termination in 1938 after Hitler's confiscation of *'Poliklinik'* in Vienna. Further, it incorporates Vahali's (2015) analysis of why psychoanalysis after the end of World War II, egocentrically became a profit-making enterprise lacking an empathetic ear. This section also takes into consideration, Manasi Kumar's (2012) research in which she historically depicted how poverty has been connoted across various psychoanalytic researches. She argues that poverty has been dominantly associated with ego's impoverishment and not seen as a real experience. The final part of this section deals with the researches which have pointed towards their resentment regarding their own discipline which has turned therapy into an enterprise for the elite (Spiegel, 1970; Riessman et al., 1964; Frank, 1994; Vahali, 2015).

1.3.1 Psychoanalysis of Poverty and Deprivation

“Those who claims to speak for it are often, in fact, far less representative than they pretended to be” (Jay, 1994, p.236)

Freud's Free Clinic: A Historical Genesis of Poverty¹

“It is possible that the conscience of society will awaken and remind it that the poor man (woman) should have just as much right to assistance for his mind as he now has to the life-saving help offered by surgery; and that the neurosis threaten public health no less than tuberculosis, and can be left as little as the latter to the impotent care of individual members of the community. Then institutions and outpatient clinics will be started... so that men who would otherwise give way to drink, women who have nearly succumbed under the burden of their privations, children for whom there is no choice but running wild or neurosis, may be made capable, by analysis, of resistance and efficient work. Such treatments will be free. It may be a long time before the State comes to see these duties as urgent. Probably these institutions will be started by private charity. Some time or the other, however, it must come to this” (Sigmund Freud, 1918).

Post World War 1, Freud's clinical practices circumscribed to a social-democratic political philosophy which was entwined with establishing mental health clinics under the apparatus of social welfare. It originated in the form of a voucher system which was given to the patients who were able to redeem it and pay it as fees for the treatment. In the 1918 Budapest speech, Freud enlightened the psychoanalytic practitioners with his ideas that intend to raise the conscience of the society towards the mental health of the poor. The idea of 'Free Psychoanalytic Clinics charting a

¹ The ideas in this section are drawn from Elizabeth Ann Danto's (2005) book: Freud's free Clinic

flexible fee' became his entreaty to psychoanalysts to offer support to patients belonging to indignant communities and students population from their own funds (Danto, 2005). The accessibility of psychoanalysis allowed people of opposite social worlds to become a collective. The major aim of such a social obligation was to transform the civil society and act as a mediator between the left-wing politics and the psychoanalytic praxis. As Danto stated that "Erik Erikson, Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, Bruno Bettelheim, Alfred Adler, Melanie Klein, Anna Freud, Franz Alexander, Annie Reich, Wilhelm Reich, Edith Jacobson, Otto Fenichel, Helene Deutsch, Alice Bálint, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, Hermann Nunberg, Rudolf Loewenstein, and Martin Grotjahn- these were just some of the free clinic analysts who later fanned out across the Western world, some carrying the torch of progressivism and others burying it" (Danto, 2005, p.4). For the conscience of society, Freud (as cited in Danto, 2005) proclaimed that,

"and remind it that the poor man should have just as much right to assistance for his mind as he now has to the life-saving help offered by surgery; and that the neuroses threaten public health no less than tuberculosis, and can be left as little as the latter to the impotent care of individual members of the community. Then institutions and out-patient clinics will be started, to which analytically trained physicians will be appointed so that men who would other-wise give way to drink, women who have nearly succumbed under the burden of their privations, children for whom there is no choice but running wild or neurosis, may be made capable, by analysis, of resistance and efficient work. Such treatments will be free. Freud continued. It may be a long time before the State comes to see these duties as urgent, he said...Probably these institutions will be started by private charity. Some time or other, however, it must come to this" (p.17).

The propagator of educational psychology and a proponent of healing by reeducation, Alfred Adler (1919) in "His lecture included the anecdotes of a description of a shy eight year old boy, named Frank, from the slums who lied about the gravity of his mother's illness. Frank's teacher had seen his energetic mother hanging out the laundry, not dying at all". Why did the boy have to lie, became a most baffling question. It was demystified using the Adler's theorisation of analytic method, stating that the child's stories structured around his family, could not be seen as ramifications of a pathological lie. Ironically, the child's use of lying approach was a coping mechanism that helps the child withdraw from painful situations at home, the neglect and familial rejection he faces at his home and the society. Adler's psychoanalytic technique incorporated the everyday experiences of children who are living in a communal society, which became pivotal and meaningful in that scenario of war. The gap between practice and theory through the pedagogical apparatus reinforced a dual message: that "each child holds particular value in the universe, and is, at the same time, obligated to use that value for the benefit of the community" (Danto, 2005, p.35). Adler's theoretical underpinnings influenced Hilde Kramer to start the guidance centre for children, a first of its kind, called "The Child Guidance Clinic" (Danto, 2005). However, over a period of time, the

child guidance clinic deteriorated and became a dubious place. These clinics were established inside the schools and attempted to treat those children who lacked Adler's definition of community feeling. It became a template which oversaw its need of origin in the first place. According to Danto (2005), "Adler attributed social inequality and the human sense of inferiority to the pernicious overall lack of community feeling" (p.36).

The Establishment of the Polyclinic and The Psychoanalytic Movement (1920) became the talk of the town. "The new Berlin *Poliklinik für Psychoanalytische Behandlung Nervöser Krankheiten* became the first psychoanalytic outpatient center for treating patients for free" (Danto, 2005, p.52). The *Poliklinik* was established under the erstwhile guidance of Max Eitingon and Ernst Simmel. In the year 1921, Freud requested for a universal health system and an opening of Ambulatorium. It was during this time that Wilhelm Reich who was part of the Social Democratic Party became Freud's precocious pupil. The Ambulatorium was finally opened in 1922. "When the Ambulatorium opened as a treatment center, its founders simply intended to make psychoanalysis accessible to people who lacked the means to pay for private treatment. The Ambulatorium was maintained by limited private funds and functioned largely on a referral basis until 1926. Whether flexible or simply naive, the analysts never really expected psycho-analysis to become as lucrative as a traditional medical practice. The Ambulatorium's mission-to treat people regardless of their ability to pay" (Danto, 2005).

Anna Freud (1927) whose patients consisted of public foster children outlined in her theory that it is the anxieties of both parents and teachers that deprive the child of any available help. Anna in her article titled "the concept of the rejecting mother" developed an analogy of fear, where she explained the fear of impoverishment as a symptom of pre-psychotic states. "Fear of impoverishment is expressed as a result of the individual's libidinal withdrawal from his material possessions and the ensuing fear of losing hold of them vis-à-vis a graver psychotic delusions of the world" (Freud, 2015). Psychotic delusion according to her is a reflection in consciousness of the withdrawal of libido from the object world in general (Freud, 2015). Again in this essay, Freud uses poverty as a metaphor to describe the concept of voluntary poverty which is practised by many religious, political, and social bodies whose members engage in the cathexis of only ideas and do not waste the mature demands of cathexis on so called material matters. Whilst, she alludes that, "We expect poets, writers, members of the medical profession, others to be high-minded, i.e., at least to be partially uninterested in material reward" (Freud, 2015). In another essay by her on the symptomatology of depression, Freud (1970) "found that castration anxiety could manifest in

children in the form of the anxiety of mutilation, operation, dental illness and ‘poverty’ amongst other forms” (Kumar, 2012, p.8).

A second generation psychoanalyst, Wilhelm Reich (1922) had an unflinching quest for social change. A farmer’s son, he himself established a Sex-Hygiene Clinics for Workers and Employees on his own. Reich’s major philosophy was on ‘politics of everyday life’ with primary focus on issues pertaining to the social. More pertinently he did not ignore the problems arising out of one’s intimate life. In his psychoanalytic circle, “people complained about lack of money, hampered freedom, frustrating work, and fear of unwanted pregnancies” (Danto, 2005 p.116). Reich’s form of analysis was based on empathetic listening and class boundaries appealed to him largely. His approach became an amalgamation of social action and therapeutic stance. As Danto (2005) stated that, “Reich was as impressed with people’s resilience as with their need for relief from oppression and for psychological autonomy, achievable through combined psychological and political assistance” (p. 119).

Social Psychoanalysis (1936) headed by the German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy under the leadership of Matthias Heinrich Göring and assisted by Carl G. Jung. It functioned as a Nazi regime’s center which racialised the process of psychotherapy training. The institute obliterated the main focus of Freud’s treatment for poor, till the end of World War II. It resembled a conventional mental health clinic. In contrast to the *Poliklinik’s* priority over providing free assistance to the patients belonging to the poor and lower economic classes, now the class of patients pertained to the one’s belonging to middle class. The increase of such patients was measured and capitulated as eighty per cent in contrast to a meagre amount of people constituting the working class and the remaining catered to the upper class. The institute with its population of patients now came to be represented as “as a classic bourgeois consumer of psychoanalysis, rarely seen in the 1920s but still commonly attributed to the Freudian practice. Free treatment was abandoned. All patients paid for their analysis, and the institute compensated therapists if the fees fell below six marks per hour” (Danto, 2005, p.282). Göring further explained that psychotherapy is not just about curing people, but according to Jung’s theory, it is about making changes in the attitude of people to make them fit into certain living standards.

The End of Free Clinics (1938) in the history of psychoanalysis was witnessed on March 12, 1938, when the entire city of Vienna was overpowered by Hitler. It was during this time when Freud’s books were locked and replaced by handpicked authors which were on the themes of racial heredity,

abnormality, genetic purity. Most importantly, the thought that had captured Vienna was C.G. Jung's ideology in tandem with a group of psychotherapists, whose members were opinionated on assisting a cure to the psychological impediments and its impact on human procreation (Danto, 2005). The robust approach that was adopted was to manufacture a psychoanalytic terminology and replace the original treatise. They attempted to desexualise terminologies in which the Freudian Oedipus now pertained to family, and psychoanalysis became a trajectory of developmental psychology (Danto, 2005, p.301). With the psychoanalytic books being burnt, emerged the need of the hour to rewrite the new psychoanalytic books. As Göring believed that it is Carl Jung who was the best person to rewrite the book and develop New German Psychotherapy, in other words, Soul-Health Science. Danto (2005, p.268) stated that, "While Freud was elaborating his firmly secular social democratic platform and exploring the unconscious permutations of human sexuality, his old friend and bitter rival [Carl Jung] was forging a spiritually linked system of psychological archetypes. Desexualising human motivation and behaviour had always angered Freud; it had caused his break with Adler and Stekel, who had constructed psychoanalysis precisely to undo individual damage caused by society's repression of unacceptable sexuality. Freud had also long suspected Jung of anti-Semitism". Freud's (1918) vision of creating a free clinic for those who could not afford mental health assistance and treatments eventually got extinguished in 1938.

1.3.2 The Confluence of Psychoanalysis and Therapy: An Aftermath of End of Free Clinics

In the article 'Could I Become Human by Engaging with Your Un(der)stated Life?', Honey Oberoi Vahali (2015) addressed the issue situating the new age psychotherapeutic tradition, which is reduced to an exchange between high fees paying patients and the therapist. She reminds the readers of the philosophical and ethical foundations of the discipline and Freud's long lost promise of providing free mental health care to the poor patients. She stated that "the mentally ill poor patients, the homeless poor and all others who exist at social margins have become disregarded and unattended outsiders from whom the gaze of analysts, psychiatrists and psychotherapists in private practice is often averted" (Vahali, 2015, p.233). With the destruction of Freud's free clinic during World War II, Vahali enunciated that the War also destructed the aim of psychoanalytic tradition and vision. As a result, psychoanalysis was seen more of a cure, rather than encrusted as a technique and "less of a self-reflexive tradition" (Vahali, 2015, p. 234). Psychoanalysis became a euphemism for the cure and clearly, a technique to help people adjust well to life. According to Vahali (2015, p.235-236), the factors which led to the alienation of psychoanalysis from its ideal of listening to, serving the poor and the outsiders of society are the following:

(i) After the exile from Europe, it became a serious challenge for the left to survive and build their professional expertise, after the World War II. The survival imperatives casted a hinge on the psychoanalysts who failed to thrive their ideology in The America.

(ii) The period after the 1940's, a form of biological psychology and psychiatry was emerging and proliferating. At its central most premise a disorder was conceived to be cured or eradicated through biological means.

(iii) As a consequence the emergence of psychoanalytical training in the new context meant it was located outside of university contexts and soon found its place in the medical schools. As Vahali states that through such a practice “it lost touch with the self reflexive, philosophical and self-critical edge. As a reason, it became more and more of a curative and technical practice-a sub-branch of medical work” (Vahali, 2015).

(iv) The increase of capitalism debilitated the engagement of psychoanalysis with the social ethics. Subsequently, suffering in the psychoanalytic term alluded to be a pathology which needs to be cured and fixed. The introspection becomes obsolete.

(v) Psychoanalysis in the new society aimed at an integration of social and psychological in a superficial manner. As (Vahali, 2015) state that “in order to protect their core values, they isolated themselves and established their own institutions which had little to do with the world wherein social suffering reigned high and loud. They sought comfort in an elitist and insular space which stood divorced from the everyday struggles of the poor, the homeless and the marginal in society”.

In such a scenario psychoanalysts surpassed the salient features of psychoanalysis, i.e., lending an empathetic purview. Poverty creates an intergenerational trauma, and it takes generations to heal the wounds operating such depth of the psyche. Vahali (2015) explicated a “dialogical mode of exploring and understanding the human psyche”. She stated that, when an individual, who belongs to the privileged class seeks psychiatric help, then the psychiatrist or psychotherapist is more likely to treat the person as an individual and tries to focus on the cultural context of that individual's life and life-issues. However, “if the patient is poor, or belongs to a lower caste, she is likely to be treated in the mental health consultation context, just as the individual is treated outside of it-with indifference, apathy and impatience” (Vahali, 2015, p.238).

1.3.3 Poverty in Psychoanalysis: The Dominant Usage of the term Poverty in the Discipline²

Using the Psychoanalytic Electronic Publications (PEP-web), Manasi Kumar (2012) alluded that “psychoanalytic scholarship has very little to say about poverty or the poor”. According to Kumar (2012), there are references to poverty in terms of dreams, affect or an alliance with the impoverishment of a person’s ego, yet there is little engagement with real poverty. Her research covered the scientific papers from 1933 to 2003, which were subsequently divided into ten major themes.

1. “Poverty as a metaphor of loss and allegorical usage of the phrase ‘psychological poverty’ to connote a certain deficiency or lack of imagination, inability to garner enough analytic material or thoughts:

Using the individual researches conducted by Greenacre (1941), Knaap (1956), Esman (1979), Mitrani (1999), Schwartz (2001), Grosskurth (2001), Sucharov (2002) and Moraitis (2003), Kumar (2012) stated that the definition of poverty in these researches varied from defining it as poverty of interest. It pertains to patients having few external goals of ego achievement (Greenacre, 1941) to using poverty in order to define sensory poverty of dreams in which there is a lack of enough material for dream analysis. The poverty of phantasy is also subsumed under the poverty contextualisation. Schwartz (2001) defined it as the poverty of financial resources, amongst other definitions which referred to the poverty of emotional life.

2. Poverty of relationships/sexual functions:

Under this theme, Kumar (2012) referred to the researches by Oberndorf (1939), in which there is an account of a patient who had to discontinue school. The poverty of relationships is the underlying theme of interpersonal poverty, according to Barnett (1966). Kumar (2012) also referred to the study by Keylor (2003) to note the poverty of object relations. Similarly, the Blevis and Feher-Gurewich (2003) study is used by her to emphasise poverty of signifiers related to intractable nature of fantasy.

3. Poverty of dreams and poverty of ego:

Under the aegis of the poverty of ego, Kumar (2012) referred to the papers by Weiss (1942; 1944). According to Weiss, the ego’s poverty in libido is represented in dreams about being poor or becoming poor. When ego withdraws from utilising id impulses, it consequently leads to an

² The researches referred in this section are a summarised version of Manasi Kumar’s (2012) article “The Poverty in Psychoanalysis: ‘Poverty’ of Psychoanalysis?”

impoverishment of ego. It was in his later understanding, and in the subsequent works that Weiss referred about dreams and neurotic expressions: money and richness stood for interest or libido, while poverty and beggars, in so far as they are related to the dreamer himself, indicate satisfaction or neglect. Freud also has indirect inference to ego's poverty, which he refers in his papers on Narcissism (1918), and Mourning and Melancholia (1917). Freud alluded poverty to loss of an object or an instinctual thrust.

4. Psychopathological connotations such as delusions of poverty, psychic poverty in psychosis and poverty reflected in transformation of symptoms:

Most pertinently Kumar (2012) deeply engaged with the Winnicott (1975) analysis of poverty which is referred to as the poverty of instinctual experience, poverty of inner world development, and the consequent relative lack of normal anxiety about inner objects and relationships.

5. Descriptions of children highlighting their 'symbolic' and 'real' deprivations and poverty in their development due to an absolute reliance on adults and environmental provision of care:

Kumar (2012) found in the paper by Freud (1970) that castration anxiety could manifest in children in the form of the anxiety of mutilation, operation dental illness and 'poverty' amongst other forms. She refers to the study by Winnicott (1970) to define his definition of the deprived child as one who is notoriously restless and unable to play, has an 'impoverishment of capacity' to experience in the cultural field. Other researches that were referred in this category were by Shaw's book, *The Vulnerable Child* (1993) which highlights that a child may be vulnerable if she is born into poverty, born to a mother who has been deserted by the father, born to another who has medical or psychiatric problems or born to abusive parents or the child of a middle class professional woman who must rely on erratic baby sitters.

6. Fear of poverty:

It was elucidated by Karl Abraham that patient's realisation that he is incapable of loving indicates certain impoverishment of his libido. Fear of Poverty is referred to as deprivations and trauma of living or having experienced trying economic circumstances.

7. Poverty of psychoanalytic theorisation:

According to Kumar (2012), Eissler (1963) reinstated Nietzsche's edict of 'psychological poverty of present-day philosophy'. Kumar (2012) stated that Fonagy (1982) presented his views on the abundance of metaphoric concepts within psychoanalysis to point towards the 'poverty of the

psychoanalytic situation' in yielding information about the psychological processes underlying clinical phenomena (p. 136). In research by Baudry (1998), self psychology is criticised and states that poverty is found in the theory of 'pathogenesis'. According to him, in the theory the role of the unempathic mother is overemphasised, and other factors are rarely mentioned (p. 10). Thompson (2000) uses Walter Benjamin's idea of increasing 'poverty of experience' to convey that in contemporary psychoanalysis, experience per se has ceased to have any specific meaning of its own.

8. Freud and poverty:

In the year 1999, Rubin pointed out towards Freud's childhood, comprising many painful experiences of living in a home crammed with seven children. Most of Freud's experiences as a child motivated the papers to reflect on Freud's discussion of his own dream and his fear of poverty.

9. Cultural poverty and related remarks on gender:

Kumar (2012) juxtaposed cultural poverty with that of Winnicott's (1965) analysis of psychic evolution of the symbolic capacity to play and the real play of childhood. Winnicott explicated that borderline patients suffer from the poverty of cultural living. Kumar (2012) also referred to the studies by Schafer (1999) which suggested that hardened attitudes of disappointment, and deprivation and pain are inflicted by violence and poverty. There is continuous neglect or abuse of emotional need arising out of parental inhibitions, depression, psychosis, physical illness or harsh child-rearing practices. Kumar (2012) also provided an insight into Campbell (1999) understanding of Luce Irigaray's gender thesis in which woman's subjection is understood as an actual sign of the poverty of psychoanalysis.

10. Religious/moral poverty:

Under the religious or moral poverty, Kumar (2012) elaborated upon Anna Freud's (1967) paper 'On Losing and Being Lost' in which Freud developed the idea of voluntary poverty. Freud (1967) defined voluntary poverty in conjunction with the practices that are followed by many religious, political and social bodies in which their members will cathect only ideals and not waste cathexis on material matters. She also defines voluntary poverty by drawing inferences from high minded people who according to her are poets, writers and members of the medical profession who are expected to be only partially interested in material reward" (Kumar, 2012, p.6-12).

1.3.4 Is Psychoanalysis only for Elite? Projective Techniques and Low-Socio Economic Status Group

In an article on ‘Psychoanalysis-for an elite?’ Rose Spiegel (1970) brought forward the morbid contradictions inherent in psychoanalysis. She stated that psychoanalysis has been attacked by saying that, “it is a religion; it is anti-religious; it is a self-indulgent pastime for rich evaders of responsibility; it is ineffectual as therapy; psychoanalysis is for intellectuals; psychoanalysis is not scientific; because of the time and money which the patients invest, the practice of psychoanalysis is lucrative” (Spiegel, 1970). Spiegel also asserted that most of the critique of psychoanalysis by researchers is based on the finding that for psychoanalysis to become a successful enterprise in therapy, a superior class of patients is implicitly required. Spiegel (1970) referred to Alberta Szalita research which states that:

“Psychoanalysis is an aristocratic method. It is meant for few by few. It is a method of self-investigation, self-correction, self-redirection, and reorganization, which require disciplined thought and serious commitment. The democratization and widespread application of this method, irrespective of the qualifications of the recipients as well as the practitioners, have brought many disappointments to both sides. The institutionalization of the method has taken away some of the freshness it had in its earlier stages and rigidified it and put it into harness-an added burden to individual initiative” (Szalita, 1968, as cited in Spiegel, 1970).

Referring to the work of Erich Fromm, Rose Spiegel (1970) pointed out the heightened status and the increased number of so-called analysts in the period following World War II. The goal of those analysts comprises propagating illusory happiness, or the ideal of self-realisation. Spiegel (1970, p.50) cites Fromm (1950), that

“[The idea of the supreme] dignity and uniqueness of the individual...is in contrast to much in the intellectual climate of our time. We tend to think in terms of mass production and of gadgets...But if the idea of mass production and gadget worship is transferred to the problem of man and into the field of psychiatry it destroys the very basis which makes producing more and better things worth while”.

The elite in psychoanalysis according to Spiegel (1970, p.51) means “the exclusivity of an advantaged ‘in’ group in contrast to the ‘out’ group, which might be larger but more amorphous”. There is a narcissistic pleasure at being special, at being ‘in’, Spiegel (1970) stated. A grave concern of psychoanalysis according to Spiegel (1970) is that, “as therapists primarily and not as pure scientists, we of course seek betterment of the individual, and in extensions of psycho-analysis, of individuals-in-group, and of individuals-in-family. We may even ask ourselves whether as psychoanalysts we can be of help in alleviating the malaise on the social scene. Depending on how elitehood plays a role, psychoanalysis in some circles advances in creative therapy and research; in

others it is confined because of its rigidity and overliteral consistency to its tradition” (p.53). One of the dangers of propagating psychoanalysis for the elite is the alienation, as they are alienated with the world out there. Spiegel (1970) suggested on using the meta theory of Freud in an efficient manner. She stated that, “If psychoanalysis is to take its place as a basic science of the human psyche, surely it must enlarge its circumference of concern beyond the treatment of certain selected neuroses in certain selected patients in certain selected environments” (Spiegel, 1970, p.62).

In an article on ‘Socioeconomic Status and the Rorschach’, George Frank (1994) elucidates that people from lower socioeconomic status are making increasing use of mental health facilities. However, many types of researches are prone to misconstrue Rorschach of people belonging low socio-economic class. Frank (1994) presented a grave methodological crisis of psychoanalytic researchers who attempted to influence other researchers. Such researchers provide a standardised and false image, which suggested that those people “who have grown up in a condition of poverty do not perform well on tests of abstract thinking, a test of intelligence, or tests of academic achievement” (Frank, 1994). The researches demonstrate that, “people from lower socioeconomic status give answers to standard paper-and-pencil test of personality as well as the TAT which reflect greater psychopathology than answers given by people from the middle socioeconomic status” (Frank, 1994). Thus, there is a need for research on the “effect of socioeconomic status on responsiveness to Rorschach is more than academic and not just out of scientific curiosity” (Frank, 1994).

Kim and Cardemill (2012) posited that “individuals from low-income backgrounds are less likely to seek formal mental health services. Further, therapists may feel overwhelmed and helpless when confronted with some of their clients’ often bleak circumstances” (Kim and Cardemill, 2012).

In her book *Projecting the Self: Defense Mechanisms in Action* (2006), Phebe Cramer stated that apart from the experimentally created stress which increases the usage of defense mechanism in children, real-life situations in maltreated children also increase the use of defense mechanism. The children coming from low economic backgrounds extensively use a defense of denial. The reason for using a higher level of projection and denial, as Cramer (2006) argued is that it protected them from experiencing psychological upset. Further, “undesirable life events and increased psychological distress have been found to be associated with lower socioeconomic status”, according to a study by McCleod & Kessler (1990) cited in Cramer (2006). The major point that the researches according to Cramer (2006) pointed towards is that normal, non-patient children who are

experiencing daily psychological stress will project an unflinching need of using defense. There is a proliferation of child-reported social anxiety and depression in children of low-socioeconomic status. However, Cramer (2006) states that the children from a low socioeconomic status will rely on the immature set defenses. She suggested that, “if the increase use of defense continues for an extended period of time, it may create further psychological difficulties by distorting the child’s perception reality or interfering with the development of satisfactory relationships with others” (Cramer, 2006, p.142). One of the significant arguments that Cramer (2006) posited was on the relationship between stress and ego development. She retorted to stating that under stress, there will be a delay in ego development, and as a result the immature ego will result in immature defense in contrast to more mature defense, for example, identification. Cramer (2006) also elucidated the correlation between mature defense and competence, as she stated that children with higher competence are more likely to use a mature form of defense, such as idealisation and identification.

According to Hodgkinson et al. (2017) although “poverty is often studied as a dichotomous variable, it can be more informative to instead examine multiple correlated social risk factors”. Further, “children and families living in poverty face a range of barriers that reduce their ability to access mental health services, maintain compliance with treatment, and achieve favourable treatment outcomes” (Hodgkinson et al. (2017).

Thus, there is an elitist standpoint in the research on poverty and psychoanalysis. In an article on mental health of a homeless poor from a psychoanalytic lens, Vahali (2015) quintessentially provides a voice of a non deprived or a non poor psychologist who uses the technique of narrative storytelling and self reflective approach to assert that there is a need of an authentic connectedness between the psychologists and the poor and homeless poor. Despite presenting a radical thought, she reified the poor as the ‘other’ in the section on “listening to the ‘Other’: the promise of the relational psychoanalytic frame”, Vahali (2015). She stated that,

“While working with the poor and the outsiders of society, are we open to allow our bodies and feelings to be used in a truly Winnicottian sense? If we are ready for this, then we will have to shift our focus from language and words to that of touch, feelings, affects and sensations. Often the poor and the homeless may not be able to say much about themselves but they will certainly make us feel the alienation, loneliness, anxieties, fears and rejection of their being. Are we ready to receive their experiential states and do we have room within our self for them?” (Vahali, 2015, p.247)

As Riessman et al., (1964) explained that, “when the strengths of the poor are mentioned, an immediate image springs to minds. Therefore, the image is that of the ‘noble savage’- uninhibited, enjoying nature, unfettered by the responsibilities of middle-class life” (p.417). The image of the

poor divides the opinions, views, researches and the world all together. While, one group views the positive qualities emerging from a struggle with poverty, the other, comes forth as romantic supporters of the impulse-free poor (Riessman et al., 1964). It is this viewpoint that seeks to eradicate the poor themselves and not just poverty. The education sector possesses this romantic view of the poor, the have-nots and tries to bring them under the ambit of the middle-class.

1.4 Psychology of Poverty, Deprivation and Overarching Cultural Loops

This section attempts to examine psychological debates on the poverty and deprivation in India. According to Mohanty and Misra (2000), psychological analysis of the problems of poverty and disadvantage-their concomitants and correlates, along with the processes involved in growing up under these conditions and in coping with them, and the question of intervention at the individual and/or societal level have enormous application potential and policy implications. In this section, a trajectory of Indian psychological researches on poverty and deprivation is presented with a focus on Mohanty and Misra's (2000, p.22) explication that "various socio-cultural conditions interact in complex ways to create inequality of opportunities which put some in an advantaged or privileged position and, others, to disadvantage, deprivation, and, possibly, to a state of economic poverty in a relative sense". Poverty may be defined in terms of difference between the privileged and the deprived, which may not always be objective. However, according to Mohanty and Misra (2000), this difference is a psychological reality. Further, the perceived states of deprivation, poverty and disadvantage, as Mohanty and Misra (2000) stated are not just subjective experiences; they are grounded in physical realities of income, caste, class, housing, nutrition, health and other socio-economic conditions which are linked to wellbeing and quality of life. In order to propound a meta-theory of poverty and deprivation, the psychology of poverty and disadvantage in education has pervaded the minds of Indian psychologists for a very long time (see, Sinha, 1982, Misra, 2000, Mishra & Vajpayee, 2000; Anjali & Sinha, 2000; Agarwal & Misra, 2002). Often, these psychologists critically argued on issues like: does poverty or disadvantaged section of society leaves upon them common psychological effects forming cultural loops such as inappropriate cognitive functioning, attentional problems, learning disabilities, inadequate linguistic skill, stagnant or unrealistic aspirations, low esteem or several health problems? If yes, then in what concrete ways intervention or training programmes with exposure to training of appropriate perceptual-cognitive experience of such children can be designed to overcome and level the performance difference between the deprived (including disadvantaged children) and the privileged?

It was Durganand Sinha (2000) who primarily viewed that poverty is associated with low income, low caste status, poor housing, lack of public amenities, various degrees of malnutrition, etc., which exposes the children to less stimulating environment, inadequate school facilities, lack of parental support, and many other. He stated that the psychological studies have generally centered on the following aspects:

1. "Psychological impact of malnutrition: Physical developments of children go hand in hand with development of other area, such as language and cognition, visual-motor coordination, intelligence, and immediate memory. Sinha (2000) states that malnutrition as many studies suggested, affects many psychological processes: apathy, withdrawal, responsiveness, reduced curiosity and exploratory behaviour, attentional deficiency and learning disabilities. There are evidence on the impact on IQ that the undernourished with normal intelligence has poor academic performance.
2. Perceptual and cognitive domain: Studies have focussed on intelligence, perceptual and cognitive skills, learning and meditational processes, memory, concept formation and Piagetain conservation, language skills and academic performance. Sinha (2000) refers to his own researches in the year 1990. He stated that there is a strong indication of general impairment in cognitive functioning due to poverty conditions. The cognitive processes that are adversely affected are highly relevant to school performance and any deficiency caused by in them proves as impediment to the child. This is reflected in low enrolment, irregular attendance, high dropout rate and poor academic record.
3. Impact on personality and motivation: Deprivation according to Sinha (2000) is found to be associated with neuroticism and introversion, social maladjustment, immaturity, autism, alienation and withdrawal. The disadvantaged are more external and chance-oriented and display greater aggression. They posses low need for achievement, autonomy, lack of initiative and aggression and greater need for affiliation, succourance, abasement and nurturance.
4. Poverty and Rosenthal effect: Rosenthal effect is a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' or 'Pygmalian effect'. Sinha (2000) cites the researches by Sharma & Tripathi (1998) and Dusek & Joseph (1983) to show that teachers entertain expectations and beliefs about the abilities and performance of their pupils. These expectations become a form of labelling which in turn influence behaviour and thinking of the pupils in a significant way.

5. Attribution studies: There is a causal explanation of social and natural events as a part of human thinking process. Casual attribution explains that poverty in general reveals that low income people attribute it more to fate and luck than high income ones. Attribution of failure to self and success to external factors, self-blame and low self image are found in disadvantaged people.” (Sinha, 2000, p.65)

He further argued that “findings in themselves are interesting; however they do not seem to have influenced very much the ongoing poverty-alleviation programmes, nor have made much impact on developing intervention strategies” (Sinha, 2000, p.70). Sinha asserted that these perspectives are very individualistic, pertaining to only the microcosm factors, and sometimes reflected only the intra-individual. Thus, according to Sinha (2000), the systemic or structural variables are largely ignored as well as the subjective and experiential aspects of poverty. He suggested for an interaction between macrocosm and microcosm approach. Sinha (2000) stated that “the poor is exposed to less stimulating environment, inadequate facilities, lack of parental support, and the like. Some of these conditions belong to the child’s immediate proximal/visible environment; however there may also be a presence of an outer layer of the environment”. (p.62). This theoretical presupposition came to be known as the ecological perspective on poverty (Sinha, 1982). Further, Sinha conceptualised that adverse impact of poverty on individual’s functioning renders him/her less competent to deal effectively with the demands of the environment (Mohanty & Misra, 2000). Sinha (2000) also stated that “it will be wrong to say that one is poor because of the psychological limitation. But at the same time, it is also true that a life of poverty produces many psychological ill-effects rendering the individual less capable of overcoming the problem” (p.63). This is shown in the figure below.

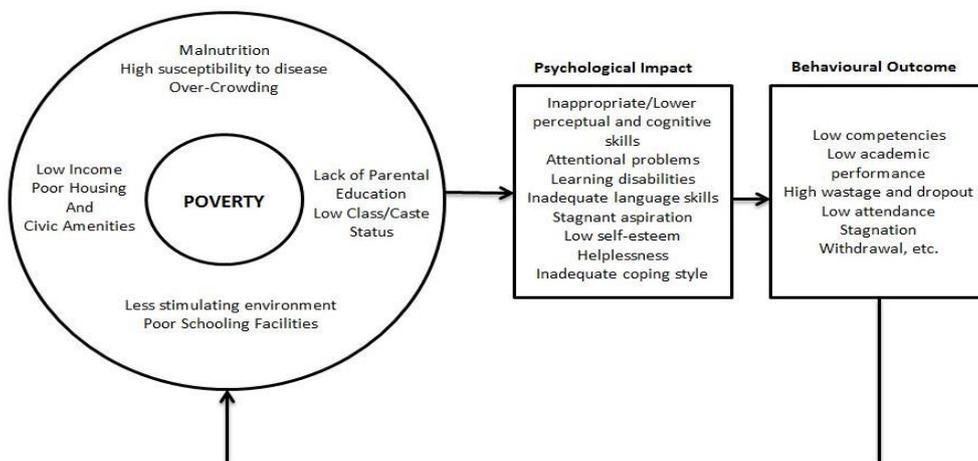


Fig: 1 Schematic model of the relationship between poverty. Its psychological consequences and their outcomes (Sinha, 2000, P.64)

Purportedly, Sinha's research on 'comparison between privileged and underprivileged children revealed that though better facilities of superior schools do enhance the performance level of disadvantaged scheduled caste (SC), the differentials between advantaged non-scheduled caste and disadvantaged groups tends to get accentuated with the increase in age and grade causing a kind of cumulative deficit' (Sinha, 2002).

In a lecture delivered at IACCP (1994) on 'Perception of poverty: Socio-psychological dimension' Janak Pandey stated that, "Socio-economic variables constitute a relevant class of variables influencing behaviour at individual as well as collective level" (Pandey, 2000, p.72). According to Pandey (2000), the social science researches to measure the socio-economic deprivation have used Socio-Economic Scale (SES) which comprises of items related to income, education, rural-urban background, social and racial categories and other socio-demographic variables. However, these measure as Pandey (2000) critically analysed do not consider the way an individual perceives his/her own economic condition and such researches label the low income group as a separate cultural group. Thus, Pandey (2000) encapsulated that an individual's perception of his/her economic condition both in absolute and relative terms is important. Further, there is a concept termed as 'Perceived Poverty' which facilitates in developing an integrated approach by including objective and subjective conditions of poverty. According to Pandey (2000), 'Perceived Poverty' is conceptualised as "an individual's subjective assessment of: 1. Income in relation to household expenditure, 2. Dissatisfaction with economic condition, property, standard of housing, food, clothing, and, 3. Anxiety concerning resources for essential expenses (e.g., festivals, marriage, rituals) and unexpected events such as illness, accidents, and death" (Pandey, 2000, p.75). Pandey (2000) after delving into perceived poverty conceptualised the term 'Relative Poverty'. It is a form of poverty, in which economic condition is perceived in relation to some other individual or other group of individuals. Pandey (2000) stated that perception of one's self is relative to others with whom comparisons are to be drawn. The relative poverty according to Pandey (2000) consisted eight-items to assess the respondent's relative feeling about their own level of poverty in comparison to the other members of their community. Apart from perceived and relative measure of poverty, Pandey (2000) elaborated on 'perceived social status' to show that caste plays a pivotal determinant. In order to assess the role of social status as a measure, Pandey (2000) suggested for a 3 point scale related to perceived caste/tribe status, social status and perceived occupational status. Pandey (2000) suggested that, 'socioeconomic mobility' or lack of it by an individual or any groups of individuals indicates the process and extent of change, and thus is conceptualised as

improvement in education, occupation and income. Lastly, according to Pandey (2000), to assess the quality or standard of living in home and its neighbourhood, a ten item check-list with 5-point rating scale was developed.

In a seminal paper on ‘perpetuating inequality: The disadvantage of language, minority mother tongues and related issues’ (2000), Ajit Mohanty attempted to shift focus from the traditional definition of poverty and disadvantage. He stated that, the problem is not of the language of the disadvantaged but of the disadvantage of language, the language of the minor, minority and non-standard speakers. The road to poverty amelioration can be achieved through the development of an integrated “model of the relationship between bilingualism, metacognitive process and cognitive skills in the context of Indian pluralism” (Mohanty, 2000, p.110). Bilingualism, according to Mohanty (2000, p.110), “enables children to develop some degrees of flexibility in cognitive operations, an analytic and objective orientation to language and an increased sensitivity to message. It endows them with the ability to use language also as an object of thought and to efficiently utilise the various linguistic and paralinguistic cues for effective communication which involves much more than simple application of the rules of language”.

It was posited by Ajit Mohanty and Girishwar Misra (2000) that poverty and disadvantage are processes as well as products of a complex set of interacting conditions, both physical and economic, social and cultural, individual and psychological (p.121). Mohanty and Misra retorted to a popular paradigm which reduces the psychosocial context of the poor and disadvantaged under the label ‘culture of poverty’. This culture of poverty put the onus of blame on the victims and holds their culture responsible for their poor performance. In such a scenario, Mohanty and Misra (2000) elaborated that the variety of indicators of poverty are correlated with the status of physical development, cognitive competence, personality characteristics and motivation. To put it more starkly, according to Mohanty and Misra (2000, p.148), “in general, the development of individuals growing up in adverse circumstances lags behind those who come from relatively privileged backgrounds”. There are adverse affects of poverty, as Mohanty and Misra (2000) stated that status variables like social class, caste, membership of tribal groups, social mobility and other macro level factors like economic inequality and lack of educational opportunity are correlated with attainment of diverse psychological measures dealing with cognitive, motivational and personality functions” (p.148). Mohanty and Misra (2000) have critically analysed the studies in the Indian psychological arena to state that the researches have paid very less attention to how certain processes impact poverty and how the effects of poverty are generated, moderated and transmitted. The social context

has been subjugated in most of the researches according to Mohanty and Misra (2000) and they intend to generate a processual view in order to gather a more realistic picture with the help of which necessary interventions can be decided upon.

In such a scenario, the theory of intervention that grew from this view were the idea of cognitive-behavioural training with disadvantaged children (Rath, 2000), community based rehabilitation programme for the disabled (Dalal, 2000), along with other significant interventions that took the form of training on immediate and long term improvement in children's cognitive task (Mishra & Vajpayee, 2000). In the intervention programs, it was hypothesised that the performance of high caste children on perceptual-cognitive tasks would be better than those of low caste children prior to training and the training with such tasks would level off the performance differences amongst the high and low caste children even over a longer interval of time (Misra & Vajpayee, 2000). A primary result of the intervention by Misra & Vajpayee (2000) expressed itself with the form view that experiential inputs which the low caste children received in their environment and the nature and quality of interactions that took place between these children and their parents, peers and other adult members of the community were largely responsible for their low level performance (p.224). Subsequently, as a result of training, caste differences in performance of cognitive tasks were reduced to a nonsignificant level (Misra & Vajpayee, 2000, p.225). In this light, Girishwar Misra (1980; 2002) by delineating the concept of deprivation and its relation to cognitive competence developed a 'Prolonged Deprivation Scale' (PDS) along with L.B. Tripathi in 1997. It was based on a wide range of environmental and interactional variables which constituted basic sources of the living organism (Misra, 2002, p.289). In other words Misra (2002) states that:

“the socio-cultural life of any group can be conceptualized as a continuum at one end of which is the group/community who have all the psychological, physical, social, economic and other facilities for fulfilment of their biogenic as well as sociogenic needs, leading to maximum amount of varied experiences in life; at the other end are those who are materialistically, socially and psychologically handicapped to the maximum possible degree in the fulfilment of their needs and acquisition of diverse experiences” (p.289).

Major results of the research were to suggest that in contrast to medium and high deprivation subjects, more low deprivation subjects engaged in intellectual activities such as verbal reasoning tasks, Cattell's culture fair test, learning of words and various other intelligence tests. Such researches expose a larger discourse on evaluation in which certain findings legitimises ambiguous conceptualisation of cognitive functioning of the poor and disadvantaged children by inducing many dichotomies such as deprived-non-deprived, disadvantaged-advantaged, poor-non-poor, *Harijan-Brahman*, urban-rural, etc., which are the conventional labels of relative nature (Mohanty

& Misra, 2000). This issue was addressed by Sinha (1998; 2002) who drew attention to ‘culturally biased tests and stereotypes of middle-class investigators’. Sinha (2002) left no stone unturned to project the dangers and imperils inherent in unfair labelling of the environment of the lower caste and the disadvantaged as inferior which impugned the psychological studies for mostly focussing on the ‘negative aspect’ without taking into cognizance the adaptive capacities of the poor (p.216). However, to put the matter more assertively, although the content of these researches were quelled upon for being microcosmic, individualistic, and focussing on the intra-individual perspective by researchers such as Sinha (2000), who tried to transpose the focus of psychological studies to shift from traditional methodologies to sophisticated and scientific ones. Ironically, a major difficulty with this line of conclusion is the emphasis on the need for ‘a fresh look’ in the on-going researches by taking into consideration what he termed as “*the lotus in the mud*” phenomenon. This viewpoint basically endorses a further demarcation of children based on how some children who are the victims of poverty cope better than others facing similar conditions of socioeconomic realities and adversities. There occurs a sudden increment in a status of few individuals within the socially and economically deprived groups, who are termed as gifted or talented or performers which gives rise to a shift in the prime focus on the group in totality in terms of coping mechanism for a few children. As Sinha (1998) intensifies this notion in his ecological model referring to “the differentiating natures of some families whose children perform better than the other children in the same community and their relation to the ecological systems with which they interact is likely to provide more effective guidelines for strategies of intervention in order to bring about meaningful and long-lasting social and economic changes necessary to support the welfare of these children and their families”.

There is an underlying tendency of this phenomenon which aspires individual competence amongst the poor and deprived sections of society to revert to what Rose (1988) calls ‘cognitive reductionism’ which is expressed in Oscar Lewis notion of ‘culture of poverty’. This body of research also aligns itself with Cole’s (2013) definition of ‘cultural deprivation’ in which the performance of the children of poverty and the deprived come to be interpreted as deficit rather than differences. Also with Gutierrez and Rogoff’s (2003) assertion regarding the “assumption that characteristics of cultural groups are located within individuals who are seen as carriers of culture which poses serious threats in place like schools”. The ‘*Lotus in mud phenomenon*’ addresses the issue that Gergen and Wortham (2001) evocatively pointed out as, “a belief that locates knowledge within the minds of single individuals. It is the individual who becomes center of attraction for he is challenged to observe, think and gather knowledge and through virtue of the knowledge so acquired

or more likely possessed, he shall be able to survive or thrive in a complex world". There is a serious danger to this traditional viewpoint harnessed by Sinha (1998), which falls under the assumption laid by Gergen and Wortham (2001) that this a kind of knowledge which takes possession of the single mind deems individuals to be the possessors of their own motives, emotions, or fundamental essences. This might lead to the genesis of narcissistic dispositions in the individuals, which according to Gergen and Wortham (2001) sanctions individuals to visualise themselves as 'lone choosers, searchers, finders-confronted with the challenges of survival and success'. This approach not only levies upon the individuals to develop a narrow attitude towards their life, but also engender in them a feeling of isolation from the world (both physical, including environmental and social) altogether. Further, there is an intricate relation between this method of psychology with the biologically rooted, individually oriented and laboratory dominated psychology which fails to interpret how mind is situated in the culture (Bruner, 1996). It calls for inter-subjectivity of "how people come to know what others have in mind and how they adjust accordingly" (Bruner, 1996, p.161). This proposition concerns itself with the cultural approach to the study of the human mind. As Bruner (1996) pointed out that, "just as we cannot fully understand man without reference to his biological roots, so we cannot understand man without reference to culture" (p. 164). It requires an impeccable lens to question how physiological approaches in the study of poverty and deprivation cannot provide the complete picture of this phenomenon without considering societal influences as practiced by most psychologists in India. Misra and Prakash (2012, p.121) explicated by quoting Gergen (1973) that "there are various bases of reifications established among psychologists who in recent years have revived to account everything in terms of neuro-physiological processes and mechanisms". Subliminally, psychological work on schooling and deprivation brings back the purported IQ movement that seeks "singular, unitary cognitive explanations for broad ranges of poor school performance" (Rose, 1988). It is this resilience of the IQ testing which Rose (1988) defined as the cognitive reductionism, which re-edified the reductive labelling amongst the minority communities in the context of literacy and logic, as there is a widespread belief that the thinking of some groups having a minority status might be affected by the degree to which their culture has shifted from oral to literate modes of behaviour (Rose, 1988, p.267). Therein sweeping social, economic and political hierarchies which are engrained in the cognitive dichotomies emerge between the deprived and non-deprived communities situated "in domain of independent vs dependent, literate vs oral, verbal vs spatial, concrete vs logical divisions" (Rose, 1988).

1.5 Conclusion of the Review of Literature: The Uncanniness Exposure of Being the Other

The review of existing literature on the psychology of poverty and deprivation first exposes and later affirms the boundaries and territories between the poor or deprived and non-poor and non-deprived. The binary which jeopardises the poor and the deprived gets subsumed under Freud's (1919b) concept of the 'Uncanny'. Uncanny, as an analytical explication represents a kind of feeling or a sensation, categorised as "a class of frightening things that leads back to what is known and familiar" (Freud, 1919b). Kristeva (1990) posited that the uncanny, (the *'Unheimliche'*) is something which is simultaneously familiar and radically alien, which was to be concealed and kept out of sight. Freud (1919b) deduced the concept of the uncanny from the "idea of homelike, belonging to the house, i.e., something withdrawn from the eyes of strangers, something concealed, as a secret, that a further idea is developed as reverse of homelike, i.e., it is a name for everything that ought to have remained...secret and hidden but has come to light". To delve into this phenomenon of how something that was repressed and long forgotten in the history, which again makes a trivial come back in aspects of our unconsciousness or the primitive experiences of something superseded in our psyche or life which that it is a reminder of our psychic past (Freud, 1919b).

The researches on poverty and deprivation shape the experience of the poor and deprived by ingraining in them a feeling of uncanniness in them, which diametrically shapes their psyche which is embedded in the society. Freudian's uncanny as a metaphor questions the social normativity, as Quema (2015) stated that there is always a conflict between that which makes the world unfamiliar to the subject, between that which establishes an authoritative sense of identity and that which hints at an estrangement from one's psychic and historical origin (p.84). It is here that the principle of uncanniness as social repression takes into account the institutional and material shaping of the psyche, which forms a ground for a dichotomy between agency and subordination, social legitimacy and exclusion, between concealment and revelation, fantasy and social reality. It is the double bind of exclusion and inclusion, in which the subject's social inclusion depends on the exclusion of that what is illegitimate in the context of social domination (Quema, 2015). The researches through their findings and interventions project their own ego defense mechanism of denial as they are trying to see poverty and deprivation as phantasmic poverty, voluntary poverty or as poverty which severely impacts one's wellbeing and mental health, thereby hiding the real constitution of the psyche and social unconsciousness of a person living under poverty. Poverty is more of a phenomenon of uncanniness, which is our own creation, yet the conventional wisdom of the modernist world blatantly disowns it and it remarkably becomes 'the other' amongst us. The arguments laid by the researches immediately provoke accusations of romanticising the modernity discourses in connection with poverty and deprivation in contemporary India, as Nandy (2002) argued, that to

think about the poor and deprived in a global world has given rise to “exporting living, contemporary communities and human beings to the past in the name of progress and rationality and that we have too mastered the art of looking at large sections of humanity as obsolete and redundant, as though these sections of society have been anachronistically sleepwalking all through the history, and that we have a belief of these indigenous people, tribes, poor and Dalits to have had no past, no myths, no legends and no transmittable system of knowledge, as if their grandparents never told them any stories, nor did their parents sing them any lullabies” (p.117). Further, as Nandy (2002) expressed that when we think of their underdevelopment, we think of them a collective of poor and the oppressed, while it was us who actually stole their past for we always wish that they should be ensconced from the pages of history as if we wish them to disappear into the past in order to be modern. It becomes imperative for my research to testify Nandy’s (2002) assumptions on the ego-denial defense mechanism of the modernity, suggesting it is against hearing the voices of the poor and oppressed. The underlying desire of the modern discourses is to not only send the excluded back to their exclusionary place in the past, but also seeks to completely remove their traces from its history. These researches become a platform to showcase how throughout history a child in question is unraveling the identity of being the other, the foreigner, the unhomey (constituting educational and moral subjectivities) and the social realms which structures the crisis of modernity, in which the child does not have the option of breaking out of the traps of social or educational nature designed for him/her.

1.6 Structure of this Thesis

The following chapter (Chapter II) elicits a detailed account of the link between the conceptual framework, research questions and the Method employed in the thesis. It offers a method to unfold an imaginative process in children by stimulating their minds through thematic construction using the Thematic Apperception Test. It provides a detailed description of a technique which seeks to bring to light the latent and the hidden in the unconscious of CoPD, and thus, becomes most pertinent for this thesis keeping in mind the children’s participation in the guided research method. This chapter states the rationale for not employing an empirical research method to construct an idiographic pattern. I also reflect on my researcher positionality, introduce the two schools in which the research was conducted, and the sample used for this study. This chapter also includes a detailed discussion of using Adorno’s theoretical machinery for data collection and analysis.

Chapter III presents the data in the form of TAT stories obtained from the CoPD. The title of the chapter is ‘The Abject Hero’ and it gives a detailed account of the dialectics of a hero and examines

that a hero is a figure of synergy and contradictions between desires and needs on the one hand and anxieties and defenses arising from those needs on the other, which precipitate the hero to act in a certain manner that helps to juxtapose with inner tendencies of the person narrating the story. Chapter III attempts to understand the constant conflict between cynicism and hopelessness on the one hand and faith, often a childlike faith, on the other hand. It attempts to portray the TAT sessions conducted with four students and juxtapose their test results with Bellak's (1975) interpretation and assessment. This chapter also incorporates content analysis of the stories narrated by the students using Uma Choudhury's Indian adaptation of the TAT.

Chapter IV Part I is an analysis chapter which is titled as 'The Vicissitudes of Self and Voices from School'. The chapter aims to contextualise object cathexis in the children using the stories obtained in the previous chapter. It attempts to analyse the data collected in the light of Freudian insights on identification with the father. In a psycho-sexual sense, a son fails to idealise his parents, a process in which a child has to invest his libido leading to cathexis. This chapter delineates that children fail to transmute the process of idealisation, and this happens due to parental lack of empathy during the development and as a reason, "the individual vacillates between an irrational overestimation in self and irrational feelings of inferiority and relies on other to regulate his self-esteem and give him a sense of value" (McLean, 2007). Chapter IV also attempts to analyse the data using Kakar's mother enthrallment and explains the concept of moral masochism emulating in the CoPD.

Chapter IV Part II is also an Analysis chapter, which is titled as 'Dystopia and End of Innocence'. This chapter attempts to analyse the data obtained in Chapter III from Adornoian perspective. It illuminates that late capitalism has reduced human beings into fungible and commensurable values. An identity-thinking permeates the mind of the individuals who fail to idealise their father. The father in a capitalist society is seen as economically impotent, which explains the failure of object cathexis. This chapter also explores reifications and narcissism is the new chasm of modern society. It deduces that social alienation arises because interpersonal relations are secured by nothing more than abstract exchange relations and frail narcissistic affiliations (Cook, 2014, p.100). Chapter IV part II concludes that CoPD have developed a model of exchange relationship and in the exchange relationships, there evolves a desire of the other in them, the other who is economically more privileged having a dominant stature, and falls into the category of socially acceptable people. Unconsciously, an other has already taken place in them which is throbbingly asking the children to sabotage themselves and become that other.

Chapter V is the ‘Discussion’ chapter. It explores the substantive and methodological findings of the study and discusses them in light of the research questions. It opens with critical reflections by delineating the major factors which contribute to a regressive culture of narcissism and investment in ego-libido through the flat grand narratives obtained from the CoPD. It employs distinct means to address the notion that identity thinking is the megalomania of the society which upholds assimilation as a priority by equalising everything that is unequal. This chapter explicates that the body of children can be seen as a fetishised body, a form of corporeality and a union of desire for physicality and materiality. The body of the non-deprived and non-poor is described as desired, forbidden, reified, and estranged. It explains that the reified consciousness of children is a form of coldness and strangeness that the children experience from teachers and the schooling praxis. The chapter illuminates that reified consciousness as understood through the practices of schooling “perpetrates totalisation and violence by espousing uniformity over difference and otherness” (Johnson, 2002, p.21). Using the theoretical machinery of Adorno’s culture industry, Freud’s moral masochism, and Kristeva’s abjection, this chapter discusses the major research questions under three themes. The themes include Subject as alterity: situating the other within oneself, fear as loss of intimate revolt and search for an imaginary father, and violence as matricide and phallocentrism: situating the minds between prohibition and radicalisation. Alterity is the desire for the other and is a pernicious effect of the commodification of relationship under the domination of the exchange principle. Fear is analysed as the children’s search for parental authority in male teachers, and it refers to the externalising of the superego. The teachers are considered as the fathers who are tragically missing in the children’s life. The present society, as the chapter discusses, is a form of a monolithic culture and reduces the psyche to a form of the invisible power structure. The chapter engages deeply with the other chapters and presents a viewpoint that the present society is a “*society of the spectacle*” in Guy Debord’s (2002) terms. It is an image-saturated environment which invades the psychic space of the individual resulting in a lack of imagination and fantasy (Singh, 2017b).

Chapter VI, Summary and Conclusion; It draws together the micro and macro narratives on the study on abjection in CoPD. It presents the educational implications of my study. Lastly, it presents the limitations of my study.

Epilogue: The Concluding Discussion

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the methodological and theoretical frameworks adopted in this thesis to address the research questions guiding my doctoral research.

Research Questions:

RQ1: What constitutes psychological alienation in the most interior and intimate space in a child from the poor and deprived home of Delhi.

RQ2: When and how does the external world of exclusion enter into this child's inner world?

RQ3: How does a child's experience of being associated with poverty and deprivation gets situated in his sub-conscious mind that disturbs his identity?

RQ4: How this identity of inferiority and non-existence further permeates into defense and fear of socialisation in the consciousness that makes him annihilate his individuality and presence?

RQ5: How does a superior other (non-poor and non-deprived) take possession in a child's inner psyche that makes him abject himself?

RQ6: How does abjection in a child make him deject, separate and situate himself at the border of his own presence?

RQ7: Further, how the presences of superior other in his mind create a feeling of self-treason, self-hate, and aggression?

RQ8: What makes a child internally more violent towards himself, his family, neighbourhood and the society?

Firstly, I discuss the psychoanalytic framework that guides my research on understanding the subjectivity of the CoPD imperilled in society. The subjectivity of the children can be seen through the conceptual machinery of Julia Kristeva, who argued that the present contemporary state of the society has succumbed to a grief-ridden crisis. It is a media driven society that possesses the characteristics of technocratic rationality. There is a new version of soft totalitarianism in which power cannot be located easily, but is more dispersed under the ambit of Neo-liberal laws. This

form of society resonates a lack of a transparent mechanism for understanding power regulation and a simultaneous lack of transcendence. In the lack of transcendence, “we no longer feel connected to one another” (Kristeva, 1996). The society is too dominated and predominated by the positivistic set of ideologies (Kristeva, 1996, p.14). In such a crisis, Kristeva offers a theory that, “celebrates an individual, the particular, and the unique, and questions the generalised categories of thought and social identity” (Kristeva, 1996). Imperatively, my study is based on a theoretical premise that socio-historical factors impact the psychic space of CoPD. Kristeva (1996) portrayed that “If a boy feels weakened by a given social context, for example, he probably has more profound reasons [than socio-historical ones] to feel the way he does. When someone’s psychic structure corresponds to his social discourse, his psychic situation becomes more complicated. We would then be mistaken to ignore historical events” (p.65). The self-image is dependent on someone else, as Kristeva (1996) remarked, and so is the psychic space, which is intimate to oneself, is dependent on social discourse.

After this, I discuss the theoretical machinery of Theodor Adorno, a Critical Theorist. I derive my work from his oeuvre on reifications, reified consciousness, mimesis and Identity thinking. Adorno (2005b) argued that identity thinking prevails in the society, which operates under the spell of a culture industry. This makes a person hollow and empty from within in. In this section, I also discuss Adorno’s views on education as a social critique and education for mature and ‘*ND*’.

The chapter then focusses on the method employed for data collection and analysis. My study incorporates a projective technique in unravelling the unconscious of CoPD and attempts to understand how abjection is constituted in the minds of children. The two government schools in which the data was collected and the sample used in the present study is explained in the next section. Lastly, I discuss my rationale for not employing an empirical research method.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

2.2.1. Adopting a Psychoanalytic Approach to Research

A Brief about Julia Kristeva: In 1966 Julia Kristeva, who was a young linguist from Bulgaria, made her arrival in Paris, at the age of 25. Her journey as a young scholar began, and she encountered the French capital intellectually. As a young scholar, Kristeva was resplendent with intellectual capital, having a hold on Marxist theory as well as possessing fluency in the Russian language. She, from the very beginning, had an ambiguous relationship with Hegel’s philosophy

and towards the Structuralism. As Tori Moi (1986) put it, that “Kristeva was always foreign to the theoretical scene, she was in, radically subversive even of the new science of semiology”. It was her own origin of existence that mediated her position and situated-ness as a foreigner, both in, another country and intellectual tradition. A woman who was daring to enter into the male-dominated environment helped her give meaning to her work on stranger or foreigner. Two of her seminal books became an underlying belief for my thesis, which is ‘*The Powers of Horrors* (1982)’ and ‘*The Strangers to Ourselves* (1991)’. At the brink of one’s identity, resides a dark land of unknownness, the stranger or foreigner. It is a form of estrangement that a subject experiences within oneself and this estrangement is conceptualised in Kristeva’s theory as a stranger to oneself. She argued that unlike the primitive times, in which the one who was residing outside the periphery of knownness was considered an enemy. However, as the times change, strangely, the foreigner according to Kristeva (1991), “lives within us: he is the hidden face of our identity, the space that wrecks our abode, the time in which understanding and affinity founder” (p.1). It is a subjective feeling intimately concerned with a self who wants to be considered an equal, a self who wants to live with others and not as other, without any ostracisation, labelling or levelling. Most pertinently, Kristeva’s encapsulation of foreigner, its existence and non-existence and a constant search for meaning becomes a pivotal point of exploration in my study. Kristeva states that a foreigner is succumbed by a melancholy, of a vanished space and an abandoned paradise. It is in the abandoned paradise, that the stranger loses its hope of finding itself, as Kristeva states that the “foreigner is a dreamer making love with absent, one exquisitely depressed” (1991, p.10). Considering Kristeva’s notions, CoPD in this study are not just seen as subjects of history; they are the subjects of post-modernity. It is a complicated reality that the children of modern poverty are living in. It is as if that life is becoming completely administered, taken under control by various agencies, organisations and institutions (Cook, 1998).

Moreover, the identities that are getting constructed are an antidote to autonomy and individuation. On the basis of Kristeva’s theory, I would like to show the convergence between the construction of postmodern identity and construction of meaning, in the next section. The amalgamation of postmodern identity with construction of meaning is central to undermining the psychic autonomy of individuals whose subjectivity has been impeded by the power relations in the society. This is discussed below under the heading shrinking of psychic space and the collapse of meaning.

2.2.2 Julia Kristeva: The Shrinking of Psychic Space and Collapse of Meaning

The psychic space, according to Kristeva, is a “space between the human organism and its aims; it is the space between biological and social. It is the space through which drives move energy between these two interconnected spheres. It is within this psychic space that affects materialise between bodily organs and social customs. Meaning is constituted in this space between body and culture” (Oliver, 2004, p.xxiv). The shrinking of psychic space can be understood through the crisis insinuated by the postmodernism in which identities manufactured are such that the subject becomes his/her own object-an object of analysis. The postmodern identities, in the process of getting created, are considered as a confrontation with the diverse, the ‘other’, the ‘foreign’, in ‘others’ as well as in the ‘self’ (Whelan, 2006). The contemporary society constructs a complicit and a complicated reality in which the bizarre becomes normal and the normal patterns and expectations collapse (Feeney, as cited in Whelan, 2006). It is the postmodernist critique of the subject that has shaped the present-day discourses. The postmodernists are seeking to redefine the past decade discussion of the subject, the subject of modernity or the Cartesian subject (Hekman, 1991). Subject and its constitution have been a volatile task for the philosophers ranging from Nietzsche who critically questioned the transcendental subject. As far as, with Michael Foucault procrastinating the death of man, subsequently, Derrida’s notions of decentering of the subject and the Lacanian criticism of a fixed or the subject as transcendental, inadequately explains the psychological process through which a ‘self’ is created (Hekman, 1991). Inadvertently, the Cartesian subjects completely ignore the subject of the contemporary world and are critiqued for its incapacity to describe how it is constituted in the modern life. Essentially, it is Kristeva who addressed the postmodern critique of the subject in contemporary modern society. Kristeva defines “the subject as a product of the play of signs within the signifying chain rather than a transcendent entity” (Hekman, 1991). She posited that

“The subject never is. The subject is only the signifying process, and he appears only as signifying practice, that is, only when he is absent within the position out of which social, historical and signifying activity unfolds. There is no science of the subject. And thought mastering the subject is mystical: all that exists is the field of practice where, through his expenditure, the subject can be anticipated in an always anterior future” (Kristeva, quoted in Hekman, 1991).

Even though postmodernity allows one to experience foreignness, the multiplicity of experiences, openness to newness, yet it offers the avenues that create a void, an emptiness, uncertainty and despair within oneself. As Billig (1995) stated that, “a number of theorists contend that the economic conditions of late capitalism are producing postmodernist, rather than modernist, forms of sensibilities, which are very different from the old boundary-consciousness of modernism” (p.131). On one level, the logic of late capitalism is dictating a homogenised culture (Billig, 1995). More so,

it is the postmodern theorist, as Billig (1995) stated, that the world cannot have a grand meta-narrative. Postmodernism is a de-facto celebration of the West which seeks forms of cultural sophistication. Those who are unmatched with the postmodern West are deemed to be subordinate to the West. As it is not the case with postmodernity which attempts to celebrate diversity, rather tends to orchestrate the experiences and voices of the non-West as the subaltern. When Kristeva talks about the subject, she emphasises that “the Cartesian subject is a unitary, an absolute master who constitutes truth through the process of abstract rationality” (Hekman, 1991). Whereas the subject, according to her, is not unitary, but plural: there are subjects and not the subject of the Cartesian conception. She maintains that subject is not a master, rather a manifestation or a product belonging to a particular culture, constituting a particular, and a unique language constellation. Kristeva unravels the notions of subjects, not as having elements which are pre-constituted or given, instead of as produced and bestowed with an identity of a speaking subject. The subject, according to Kristeva, is no doubt permanent subjects of a language that holds them in power. But, they are subjects in the process, ceaselessly losing their identity, destabilised by fluctuations in relationship with the other, to whom they nevertheless remain bound in a kind of homeostasis (Kristeva, 1987).

The shrinking of psychic space in CoPD, thus, can be defined in terms of colonisation of psychic space. Nandy (1983) put that “Colonialism is a psychological state rooted in the form of social consciousness, in both, the colonisers and the colonised. Further, it represents a certain cultural continuity and carries certain cultural baggage with codes, that both the rulers and ruled can share” (p.2). India having its history of colonialism has been ruptured with modern colonialism. This modern colonialism opened new vistas and hierarchies, which were incompatible with the traditional order (Nandy, 1983). On the pretext of colonisation, the stringent drive for possessing mastery over the other men is not merely a consequential result of a disguised political economy, as Nandy suggested. Rather, it also proliferates a worldview that believes in the “absolute superiority of the human over the nonhuman and the subhuman, the masculine over the feminine, the adult over the child, the historical over the ahistorical, and the modern or progressive over the traditional or the savage” (Nandy, 1983).

In ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’ Spivak (1988), resuscitated that the most radical criticism of the West is its inability to preserve the subject. While sovereignty (supremacy) of the subject has been an illusion, the subject has always been concealed by the narratives of law, political economy and ideologies of the West. In such a scenario, all the dominant ideologies fail to see the subject as having a geo-political determination as well as are ignorant of the fact that subject often possess a

sense of otherness and othering, i.e., society's Other. Spivak (1988) addressed the failed promise of capitalism to provide equality through individual financial success. Alterity or the otherness emphasises on the importance of looking past the terrains which surpass the boundaries of the familiar. It highlights on those sedimentations that "troubles one's sense of a secular cultural grounding as with this one contemplates the singularity of a potentially opaque other" (Hiddleston, 2007). In her book *'Other Asias'*, Spivak (2008) stated that "the capitalist inspires a duty to better the self at the expense of other which reinforce a worldwide class apartheid but this social responsibility envisioned solely as the 'duty of the fitter [developed] self' negates agency on the part of the marginalised; the prevailing culture of Human Rights constructs those in need of aid as passive (as just so many gaping mouths and minds) to whom rights, food, and education must be delivered regardless of epistemic/ecological violence". The cultural habits of the disenfranchised in such a scenario remain neglected, and nevertheless, the discursive practices of modernity legitimise concrete misery (Spivak, 1988). We become witness to an alternate history which masquerades gender, race, ethnicity and class, where the class is undoubtedly the most abstract. While, Indian decolonisation ruptured the colonised or imperialist set of ideologies, yet it could not figure the internal colonisation. Whereas, it is the Nationalism, Secularism, Internationalism and Culturalism that define alterity in the present day post-colonial India, as elitism becomes a fragile mode of resistance for ameliorating inequality and poverty. It is the aspirations into which the oppressed who are interpellated (with which they are colonised), are also directly responsible for their marginalisation as well as the effacement of otherness (Klerk, 2010). As Spivak (1988) stated it that 'the new culturalist alibi, working within a elitist culture industry, insisting on the continuity of a native tradition untouched by a Westernisation whose failures, it can help to cover, legitimises the very thing it claims to combat'. The new society enforces a form of Kristeva's (1982) Abjection, which explains how abjection comes from the society, and gets internalised and embodied in the children of dominated groups.

Abjection is synonymous to loathing, showing disgust to, for example, "an item of food, a piece of filth, waste, or dung. It leads to spasms and vomiting sensation in us" (Kristeva, 1982). The subject always wants to do away with the repugnance, which causes vomit, by turning away from defilement, sewage, and muck. Metaphorically, Kristeva's abjection conceptualises that the feeling of loathsomeness becomes part of one's identity that one may start feeling dejected and abased from one's own self. It begins when the 'I' wishes to morph himself, where he gets fascinated with the other which relays him of a boundary, a border which separates him from them, his existence punks him to pulverise that vague line that separates him from his desire.

As a consequence, it is as Kristeva (1982) pointed “that, ‘I’ wishes to expel himself, ‘I’ wants to spit himself out, I abject himself within the same motion through which ‘I’ claim to establish himself. It is thus that they see that, ‘I’ am in the process of becoming an ‘other’ at the expense of my own death, during that course in which ‘I’ become, I give birth to myself amid the violence of sobs, of vomit”. When Kristeva (1982) states that, it beseeches and pulverises the subject, it is signified that the subject being exhausted by its efforts to identify with something outside it, finds the impossible within, the impossibility that constitutes the very essence of its being which is often construed as an abject. “It means that there are lives not sustained by desire, as desire is always for objects. Such lives are based on exclusion. They are clearly distinguishable from those understood as neurotic or psychotic, articulated by negation and its modalities, transgression, denial, and repudiation” (Kristeva, 1982, p.6).

The next section attempts to present discursively Theodor Adorno’s theoretical notions to elucidate that the source of inner abjection lies at the roots of society, where it gets internalised and embodied in the psyche of children of dominated groups in the form of identity thinking.

2.2.3 Critical Theory Framework: Where Freud meets Marx

A Brief about Theodor Adorno: Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno was born in 1903, with a Jew origin. Adorno’s academia as a critical theorist began during his post-doctoral work when he was briefly acquainted with Max Horkheimer, who was a director of Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, established in 1922. Under the intellectual expertise of Horkheimer, and in collaboration with his new colleagues, who were “Erich Fromm, Leo Lowenthal and Friedrich Pollock, the Institute developed the type of enquiry that soon came to be known as critical theory” (O’Connor, 2013, p.9). Horkheimer with an impetus on corroborating the empirical research with social science paradigm stated the need to explore the psychological factors that cause an individual’s alienation in the society. Horkheimer as a director of the institute stated that the institute would examine, “the connection between the economic life of society, the psychical development of individuals, and the changes in the realm of culture in the narrower sense (to which belong not only the so-called intellectual elements, such as science, art, and religion, but also law, customs, fashion, public opinion, sports, leisure activities, lifestyle, etc.)...the Institute would develop a theory of contemporary society by analysing its prevailing tendencies, with the ultimate goal of transforming society along more rational lines” (Cook, 2014, p.18). Thus, it was the first time that Freud’s theories were taken seriously. The turn towards Freud by the critical theorists was to overcome a

deficiency within the Marxian theory, i.e., “its reduction of the psychological realm to socioeconomic factors” (Whitebook, 2004, p.74). With these theoretical frameworks, Horkheimer and Adorno came with their magnum opus book *‘Dialectic of Enlightenment’* (DE). Adorno’s Oeuvre stressed that humanity overwhelmed under animism and primitivity exhibits a fear of the powerful. The book paradoxically examined the “impact of capitalism on the psychological development of individuals...the rise of capitalism had fostered widespread social and psychological pathologies such as authoritarianism, narcissism and paranoia” (Cook, 2014, p.23). Using Homer’s Odysseus as a caricature of an individual who wants to emancipate himself from the “pre-rational and pre-individuated world of myths” (Whitebook, 2004, p.77), Adorno discussed that the individual becomes an incipient to the enlightenment and a provocative instrumental reason. Odysseus to achieve victory in his trials and adventures repressed his instinctual drives. According to Adorno, “the ego’s main task is self-preservation” (Whitebook, 2004, p.77). As a modern subject vis-à-vis Odysseus, a subject is imperilled under the economic conditions. The autonomy of the subject is severely impaired, and their development is dependent on survival imperatives. A unified ego becomes a model ego that society harnesses. “A unified ego helps an individual to divert the relatively immature ego from its developmental goals” (Whitebook, 2004, p.77). As a consequence, “Conformity to socially approved models of behaviour now appears more rational than solidarity” (Adorno, 2005b).

2.2.4 Adorno’s Negative Dialectics

In the present study on the Abjection of self in the CoPD, engagement with Adorno’s thesis on *‘Negative dialectics (ND)’*, helps to bring to surface that “to the isolated, isolation seems an indubitable certainty; they are bewitched on pain of losing their existence, not to perceive how mediated their isolation is” (Adorno, 1973, p.312). While, the guiding principle is of an individual in an individualistic society, but the paradox is, how the society mediates that individualism in the face of universalism? That is to say how the individuals are subsumed under the universal and general will of common and identical interests. It is always that the principle of individuation is dependent upon a universal. In *‘ND’*, Adorno explicated a major premise and a tension between universal and the particular, a tension that should not be resolved in favour of universal (Müller-Doohm, 2005). What leads to this universal acceptance of identities is a form of reductionism of multiplicity or heterogeneity. The term dialectics which Adorno advocated in his theoretical machinery is a means to understand that the “objects do not go into their concepts without leaving a remainder, that they come to contradict the traditional norm of adequacy” (Adorno, 1973, p.5). He

subverts from Hegelian dialectics and denotes non-identity as central to 'ND', which is distinguished from the positivity in dialectics that Hegel had assigned.

Identity thinking as a principle entails that an object is known "only when it is classified in some way, or when it is shown, via subsumption, to share characteristics or features with other objects" (Bernstein as cited in Cook, 2014). As intended, identity thinking assigns the concepts a cognitive value only when they are subsumed under or shown to be deducible from higher-level concepts, i.e., when it reiterates from concrete to abstract, from particular to universal and where particular is contingent and conditioned by the universal (Cook, 2014). The abstractness of diversity, heterogeneity and multiplicity is substituted for unity and homogeneity. Identity thinking which Adorno contends is based on a "claim that the diverse objects fall under concept X which thereby obliterates the particularity of objects, their difference from one other, their individual development and histories along with their unique traits" (Cook, 2014, p.29). Adorno's major theoretical premise rests on contradiction, which is understood by his thesis of nonidentity. Non-identity appeals to our sensibilities to appreciate the difference, the divergent and negative by not obliging to unity and demand for totality. Hegelian dialectics which culminates into a reconciliation releases all the nonidentical, and it becomes inescapable for the subject to think for himself/herself. It is the concept of nonidentical that leads to Adorno in denying amalgamation of identity that has been achieved in a positive manner. As Biju (2010) put it, that thinking in contradiction can fundamentally be applied to the society which is covered in identity thinking. Society is raven with fundamental antagonism and, as Biju (2010) stated that to expose those antagonisms, one needs to proceed dialectically and understand how society can alleviate suffering entrenched in need for domination.

Thus, there is a fundamental need in the present study to critically evaluate the personality structure of the CoPD, as it is a popular means to differentiate normal from abnormal. However, normalcy is the enforcement of what is assumed to be normal under capitalism, which necessarily involves forcing everyone to be fit for capital accumulation (Parker, 2017). Vigilantly, one of the critical problems of this modern world driven by the need of power to dominate and oppress is that the defense mechanisms are now paradoxically changing with those who fail to contribute to the demands of the society are labelled defunct or abnormal. This needs radicalisation, which seeks to unveil the process of labelling and pathologisation, which is the fruit of normalcy (Parker, 2017). In order to destabilise personality as a concept, Adorno (2005b) wrote that personalities were people who lived in anticipation of what would be said about them behind them and they lived in,

i.e., it encapsulates the phenomenal side of people who are pushed to be pretentious and should give self-importance. According to Adorno, person and personality are not identical. The suffix “-ity” indicates an abstraction, an idea, not particular individuals (Kant, as cited, in Adorno, 1973, p.430). What has come to be called personality is that society praises its own false principle: a real person is someone who is society’s equal, internally organised according to the same law that holds society together at its very core. This ideal of personality, in its traditional, high liberal form, has become obsolete, and the idiosyncrasy against using the word has become somewhat socialised. Adorno (2005b) rightly affirms that, if something is falling, then give it a shove that greets the concept of personality nowadays. The force of ‘I’, which formerly contained in the ideal of personality and was caricatured into autocracy and now threatens to vanish, is the force of consciousness, of rationality, within the individual, it represents reality, the not-I, just as well as it represents the individual himself. Only consciousness can bring in resistance. “The pressure exerted by the prevailing universal upon everything particular, upon the individual people and individual institutions has a tendency to destroy the particular and the individuals together with their power of resistance” (Adorno, 2005b, p.491).

At this juncture, Adorno’s thesis on education becomes pertinent to understand how the education of children in the modern times is founded on the notions of identity-thinking which suppresses the uniqueness and particular under the universal and homogeneity.

2.2.5 Adorno’s Thesis on Education

In answer to the question, Kant exposed his treatise on enlightenment, which he defined as a self-incurred tutelage-immaturity and irresponsibility. This self-incurred tutelage according to “Kant is one’s own fault and originates not in the lack of understanding, but rather in the lack of the resolution and the courage to rely on oneself without the guidance of another” (Kant, 1784). To derive Adorno’s conceptualisation of education, Kant’s ambitious project of enlightenment takes a pivotal point. Kant’s democracy is based on the assumption that education involves an individual’s participation in the political movement, in a social realm and in creating a moral awareness in that individual. Democracy is an embodied form of the institution of an individual through its representative vote. It is the reasoning power of the individual that is the prerequisite. But, in the conceptualisation of education of an individual having the dimensions of socio-political and moral awareness, the upsurge of education for maturity is condensed in the form of ability and learning. These conceptualisations forfeit the whole question of maturity. Adorno, in conversation with Becker stated that maturity requires a process of systematic reflection “to get rid of the false

concept of ability that conditions our education system” (Adorno & Becker, 1999). The abilities, as Adorno and Becker further enunciated, “is not predetermined but rather, its development depends on the challenges to which the individual is exposed” (Adorno and Becker, 1999). Using some harsh connotations, Adorno and Becker (1999) explicated, “Knowledge has become castrated and is constantly sterilised by the control mechanisms”. At one point of time, the ability is not to contend as something a residual of heredity. Rather, it must be located as a pre-eminent manifestation of social conditions, such that one can get a less ambiguous picture of the society. Nandy draws inferences from our socially construed categories and contends that the “categories we deploy to construe our world images are parts of our innermost self and to disown them is to disown parts of ourselves and jeopardise our self-esteem” (Nandy, 2012). As a reason, maturity does not operate succinctly because individuals are contaminated by jargons that subjugate their conscious minds. Nandy states that “the idea existing as jargons of developed and underdeveloped, advanced and backward, progressive and conservative, modern and traditional, historical and ahistorical, is infested and infected with the crude Darwinism which prevails and pervades the Indian academe” (2012). Categories prevailing in researches on the education of children and poverty often induce this form of social Darwinism, as Adorno and Becker (1999) “reaffirms that education extends to becoming a more and more well-adapted child and that the achievement of adaptation count as the main success of education in early childhood”. According to Adorno (2005b), “the most important task for school improvement is the dissolution of an education system based on fixed canon, and the replacement of this canon by a very varied curriculum”. Further, maturity needs to be transphenomenal in such a way that would establish students as the new curriculum builders by selecting their own syllabus and not getting accustomed to predetermined events in school. School as an institution always consists of a risk in philosophising an ideal world rather locating the society as an immanent critique. To push one-sided ideological propaganda leads to a damaged psychological imagination which curtails the genuine process of maturity. The possibility of altering the objective structures, i.e., the society as well as the political conditions that constitute it, is minimal today. As Adorno (2005b) put it that education must strive to understand the psychology of people, i.e., the subjective dimension. In this respect, one of the most important movements that education will be making in the process will be the turn to the subject. Most pertinently, the discontent within any culture attributes to fear and violence. It has a social dimension associated with it, which according to Adorno (2005b), Freud did not overlook, “although, he did not explore it concretely”. Education in the contemporary world, amidst the violent outbreaks in the society, can be resurrected with prime focus on “children’s education, especially in early childhood and then general enlightenment that provides an intellectual, cultural, and a social climate” (Adorno, 2005b,

p.492). With this approach, although education in the world nowadays is timid for children with innocence, it must be able to appeal to “the sadistic destructive, and ruinous impulse with an emphatic to children that you must not be all these” (Adorno, 2005b, p.493). The loop towards unbridling of authoritarian relationships is the essential educational envisioning which unravels age-old authority patterns of submitting towards those with power and stronger under the guise of school norms. With fading of social authority, dogmas upholding any individuals, one can lead a life of autonomy. Thus, according to Adorno (2005b), “in order to change the present state of consciousness, in the normal primary school system, should undo with the reification of consciousness. This is a consciousness blinded to all historical past, all insight into one’s own conditionedness, and posits as absolute what exists contingently” (p.505). In short, it signifies the reflection of the reality that sustains it. The very societal process as Adorno argued reifies thinking which goes unrecognised as society primordially places and reifies desire in the subjects that they are to be protected by the institutions invoking authority. These educational institutions place a self-censor which in reality lies outside them, which are the established rules of conduct and act as repressive mechanisms of voluntary control. What is more alarming is that the field of psychoanalysis, especially psychotherapy is contributing to a fraudulent praxis which reduces and reifies in a way that not only expresses disdain as it tries to harmonise an ideological distortion with the norm. Adorno (2005b) criticises such praxis which is modelled on that between doctor and patient who are reduced to rationalistic cliches, and all sorts of character traits are tossed about without the decisive point ever appearing, i.e., the unconscious origins of those character traits. All these psychodynamic therapies lurk one of the most pernicious ideas of taming of the shrew, presenting a distorted image of psychology.

2.2.6 Education as a Social Critique

Education as a social critique is one of the most ambitious projects of Adorno as it explains his reflection on education. His thesis on education examines the two interloping aspects of education, which are: education as the internalisation of culture-objective spirit; and social interaction. These concepts give an overall picture of his thesis on half education, i.e., *Halbbildung*. According to Adorno, *Bildung* is the process of self-development and world encountering as mediated by the social relations and structures in which education as a process takes place (Stojanov, 2012). However, it must be taken into consideration that the objective world represented in society has its dependence upon its socio-cultural-historical structures. Perhaps, it is the modern society’s cultural industry that debilitates the individual’s access to the world and obscures his/her self-development. Adorno with his contention on the culture industry, “examined its three pernicious effects on

cultural objects, which are: it commodifies, then creates fragmentation, and thirdly, it makes the objects so easily assimilative that one cannot get a real experience” (Stojanov, 2012). Commodification entails that the cultural objects are transformed into exchange tools in the market place and thus, reducing the objects to mere things and scrapping all the uniqueness. Reduced to formless quantities have its implications on the commodity fetishism, which empties the subject of its inherent value. It is the fragmentation of the cultural objects which enters into the consciousness and leads to assimilation by the culmination of objectivity. Assimilation truncates the uniqueness and breaks down the autonomy of the objects and the resistance towards the powerful forces. Not sooner than later, the individuals in the present day world are regarded as cultural objects which have been ripped off their subjective and seen as competitive and easily replaceable objects. According to Stojanov (2012), in Adorno’s educational theory, education primarily does not contain “the relation between the individual and the culture, between I and World, but the sphere of intersubjectivity, that is, of social interactions, within which immature persons are being influenced and guided in their development by adult persons, mainly by teachers”.

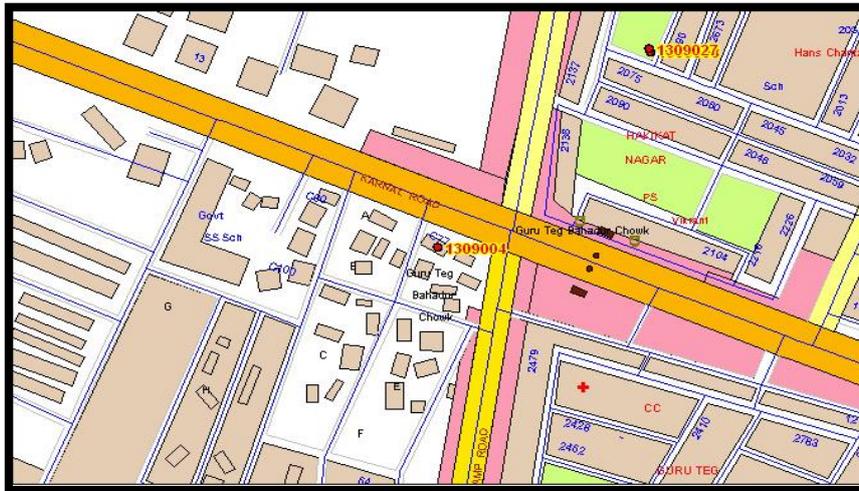
2.3 The Fieldwork Context: Introducing the Schools, Sample and Negotiating Access to a Boys School

Introducing the Schools

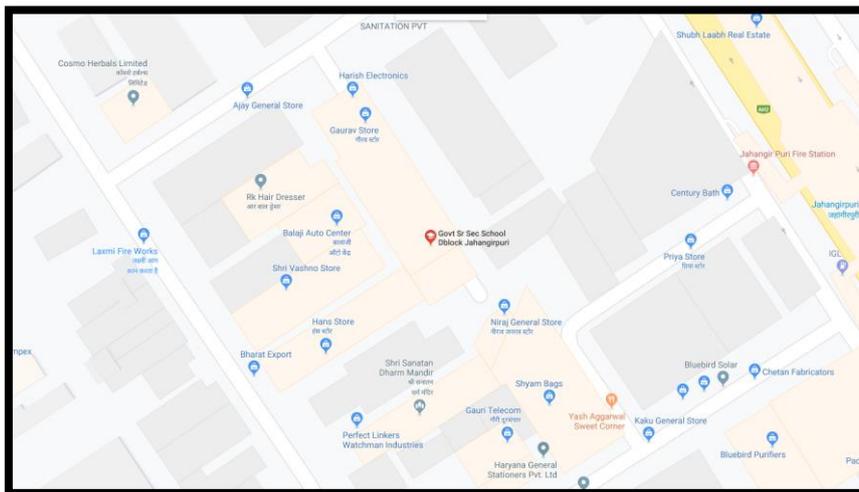
2.3.1 Sample: Two government schools from North-West district of Delhi were selected using snow-ball sampling. School selection was made after personally contacting the Director, North-West Delhi, Directorate of Education. The researcher was already acquainted with the Director, whom she met in “11th International Language & Development Conference: Multilingualism and Development, New Delhi, 18-20 November 2015”. Permission from the Directorate of Education was sought through the proper channel. However, there was no official intimation from the office of the Directorate. Thus, after contacting the Director of North-West Delhi, two schools were allotted which came under the director’s jurisdiction, Jahangirpuri, Block D-GBSSS and New Police Lines-SV. 15 Boys from Jahangirpuri, Block D-GBSSS and 15 girls New Police Lines-SV were selected out of purposive sampling. Out of the 30 students, the Thematic Apperception Test responses of four students studying in GBSSS are incorporated in the study. The students were taken in a separate room after receiving permission from them as well as their teachers to conduct a TAT test on them. After narrating the instructions, the children were again asked if they would like to participate in the research. The data collection was carried on from April 2017 to November 2017.

2.3.2 The Geographical Map of the Schools

1). SV



2). GBSSS



2.3.3 Negotiating Access to Schools

Fieldwork phase one in Delhi schools (from April to June 2017) was largely a scoping visit in which primary emphasis was to see the potential study schools. I carried out TAT on ten students from Grade VI belonging to economically weaker section studying in Kendriya Vidyalaya as a pilot. The range of the students attending KV could not meet the socio-economic backgrounds that I was looking for my study. From August to October 2017, I carried out my research using psychoanalytic tools in Sarvodaya Government Boys Senior Secondary School. My primary motive was to obtain the potential students for TAT and thus, in phase II of my fieldwork, I carried out focussed group discussion with the students of class IX and personal interviews with 15 boys. In the

FGD's, questions about everyday life, favourite actor/actress, career goal, etc., were asked. To build rapport with the students, I conducted a draw-a-person test, the result of which is not included in this study. From October to November 2017, I conducted TAT on 15 girls of IX grade studying in Government Sarvodaya Co-ed School. In December 2017, I briefly worked with the academics of the Psychiatry Department of Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital and obtained training in TAT interpretation and analysis.

2.3.4 Photographs Obtained from the Schools



Fig. 2: Adarsh Vidyarthi and Code of Conduct for Students



Fig. 3: Teacher Walking with Stick in his Hands



Fig. 4, 5 & 6: Children Playing

2.3.5 Why IX Standard?

The ruling political party, AAP with its Chief Minister Mr. Arvind Kejriwal and Education Minister Mr. Manish Sisodia, in 2016 decided to revamp the school education. With the on-going debacle of government schools in terms of the increasing percentage of students failing the tenth examinations, Mr. Sisodia, issued a circular on June 29, 2016. For the new government, school education was recognised as a serious challenge, in which most importantly, the worrisome figure for them was a large number of children who failed to pass the standard IX. A new academic plan called was charted, which came to be called as '*Chunauti*' (meaning challenge). One of the consultant for the government stated, "That year, our findings showed that 45 per cent of class IX students were struggling to read, write and do basic mathematics," (Bhardwaj, 2018). Four significant reasons were defined accruing to the failure of children to pass class IX, which were:

- “1). The no detention policy;
- 2). Years of accumulated learning deficit;
- 3). Pressure on the teachers to complete the syllabi leading to inability to bring weaker children to the desired level; and

4). Huge variances in basic skills like reading and writing within a single classroom” (Bhardwaj, 2018).

Thus, the “*Chunauti*” scheme enabled the government to rearrange and group children according to their academic level, especially in grade VI. After having the results obtained from the summative assessments, the children studying in the classes VII, VIII, and IX, were regrouped in various sections. “The programme was aimed to reduce the fail percentage and enhance fundamental learning. For example, students who had failed Class 9 twice or more were categorised under the Modified Patrachar Scheme of Examination 2017-called the *Vishwas* section-to take their class 10 board exam. This policy was proposed to ensure retention of children who have failed in class IX repeatedly and to minimise the possibility of their dropout, the circular read-one group for failed students (*Vishwas*); another for potential failures (*Nishtha*); and third for the bright ones (*Pratibha*). Students of the same grade have not just been divided into different groups based on their apparent learning ability, but weak students are being taught a lower order syllabus and will be administered a different assessment from the bright ones. The syllabus too has been unilaterally pruned and the official textbooks supplanted by new *Pragati* books prepared under the guidance of an NGO” (Gupta, 2016). This policy came to be known as the filtering process, which was designed to induce results and success in increasing the pass percentage of children. Concomitant to the filtering of children in IX standard, many children who have marginal result are failed in order to promote only those children who will pass X standard.

2.4 Method for Data Collection

2.4.1 The Thematic Apperception Test and Storytelling

“The soul of a people is mirrored in their legends” (Murray, 2008)

To understand Abjection, it is essential first to discover the covert (inhibited) and unconscious (partially repressed) tendencies present at a deeper psychological level of the children studying in a government school. The primary impetus of the research is to unveil what constitutes psychical alienation in the most interior and intimate space in a child belonging to poverty and deprivation and to bring to light how children develop a sense of inferiority and a self as other. To do so, a method is required that unfolds an imaginative process in children by stimulating their minds, such as through free association, verbal associations, thematic constructions (fantasies) and conceptualisation (Murray, 2008). It was Murray who succinctly elaborated on the imaginative processes which helps the subject to use his imagination in describing some object freely, which may also take several months for the subject to uninhibitedly talk about certain matters. When a

subject begins to talk or give a dramatic presentation to the objects with his words, it becomes a direct attempt for a researcher to penetrate below the subject's peripheral personality (Murray, 2008, p.529). There is a whole umbrella of projective techniques that helps in exploring the personality which are: "1. Thematic apperception Test 2. Beta Ink Blot Test 3. Similes Test (Wheeler) 4. Minister's Black Veil Test (Wheeler) 5. Musical Reverie Test (Kunze) 6. Rorschach Test (Beck) and 7. Dramatic Productions Test" (Murray, 2008, p.520).

However, a technique which seeks to bring into light the latent and hidden unconscious of children of poverty and disadvantage becomes most pertinent for the research keeping in mind the children's participation in the guided research method. Thus, it became desirable to incorporate Christiana D. Morgan and Henry A. Murray's Thematic Apperception Test which helps in stimulating the literary creativity, unveil children's intraception or extraception and thereby evoke fantasies that reveal covert and unconscious complexes (Murray, 2008, p.535). Intraception is a term introduced by Murray to stand for the "dominance of feelings, fantasies, speculations, aspirations - an imaginative, subjective human outlook" (Adorno et al., 1950, p.235). Whereas, "extraception is a term that describes the tendency to be determined by concrete, clearly observable, physical conditions (tangible, objective facts)" (Adorno et al., 1950). The most crucial component of the TAT is the use of storytelling as a means of understanding personality (Cramer, 1996). The rationale behind the TAT is based on two pertinent facts: First, according to Morgan and Murray, "when a person attempts to interpret a complex social situation he is apt to tell as much about himself as he is about the phenomenon on which the attention is focussed and secondly, a great deal of written fiction is the conscious or unconscious expression of the author's experience or fantasies" (Morgan and Murray, 1935 as cited in Cramer, 1996). It is a test of creative imagination in which the focus is less on the subject rather in an indirect way, and the stress is on his/her abilities to illustrate the external stimulus which represent his/her conscious or unconscious fantasies.

The TAT is a "well known projective technique in which the subject is presented with a series of dramatic pictures and asked to tell a story about each of them" (Adorno et al. 1950). "The test is based on the well-recognised fact that when a person interprets an ambiguous social situation, he is apt to expose his/her own personality as much as a phenomenon he/she is attending" (Murray, 2008, p.531). It is assumed that through this procedure, the subject becomes naively unconscious of himself/herself resulting in feeling unperturbed by the scrutiny of others and where the subject puts down his/her defenses. According to Murray (2008), "the subject is to be presented with a series of pictures each of which is depicted a dramatic event of some sort with instruction to interpret the

action in each picture and make a plausible guess as to the preceding events and the final outcome” (p. 531). “Storytelling is used to construct meaning in our lives” (Cramer, 1996). Storytelling as a technique can be used at two different levels. At a macro level, when a group of individuals who share common stories to interpret and provide meaning to their lives, it can be termed as culture and thus gets established as the identity of a culture. Even so, at an individual level, identity through storytelling is resurrected as life story which the individual constructs for him or herself, consciously or unconsciously (McAdams, 1988, as cited in Cramer, 1996). As a schema of the world present in any individual, a story reveals a unique psychological reality of a person when greater freedom of expression is allowed on a person. Thus, storytelling and the narrativisation of stories becomes a prime and singular source of information about the individual who has created a tale (Cramer, 1996). The interwoven themes, coupled with underlying subtleties, latent desires, nuanced pauses and silences, and most pertinently certain omissions and plot manifested in the story told, harbours a life schema. Storytelling becomes a window to a person’s unique psyche.

2.4.2 Thematic Apperception Test and Ego Psychology

It was Freud who made the discovery of the unconscious and the free association method, due to which an attempt to study the inner life of the individual was made possible (Choudhury, 1960). Freud’s psychoanalysis thus became the stepping stone of all projective methods, and a technique was therefore devised to study the innermost life of an individual through their behavioural manifestations, later came to be called as projective techniques. As Bellak (1975) put it, that “projection which is taken from Freud generally was adapted as a defense mechanism in the service of the ego, designed to avoid awareness of unacceptable wishes, thoughts, and impulses, accomplishing its task by ascribing such undesirable subjective phenomena to the objective world” (Bellak, 1975). The ego-psychological theory technique of the projective test shifts its focus from the earlier psychoanalytic techniques. The earlier psychoanalytic techniques were surrounded by the id psychology in which the concern was with drives and their expressions (Bellak, 1975). However, a strong move is seen in the psychoanalysis when it turned its primal focus from developing an understanding of the psychology of the unconscious drives to a study of the interaction of these drives with the ego. Murray’s personology (2008) is used to delve a deeper understanding of an individual case. His method emphasises on the organic quality of behaviour, which implies that a single segment of behaviour is not to be understood in isolation from the rest of the functioning person (Hall and Lindzey, 1957). Murray’s method also insisted on the environmental context of behaviour and determinants as well as the past or history of the individual. With these premises, Murray’s theory further lays heavy influence on events that take place in infancy and childhood,

which have a significant impact over adult behaviour. It was his detailed description of taxonomy that becomes a pertinent foundation to the classification of various aspects of behaviour. Thus, Murray method of personology involves an understanding of personality, which is derived from psychoanalytic theory. According to Murray (2008), personality is an abstract concept which represents the hypothetical structure of mind. It reflects the enduring and recurrent elements of behaviour as well as novel and unique (Hall, Lindzey & Campbell, 1957). Thus, ego psychology has not only played a predominant role in psychoanalysis but also in the field of projective techniques by helping in generating imaginative responses (Choudhury, 1960). Situating personality under the dynamics of ego psychology and from the functions of the ego becomes a standpoint for projective techniques. Bellak (1975) “delineated that to study the participation of ego in imaginative productions, it becomes pertinent first to understand the functions of the ego”, which are:

- “1). It organises and controls motility and perception.
- 2). It serves as a protective barrier against excessive and internal stimuli.
- 3). It tests reality and engages in trial action and sends out danger signals (anxiety).
- 4). It has organizing and self-regulating functions which include mediating between ego and super ego and the id on the one side, and reality and all variables on the other.
- 5). It has autonomous functions, “which include abilities, intelligence, and an unspecified number of the inherited characteristics, possible including ego strength;
- 6). It has the capacity for self-exclusion; not only must the well functioning ego be able to repress (i.e., exclude) disturbing id (and superego) impulses for the sake of good organismic functioning (e.g., as a driver must not be unduly distracted by a pretty girl, or feel unreasonably compelled to avoid a mud hole)” (Bellak, 1975).

Thus, according to Bellak (1975), TAT as projective technique allows the researcher to keep into consideration these ego functions where the subject is asked to perform a complex task. In the process, a subject is asked to keep his/her out of any inhibitions and let it run without any boundaries. In this way, the whole process is to let the ego experience an oscillating function. The main emphasis is move away from the meagre descriptive data which helps the researcher to understand the ego weakness and strengths derived from the content of the story. According to Bellak (1975), “this can be assessed how a subject is able to perceive, organise, perform complex task and control anxiety, aggression and sexual impulse”.

2.4.3 Procedure

The subject is made to sit in a comfortable position, and following instructions are read to him/her: “This is a test of your creative imagination. I shall show you a picture, and I want you to make up a plot or a story for which it might be used as an illustration. What is the relation of the individuals in the picture? What has happened to them? What are the present thoughts and feelings? What will be the outcome? Do your very best” (Murray, 2008, p.532). The subject on whom the TAT is administered is then asked to describe pictures based on four parameters, which are:

- “1. What has led up to the event shown?
2. What is happening at the moment?
3. What are the characters thinking and feeling?
4. What is the outcome?” (Murray, 2008, p.532)

Bellak (1975) gave an addendum to Murray’s original instruction and added “let yourself go freely” in a non-directive way that became an encouraging remark for the subjects especially for the children of GBSSS government school who have been not encouraged enough in the school to express themselves without any inhibition. The central motif behind the TAT picture lies in the spur of the moment where the subject is asked to invent stories for each picture card. The subject is asked to give the stories with a beginning, middle and an end (Choudhury, 1960). In the spirit of inventing characters and narrating stories, the subject begins to identify with the invented characters and forgets about himself/herself. The imaginative process does away with the redundancy of subject’s reluctance of responding or confessing to certain questions pertaining directly about himself or herself. As Choudhury (1960) puts it that the responses so achieved from the subject becomes a direct window and amounts to X-Ray pictures of their inner self.

2.4.4 The TAT Pictures as Stimuli

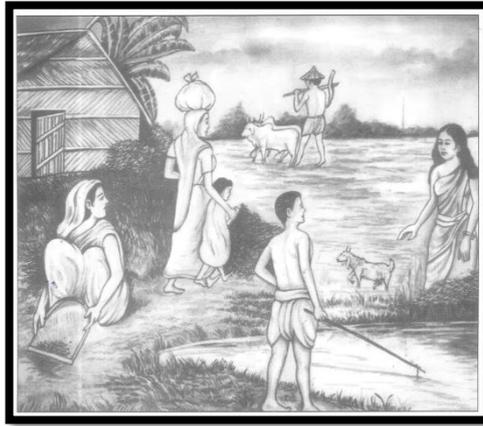
Picture 1



“A young boy is contemplating a Sitar or a Tanpura (popular Indian stringed instrument)”

This picture as a first card is one of the most prized pictures in the TAT as it gives a good beginning to the start of the session. “It is non-threatening and induces a feeling of reverie in adults and adolescents” (Bellak, 1975). According to Choudhury (1960), “Tanpura can be seen as 1). The main support of life, chiefly on a phantasy level 2). It is causing frustration of personal ambition 3). As a means of consolation”. Also, one of the prominent themes that can emerge from this card is that this picture can lead to “an easy identification of the subject with the boy and brings out the relationship to his/her parental figures” (Bellak, 1975). Through this card, it becomes evident and brings to the surface level the antagonistic, domineering, aggressive, understanding or loveable relations that exist or existed in the subject’s life. The themes that emerge reflect greatly over the autonomy vs compliance dialectical relationship with parents. The other themes that can successfully emerge can be achievement, particularly how success is achieved, either at a fantasy level or on a reality level, aggression which may be expressed with breaking the musical instrument; body image or self-image which can be seen through many instances, for eg. a reference to deadness which indicates severe emotional impoverishment.

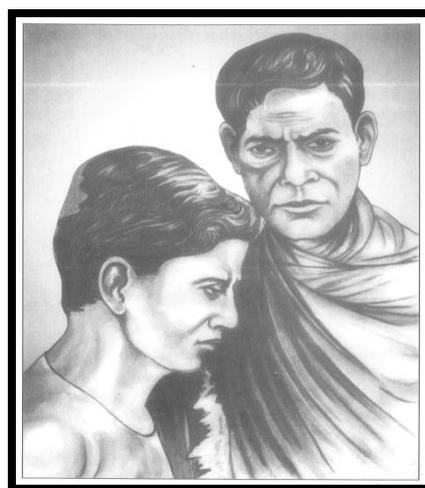
Picture 2



“Country scene”

According to Uma Choudhury (1960), “Murray’s card II represents the single biological type of the European family, but is inapplicable to the extended Indian family”. Thus, card II of Murray is replaced by joint family situations. In the picture, a family group consisting the grand “mother, father, mother, son (adult), daughter, unidentified child, and the reactions to the authority figures to the meeting of a young boy and the young girl is dealt” (Choudhury, 1960). The varying themes of autonomy from the family versus compliance with the conservative, backward existence, oedipal situations and rivalry among siblings become the most prominent. Bellak (1975) puts it that it is the diagnosis of compulsive tendencies through the notice of minute details in the background that is most crucial for the analysis of the subject’s underlying needs.

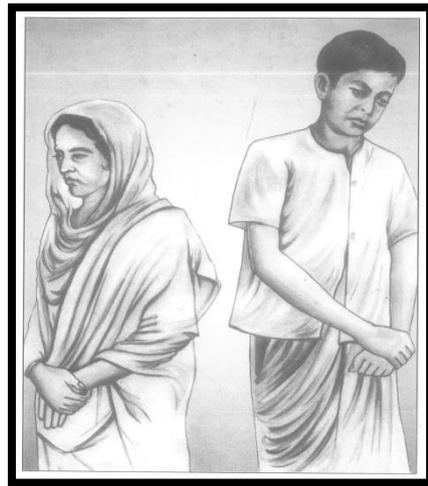
Picture 3



“Father and a Son”

This is a father-son drawing in which a grey-haired man is looking at a younger man. According to Bellak (1975), this picture of an older man and a younger man brings into the light the father-son relationship and all its derivatives, in males in the form of attitudes to male authority. Although the father can be seen as a superior and authoritarian role, but the picture also shows ambiguity in their relationship.

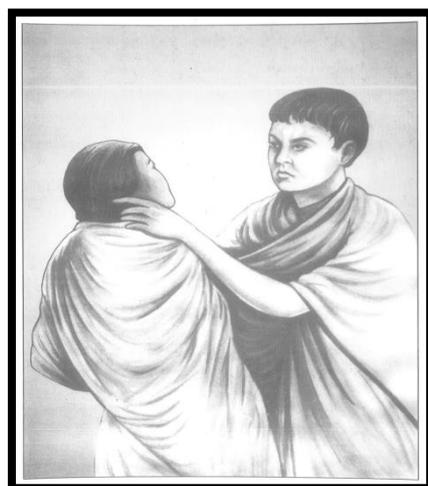
Picture 4



“Mother and a Son”

This card brings into the surface the relationship between an older woman and a young man, probably best known as mother-son card. It is one of the indispensable cards for males which reflect upon the problems of mother and a son, sometimes its derivatives relate to the relationship with wives and other women. Oedipal themes are extracted from the stories.

Picture 5



“Aggression card”

The card brings forth latent or coveted aggression within individual where hostile relationships with the other person whose gender is ambiguous. The picture elicits information about the unresolved conflicts, sadistic or masochistic reaction.

Picture 6



“A scenic place”

This picture card delves deeper into the subject’s relationship with nature and environment.

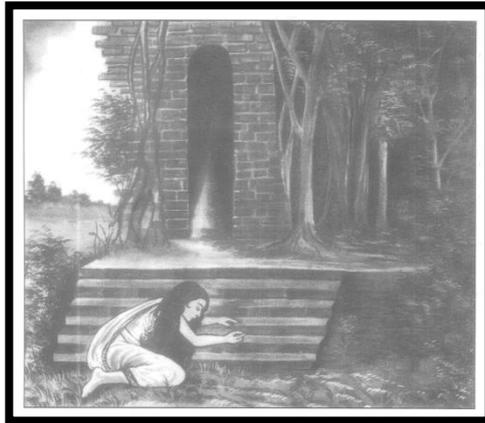
Picture 7



“Triangular situations”

This card brings out the wife’s resentment against the husband’s attachment to another woman. However, the wife is not very outspoken about it. According to Choudhury (1960), this card elicits useful information regarding how the subject perceives the male-female relationship involving intimacy and closeness.

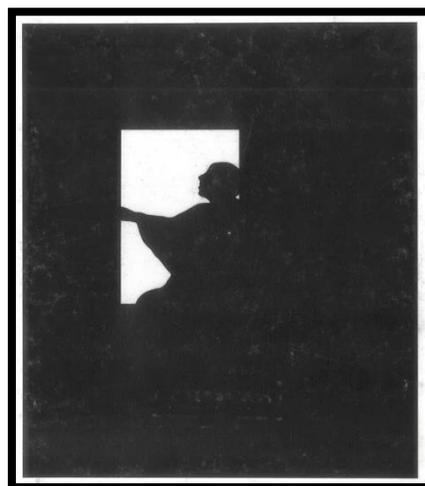
Picture 8



“A woman lying on the staircase”

According to Uma Chowdhury, in Murray’s cards, Indian life, especially the aspect of religion finds no expression. Henceforth, this card meets the need of bringing into the forefront the subjects’ attitude towards religion with an ambiguous picture of a dilapidated temple with a female devotee. This picture card represents the subject’s apprehensions, loneliness and darkness.

Picture 10



“Silhouette of a man (or woman) against a bright window. The rest of the picture is totally black.”

This silhouette can be the most useful figure (Bellak, 1975). The most crucial factor that determines the mental attitude of a person undergoing TAT is the sexual identification of the figure. As Bellak (1975), one can note suicidal tendencies, for instance, which may be expressed in a story of

jumping out of the window. The themes of contemplation, philosophical rationalisation, etc., are revealed more deeply.

Blank Card

One of the most valuable cards of the entire TAT, the blank card enables the subject to let loose and project freely without any stimulus. Although, if a subject in the previous cards were not able to reveal any fantasy material, this blank card certainly would be of no value for the researcher. The instruction for the given card follows the sequence where a subject is asked to imagine a picture and then tell a story about it, producing something like super-projection.

2.4.5 Interpretation

1. The Main Theme

The central theme is to restate the gist of the story and does not pertain only to one theme. It delineates the core psychological or diagnostic meaning (Dorfman and Hersen, 2013). The break down of the main theme, according to Bellak (1975), is done into five levels, which are:

- **Descriptive level:** It is a plain restatement of the summarised meaning of the story, a finding of the prevailing trend restated in the abbreviated form and simple words. It is a manifestation of the overt content.
- **Interpretive level:** It is a step further and allows the researcher to put meaning in a generalised form, which centrally assumes that there is meaning beyond the story.
- **Diagnostic level:** On a diagnostic level, the researcher transforms the impressions of the subject into a definitive statement.
- **Symbolic level:** Symbolically, the researcher may choose to interpret symbols according to psychoanalytic hypotheses.
- **Elaborative level:** At an elaborative level, the researcher needs to get the subject's elaborations and free associations to be close to the subject's own descriptions. It should aim to extract the essence of what has been described (Groth-Marnat, 2009).

2. Main Hero/ Heroine

The main hero/heroine of the story is oft-quoted in the story, and whose reference in the story is very pivotal to the whole plot constructed. The subjective notions of the figure such as his or her

feelings, beliefs and behaviours with whom the narrator aligns and identifies with are the hero or heroine of the story as Bellak (1975) puts it that the figure resembles the subject most closely in age, sex and other characteristics. At times, the narrator can also identify himself or herself with a person of the opposite gender as the main hero. In the analysis sheet, the researcher rates the hero on the basis of interests, traits, abilities, adequacy, and body image (Groth-Marnat, 2009). By adequacy, Bellak (1975) intends to define it with ability of the hero/heroine and how he/she is able to carry himself/herself through tasks under external and internal difficulties in a socially, morally, intellectually, and emotionally acceptable manner. This gives an insight into the hero or heroine's ego strength. The body image refers broadly to the style and qualities with which the body or body representation is depicted (Groth-Marnat, 2009). Originally, as Bellak (1975) states that body image primarily referred to that image of the human body which is the picture of our own body formed in our mind and the way the body appears to ourselves. The subject's conception of his/her own body thus transcends the body image and becomes a matter of self-image which is extracted through the emotional tone and the subject's conception of his role in the world (Bellak, 1975).

3. Main Needs and Drives of the Hero/Heroine

Main needs of the hero/heroine broadly refer to the behavioural needs, which constitute the major point to be noted in the TAT interpretation. These needs can be summed as affection, aggression, achievement, etc., which can be deciphered through the number of themes which emerge and can be seen getting unfolded from the narrator's story. Thus, it can be said in most scenarios the behavioural needs of the hero may be the behavioural needs of the subject, but as Bellak (1975) warns the interpreter that these may only be the fantasy needs of the subject. Pertinently, along with these behavioural needs expressed in the story, the researcher should also take into consideration 'dynamic inference', 'figures, objects, or circumstances introduced' and 'figures, objects, or circumstances omitted'. For instance, when a subject omits certain obvious references to objects of violence or choking the other in card 5, then it can be inferred that the subject needs to repress aggression.

4. The Conception of the Environment (World)

The conception of the environment is a complex amalgamation of unconscious self-perception and apperceptive distortion of stimuli by memory images of the past (Bellak, 1975). The use of descriptive words such as hostile, dangerous, succorant, exploiting or exploitable or nurturing summarises the conceptions of the world and gives the overall meaning of the hero/heroine's environment as overly demanding, nurturant, having a wealth of opportunities, exploited, etc.

5. Figures Seen as

In the TAT picture cards, there is ample evidence that the subject introduces various figures and views them as having a social relationship with them, such as parental figures, contemporary figures, siblings or junior figures. Here the responses of the subject towards the figures can foster a greater understanding of the world around them, for instance, if a subject chooses to perceive female figure in the TAT as aggressive, then there are chances of counter-aggression, intellectualisation or other forms of behaviour (Bellak, 1975) and thus, placing the subject's attitude towards the figure introduced as assertive, hostile or withdrawing (Groth-Marnat, 2009).

6. Significant Conflicts

One of the most vital information that the researcher needs to dwell upon is the significant conflict that lies beneath the overt behaviour of the hero/heroine and their current feelings. As Bellak (1975) says that when we study the considerable conflicts of an individual, we not only want to know the nature of the conflict but also the defenses which the subject uses against it. However, the researcher should be aware of any incongruence between actual feelings or behaviours and how the subjects should feel (Bellak, 1975). Sometimes, the subject is in flux between the two incongruous goals such as the need for achievement versus the need for pleasure or need for hostility versus the need for affiliation (Groth-Marnat, 2009). Thus, one needs to carefully observe the significant conflicts between reality or fantasy, aggression or compliance or autonomy vs compliance (Bellak, 1975).

7. Nature of Anxieties

“The nature of anxieties and the strength of the hero/heroine are rated in terms of fear of physical harm and/or punishment, disapproval, lack or loss of love, illness or injury, being deserted, deprived, overpowered and helpless, devoured and other” (Bellak, 1975).

8. Main Defenses against Conflicts and Fears

After seeing the nature of anxieties in the subject, his or her main defenses against the conflicts and fears are rated. The strength of the defenses are measured through the description of the person's conflicts and fear which gives a glimpse into the character structure of the subject. The molar aspect of the stories also needs to be kept into consideration.

9. Adequacy of Superego as Manifested by Punishment for Crime

It is the nature of the punishment as argued by Bellak (1975) to the severity of the offence that gives an insight into the severity of superego, for instance, in a psychopath, the hero may receive no punishment in the stories of murder while for a neurotic, the hero is accidentally or intentionally killed or dies out of disease (Bellak, 1975). Thus, the superego can range from being too severe to being too lenient.

10. Integration of the Ego

One of the most important variables is the integration of the ego. This function of TAT interpretation helps in elaborating upon how well the subject is able to compromise between his/her drives and the demands of the reality on the one hand and the commands of his/her superego on the other hand. The subject's own apperception of the picture can tell about how the subject perceives the reality or how well solutions to problems that arose in the narrator's plot are sought, how well the conflicts in the hero's life are resolved or whether they are resolved or not, etc. Observations such as these permit an appraisal of what really constitutes ego strength, subject's adequacy and other variables from the standpoint of his/her ability and way of meeting the task (Bellak, 1975).

2.5 Rationale for not employing Empirical Research Method

According to Adorno (2005b), "The empirical methods-questionnaire, interviews and whatever combination and supplementation possible have ignored societal objectivity, the embodiment of all the conditions, institutions and forces within which human beings act, or at most, they have taken them into account as accidentals" (p.72). Even though objectivities are reflected, they are reflected in distorted form. Further, "the weight of subjective opinions, attitudes and modes of behaviour is secondary compared with such objectivities" (Adorno, 2005b, p.72). Society continuously diminishes human beings and reduces them to objects. As objects, the abject conditions of human beings are transformed and reified as 'second nature'. The lack of freedom in the method, thus, reflects the society's contention. According to Adorno, there is a peril of a positivistically conceived research methods. As he states that these methods, viz...survey method, helps maintain the status-quo. Thus, he says that "Whenever, a method fails to do that it succumbs to one hypostasis, that state which research methods both grasp and express as the immanent reason of science, instead of to making it the object of one's thought. The method postulates the reified consciousness of the people is tested" (Adorno, 2005b). In aspiring homogeneity, many types of research reduce human behaviour to the law of large numbers. Adorno described the fallacy of objective rationality and stated that "The applicability of this law contradicts the principium individuationis namely that, despite everything, it cannot be overlooked that human beings are not merely members of a species.

Their modes of behaviour are mediated through their intellect. An opinion should not be rejected with platonic arrogance, but rather its untruth is to be derived from the truth: from the person's own untruth. The public structure mediates what individuals take for granted or hold as self-evident in their ordinary lives, everyday lives" (Adorno, 2005b). Thus, a method should be able to destabilise their patterns of self-evidence, the patterns that define at least for the society's mainstream a standard of normality. The foremost step is to convert the traditional Freudian method into a social method of psychoanalysis. To do this, as Adorno (2005b) put it, leads to critical interpretation which brings to surface the unexpressed or concealed opinion of a people. An individual expression embodying suppression of guilt and to put up with an attitude such as get on with life becomes pivotal in this study to be explored. The present thesis attempts to examine that "A culturally oriented psychology neither dismisses what people say about their mental states nor treats their statements only as if they were predictive indices of overt behaviour. What it takes as central, rather, is that the relationship between action and saying (experiencing) is, in the ordinary construct of life, interpretable" (Bruner, 1990, p.19). Situated action situated in a cultural setting, and the mutually interacting intentional states of the participants is the primary focus. It is based on the premise that shared meanings and values govern people and cultures. With the help of the qualitative techniques, the present thesis seeks to develop a theory of contemporary society by analysing its prevailing tendencies, with the ultimate goal of transforming society along more rational lines.

CHAPTER III

DATA PRESENTATION

The Abject Hero

3.1 The Dialectics of Hero: His Triumphs, Trials and Tribulations

Who is a hero? Is Hero a counterpart of the Villain in a prototypical way? If we take the instance of a movie, then all the characters are mostly alike, except for the villain, who is one of the non-conforming faces (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2006). In the movie world, a 'Hero' is someone who is right all the time and a 'Villain' fundamentally is the one with malicious intents, a contemptuous figure with whom everyone is disgruntled. This is symptomatic of the real world which operates on the binaries of the good and the bad and where we are conscious of differences between the hero and the villain. When children are seen from the school's lens, they are purposely seen as constructs of the self, which is unable to get absolved in the society. That is, they fall indolently into the category of the 'other', probably seen as a subject-in-crisis for being a different human being, a foreigner (Kristeva, 1991). Therefore, the major emphasis of this chapter is re-articulation of the hero who is importuned by poverty and miseries surrounding 'his' life by delving deeply into his inner life. This benign understanding of hero's world allows the possibility to see matters of "human representation in terms of construction and political determination which allows a constant negotiation as a form of dialogue with reality" (Gonçalves, 2016). Thus, to understand the inner life of the children of poverty and deprivation, it is imperative that one must understand the constant conflict between cynicism and hopelessness on the one hand, and faith, often a childlike faith on the other hand (Fromm and Maccoby, 1970).

This chapter attempts to portray the TAT sessions conducted on four students and juxtapose their test results with Bellak's (1975) interpretation and assessment. This chapter also incorporates content analysis of the stories narrated by the students using Uma Choudhury's (1960) Indian adaptation of the TAT. The present chapter first situates the school and its everyday practices that define selfhood in CoPD. It further presents the four cases and their TAT stories and interviews obtained from the informal conversations. The interpretation of the stories is provided as comments in which the hero's main defenses, needs, environmental pressures and object cathexis are delineated to understand the psychical constructions of their everyday life.

3.2 The School in the Society: A Brief about Children's life at School

GBSSS is situated in the urban slums on the outskirts of Delhi. It is the middle of the afternoon when the children run fervently and screamingly into the school. As the boisterous school bell rings, the children tried to flinch away from the teacher holding a stick in his hands at the entrance of the

school, asking them to hurry into the assembly. Then, the gates close for the children who have not come on time along with the parents who have a scheduled meeting with the teachers. I tried to make my way past the large blue gates of the school, strutting among the parents and reached the guards. The invincible guards let me in; leaving the parents astonished and directed me to visit the Principal's office. As I entered, I noticed the distemping of the walls and the barracks of cement lying on the floors and the construction taking place in the school. It was almost time to meet the supreme authority in the school: the Principal. Some data feeding work was going on in the school as the teachers were walking from pillar to post inside the principal's office with the files of children's 'Aadhaar Card'. "This 'Aadhaar Card' has become an utmost priority for the school teachers", said the Principal, "If the child is not able to surface his unique identification number, call the child, ask the reason, and then strike off his name. We cannot sit for hours like this, and the teachers' get back to the classes to figure out the defaulters who have not yet submitted their Aadhaar Card". Amidst the procedural work of the school, the Principal looked at me and said so, you have come from the place of "Inshaa Allah-Inshaa Allah-JNU". "See you are a girl, and this is a boys' school", as he doubts about my stay in the afternoon boys' school. "You should keep all your belongings in my Almirahs, or else later you'll regret losing your essentials. *Yeh school mein saare criminal-chor bhare-padein hain*" (this school is full of criminals and thieves), he said further.

I felt that a coveted and a default lens, as well as a gaze, was being fixed that a girl is entering into a school of some unruly boys who needed to be protected from them. It would be a lie to say I was not scared to enter the school. With the coveted lens, the field looked welcome once again to be viewed at another deficit lens. It reminded me of Adorno's theory that it is a reified experience which is not a genuine experience which distorts the actuality of experience. The Principal had already encrusted these 'children' as deviant and surmounted them as criminals in my eyes. As I leapt steps inside the school along with the teacher coordinator, I saw that the sections D, H, J, and K of class IX were the most accessible classes situated on the ground floor. While the other sections of the IX standard seemed distant and located in the other wing, it became entirely out of the question to venture into that part of the school alone. The grip of reification that the school is full of criminals, failures, etc., became even stronger when the teacher coordinator told me "*Madam iss class mein ja kar kya karoge? Iss class mein toh saare failures bhare pade hain.*" (Madam what will you get after going to this class? This class is filled with all the failures).

My first day was strenuous. Some mid-term exams were going on. Inside the classroom, I saw that the children sat glued to each other. I noticed five children occupied some of the desks at a time which could accommodate at the maximum three. “Copying in exams is one of the fast track techniques used by the government schools to address the issue of drop-out, repeated failures and most pertinently to meet the minimum levels of learning,” the teacher coordinator loudly told me. As I was patiently all ears to him, the conversations started to become informal. “*Ek baar main dusvi ki examination duty pe tha, social studies ka paper tha, India ka political map bharna tha...toh main ja ja kar bache ko bata raha tha, ye state bharo...wo state bharo...ek bache ke paas gaya, usko bola Madhya Pradesh bhar yahan...wo dekhta hi raha mujhe...maine bola...chal beta jaldi likh...pen meri taraf kar diya aur bola aap likh do...mujhe likhna nahin aata...*” (once I was on duty for 10th class examination...social studies examination was going on, and they were supposed to fill India’s political map...so I was going to every child and telling them to fill this state...fill that state...I went to one of the boys and told him to fill Madhya Pradesh here...he kept gawking at me...I said...hurry up son write...he turned the pen towards me and said you write...I do not know how to write). “*Kya karein madam, paas bhi nahin ho pate yahan ke bache*” (what do we do Madam, children here find it difficult even to pass), the Hindi teacher present in the class joined the teacher coordinator, putting more emphasis on the children studying in the class, that was going to be observed by me. “*Dimag hi nahin in mein*” (they do not have brains), the Hindi teacher projected the dismal condition of the children studying in the school. The teacher coordinator as well as the Hindi teacher surmised a collective opinion of the school and stated, “*dar-asal yahan pe muslim hain zayda tar, waise to hote hain minority per yahan hain majority*” (in actual there are more muslims here, although in reality, they are in the minority, but here [in this school] they are in the majority). He quipped further that, “*Parhne mein interested nahin hote, paisa milta hai Government se, minority status ke liye...toh parents chahte hain ki jab tak paise milta hai bache ko parhao*” ([these children] not interested in studies, [as long] money comes from the government, parents desire that children study till the time the money comes). It was almost time for the period of Hindi to get over. The teacher co-ordinator before leaving the classroom directed the children to behave responsibly with me and ordained them to be an active participant to the tasks I shall lead them to do. The children with their eyes wide open now looked at me quite cluelessly as I went and placed myself beside one of the students. The class began with Hindi teacher telling the students this class of Hindi is of “*vyakaran*” (Grammar) and asked the students to take out their grammar notebooks. The class of Hindi grammar began with the teacher telling the students about the figure of speech. The excerpts of the class are as follows:

Teacher: *aaj hum alankar parhenge.* (Today we will study Figure of Speech)

And he goes and writes Alankar on the black board.

T: *toh bachon!* (So Children)

Alankar shabd ka arth hai abhushan ya gehna. Jis prakar stree apni sundarta ko barhane ke liye abhushan ko prayog mein lati hai, ussi prakar bhasha ko sundar banane ke liye alankar ka prayog kiya jata hai. (The meaning of figure of speech is jewellery. The way a woman uses jewellery to enhance their beauty, the same way to make language appear beautiful, figure of speech is incorporated.)

T: *arthath jo shabd kavya ki shobha ko barhate hain usse kya kehte hain, bachon?* (Meaning the word which enhances the decoration of words, what do we call it, children?)

S: *Abhushan!* (Jewellery)

T: *Usse Alankar kehte hain.* (it is called as figure of speech)

T: *Bachon, apni copiyon mein likho.* (Children, write in your copies)

Alankar shabd.....kiya jata hai (repeats the definition)

S: *Sir, Jis prakar ke baad...? (Sir, repeat after...)*

T: *(routinely repeats the definition)*

T: *Bachon Alankar kayi prakar ke hote hain: jaise shabd-alankar, arth-alankar, etc.* (Children there are types of figure of speech)

T: *wo sab Apke syllabus mein nahin hai.* (That does not come in your syllabus)

S: *Sir, kal kya aayega? Paper mein?* (Sir, what will come tomorrow? In paper?)

One of the student ask the teacher for permission to enter the class.

S: *Sir...*

T: *Kis class ka hai? Tu iss class ka hai?* (your from which class? Are you from this class?)

S: *Sir ji haan.* (yes sir)

T: *(slaps him).*

Abhi period khatam ho raha hai. Tu ab aa raha hai? Chal 'Murga' ban ja!

(Now the period is getting over. You are now coming? Stand in a rooster position)

The Hindi period culminated as the bell rang with the teacher announcing some of the questions for tomorrow's exam. After witnessing some of the traditional methods of punishment in the school such as standing in a rooster position, I suddenly felt that the child, who had come late for the class, can be seen as recalcitrant for wandering around the school during the class, but the punishment he was accounted for, subtly made the picture ambiguous. Nothing substantial can be stated based on one episode, but pertinent to this was an observation that the children present in the class during the exam were double in number than the children who were attending the Hindi class. As the teacher left, I took it as an opportunity to build rapport with children. At first glance, the children saw me as an authority and thought I'm going to be some subject teacher. The response they got from me was not as they expected. I positioned myself as a student who is researching on children. Pertinent to my positioning as a student at the university was to undermine any power-relation that will hinder in obtaining their real experiences. A very peculiar thing happened when the children were introducing themselves. They ostensibly were using their pseudo-names instead of revealing their real names, such as *Shahrukh, Salman, Varun*, etc., which pertained to be the names of the Bollywood actors. I soon realised that this was their coping mechanism to safeguard themselves

from any severe punishment from the teachers such as striking-off their names from the register if any misdemeanour is found on their part.

While interacting with the students, one of the boys said resentfully that *“Aaj tak kissi teacher ne humse naam pucha hi nahin, bas ye kehte hai aey larkhe!”* (up until now, none of the teacher has asked us our name, all they say is hey boy!). *“Madam ji aaj pehli baar hi humse koi baat kar raha hai aise, aaj tak kissi ne humse baat hi nahin ki”* (Madam, it is first time today that somebody is talking to us like this until today nobody has spoken to us), said another child. *“Naam kaat dete hain yahan pe, agar naam bata do toh!”* (They strike off our names here, if we tell them our names!), another child promptly joined his other mates to support the practice of hiding their real names.

The days turned into weeks and weeks culminated into a month, my afternoons were spent listening to the stories of many children. Not sooner than later, the real picture of the school started to get more vivid. I experienced how the school castigated children with dreadful corporal punishment. The imprints of punishment were so deep on the psyche that often while walking down the aisle, my touch or presence would sweep the children many inches away. I remember once conducting draw-a-person-test on children of IX-D. While talking to a boy, I raised my hand to adjust my *dupatta*³, the child flinched away and fell upon another child who was sitting next to him so nervously thinking I am going to hit him. The fear of the authority became my second virtue, which I felt needed to be grappled in this research-the first being use of pseudo names by children who were trying to hide their real identities. Two pertinent episodes in the school substantiate the above statements. In the middle of my fieldwork when I was sitting in the Principal’s office then two boys were grabbed, pulled by their neck and summoned to the Principal’s office as the teacher coordinator complained that they were trying to vault over the gate to enter the school for being late. With fear, the children in great haste asked for forgiveness, saying, *“sir ji maaf kar do”* (Forgive us, Sir). The Principal fervently got up from his seat and gave one tight slap to the boys. It was followed by an echo of beatings and languished voices of humiliation, pain, and suffering of the two children. He spanked them and hit them on their head along with countless slaps which rested on their cheeks. As though, this form of punishment was not enough for the Principal that he lifted a stick hidden behind his door and he lashed it on the buttocks of each of the boys.

³ Dupatta: A piece of cloth worn around the neck

Although the teacher coordinator directed me to come out of the room and as a reason, I could not confront the Principal regarding his motives behind the harsh punishment. Days later, when I met him, he exaggeratedly told me how he deals with children who are loud and gruellingly disobedient. He stated with pride that once the parents of some children grabbed and started beating the mathematics teacher with a complaint that he beats our children. The event happened on the eve of the parent-teacher meeting. “The news spread like wildfire in the school”, said the Principal, who then stated “I called those parents which comprised mostly women to my office”. He reminisced further that “I took the stick hidden behind the door, closed the door and started beating the mothers of those boys, with the stick. They were so humiliated that they started crying. I then broke some of my office furniture and called the police and registered the FIR against the mothers based on the broken furniture and creating a ruckus in the school. Not only that, I gave termination certificate to those boys stating that none of them should be given admission to any other school and defamed them with a bad character certificate”. There was a moment of silence and an epiphany as I started to experience the fissures in the economic and socio-political system and the school as an intrinsically a violent space. The personalities of children seen from the narratives obtained from the authorities of school reveal that they are violent and prototypically a criminal. The whole spectrum of the praxis of the school shows that the school reifies the personal incompetence of the children who come from the section of abject poverty as it is the socio-political and economic position of the children which determine their longevity in the school and had started to become more apparent as the days passed.

To capture the ‘abject’ in everydayness spread vastly in the actions, discourses, semiotics and most importantly in the lived life of the children in the school, I was now ready to embark upon the most crucial aspect of my thesis, ‘finding the hero through the Thematic Apperception Test’. The TAT offers avenues of exploring the personality of children through the process of storytelling. The stimuli provided through the picture cards enabled them to reveal something about themselves indirectly. It became a creative enterprise for the children to move away from the redundancy of everyday lives and enter the domain of fantasy with the help of immense freedom of expression. As Adorno et al. (1950) put that, “any person in the story with whose actions the subject concerns himself represent a medium through whom the subject expresses his own inner tendencies” (p.490). It is the hero who is a figure of synergy and contradictions between desires and needs on the one hand and anxieties and defenses arising from those needs on the other, which precipitate the hero to act in a certain manner as it juxtaposes with inner tendencies of the person narrating the story.

3.3 The Hero: Trials of Selfhood

In this section, I introduce the four cases and describe their personal interview, followed by TAT stories from ten picture cards as well as their interpretation.

3.3 CASE 'H'



Fig. 7

Case H is 17 years old. He is the eldest among his siblings and a son of a battery rickshaw driver. He stands 5'4" tall above the ground and is lean in appearance. He is a fashionista according to him and was amongst the first one to get a new kind of hairdo. He is often reprimanded by his father and the principal to get his hair chopped, but he shrugs off saying,

“Principal bhi harami hai yeh wala...mere se bol raha tha kal apne baal katwa ke aiyo...baal mere kharab hain koi? Thorha baal barhe hain to use bhi kya hota hai...saare isi hisab se baal kaat-te hain...pehle baali pehenta tha...ab kaan ka ched band hogaya...apne apne shaunk hain sabke zindagi mein...”

(This principal is a bastard...he was telling me get your hair cut and come to school tomorrow...is my hair bad? Slightly they are long, so what? People here get this type of haircut only...earlier I used to wear earrings but now the holes in the ears have closed ...people have their own zest of life).

Case H likes a particular kind of clothing; in his words, he wants to wear skinny fit jeans. He often gets beaten at home for wearing skinny jeans that once he even ran away from his home. Tight-fitting jeans make him look stylishly different from the village boys, for he wants to be rowdy and not noble. He says,

“Maine bohat tight karwa rakhi thi jeans. Utarta bhi tha na to mummy ke saath utarta tha. Mummy roz mujhe thappad maarti hai. Mummy mujhe kuch bhi bol deti hai main mummy ki baat ka bura nahin manta. Jo tau the na...Unhone meri pant dekhi...unhone mujhe thappad maar diye. Phir main wahan se bhag gaya”.

(I had got my jeans stitched very tight...when I used to remove it, mother used to help me remove it...mother beats me everyday...mother says anything then I do not feel bad about it...my uncle...when he saw my pants...he slapped me...so I ran away)

As a consequence, he feels people at his home want him to dress like a nobleman, which he used to be earlier,

“Baaz log pata hai kya sochte hain...ke gaaon ke larhke hote hain na unki tarah hi hai yeh. Pant bilkul dheeli...baal bilkul shareefon ki tarah vo yeh chahte hain. Main shareefon ki tarah rahun...Pehle shareefon ki tarah hi rehta tha”

(Most of the people, you know, what they think...they are like boys from the village. Pants just like loose...hair also like noble people...they want this...I also live like noble people...earlier I used to live like noble people)

He has an abundant number of tobacco pouches hidden in his pockets, and probably he holds a sack of them as the session is continuously interrupted by students asking for the bags from him. He gobbles one sporadically as we sat in a storeroom of the school for the TAT session. He gets a little intimidated when I warn him about the ingredients of tobacco that are likely to cause cancer. At this, he pours his inimical side in front of me and refutes by using the defense of denial by stating that,

H: *Ye to mujhe aadat parhi hui hai...[Cancer] nahin hoga.* (I am used to it... [Cancer] will not happen)

Megha: *Kyun nahin hoga?* (Why will it not happen?)

H: *Isse nahin hota...* (it does not happen from this)

Megha: *Isse nahin hota to aur kisse hota hai?* (If it does not happen from this, then from which thing it happens?)

H: *Vo cheez nahin hai yeh to supari hai...* (it is areca nut)

Megha: *Yeh bhi to nasha hai...* (This is also toxic?)

H: *Nasha nahin hai yeh...isse neend nahin aati jaldi se...Phele din mein 4-6 packet kha leta tha, ab toh main 3-4 packet hi khata hun.* (This is not toxic...due to this I do not feel sleepy easily...earlier I used to take 4-6 packets, now I eat 3-4 packets only)

Case H somehow seemed to be wholly debauched and enticed by tobacco that he often uses the mechanism of counter-cathexis to justify his habit. Counter-cathexis, by definition, is “unlearning of conditions under which given desires can no longer be satisfied” (Toman, 1960). As a function of ego, it helps a person to substitute conditions for satisfying desires. As a counter-cathetic defense for his reliance on tobacco, he says it helps him evade sleep, “*Isse pata hai main kaam vagerah karta hun to neend nahin aati jaldi se...isko khaane se na khatta khatta sa lagta hai...phir thookte raho baar baar...phir neend nahin aati...*” (Due to this, when I work then I do not get sleep early...I get a tangy flavour...then I keep spitting it...then sleep does not come). He then casually said he used to drink alcohol too. Resentfully, case H remembered that his father taught him to drink alcohol on the pretext of recovering from a cough or stomachache. He presents an aspect of extra-punitiveness in his personality as he says,

H: *Papa ne hi sikhaya tha mere ko* (papa taught me)

Megha: *Papa ne kyun sikhaya?* (why did your papa teach?)

H: *Pehle kabhi khansi hoti thi na...pet dard hota tha, to mujhe bolte the beer pee le theek ho jayega* (Earlier, when I used to cough...my stomach used to hurt...then he said drink beer..you will become okay).

H: *Maine mazak maani thi par unhone asliyat mein mujhe laake de di...maine peeli, phir aadat parh gayi dheere dheere*

(I thought it as a joke, but he got it for me in reality...I drank...then I got used to it slowly and slowly)

There was no inhibition or restraint in H; he comes across as a free-flowing person who has so much to tell about his life beyond the four walls of the school. Maybe, he was mature enough not to confide in me anything about the school at this stage as he did not trust me completely. But, to delve deeper into his life at school, I asked him does he like to study? What does it like to be part of a school? The excerpts are as follows:

Megha: *Tumhara parhne ka mann hai?* (Do you feel like studying?)

H: *Parhne ka to mann hai* (I feel like studying)

H: *Gharwale pata hai kya karte hain...jab parhne ke liye baithunga na, kaam karne ke liye bolenge...kahenge wahan chalaja...wahan chala ja...wahan chalaja, phir mere ko khundak aati hai. Mere papa chalate hain battery rickshaw...jab mera rickshaw chalane ka mann nahin hota to mujhe rickshaw chalane ke liye bhej denge...jab mera parhne ka mann nahin hota tab parhne baitha denge. Isliye main kuch bolta hi nahin...* (My family members you know what they do...when I sit for studying...they ask me to go and do work...they say go there...go there...go there...then I am all screwed...my father drives a battery rickshaw...when I do not want to drive rickshaw...then they send me to ride a rickshaw...when I do not want to study...then they make me sit for studying...that's why I do not say anything)

Vicariously, I was able to see the lives of many children getting unfolded through H's narratives. As the school works in two shifts, the afternoon school helps the boys to earn a living for themselves. Some of them work at the eatery shops, while others work as vendors, mechanics at the garage, and some have a seasonal occupation such as making *Diwali* lamps during the festival of '*Dussehra*'. 'H' proclaims through this narrative his ambivalent relationship with his father, who is seen as threatening and critical. The feeling of inadequacy becomes evident that due to the dire situation of monetary deficiency at home, he has to work as a "*battery rickshaw*" driver, leaving him with no choice. This represents an anxiety reaction to the family struggle and an inner hostility towards the parents, coupled with withdrawal symptom. Subsequently, I asked him, what does he like to do otherwise, if he does not like riding a battery rickshaw? He replied saying,

“Mera...parhne ka... Pehle mujhe english bhi aati thi, par ab nahin aati, Ab English bhool gaya main. English na hindi ki tarah se parh leta tha pehle...ab bhool gaya saari...”

(Mine...to study...earlier I knew English also...but now I do not know...now I have forgotten English...i used to read English like Hindi...now I have forgotten everything).

The doors to his inner self were slightly becoming more vivid and open as he had started to reveal his everyday life at school and outside the school. He although showed his proclivity towards studies (*parhai*), but he is also reflective of his inadequacy in English. To get more insights into his psyche, I enquired about the role of money in his life to see his personal aspirations. The excerpts are:

Megha: *Life mein paisa kitna zaroori hai?* (what is the importance of money in life?)

H: *Paisa bhi zaroori hai, parhai bhi zaroori hai* (Money is also important, studies are also important)

Megha: *Aur paisa kamaane ka asaan tareeka kya hai?* (What is the easiest way to earn money?)

H: *Paisa kamaane ka [...] paise se hi paisa khichta hai...paise se hi paisa kamaya jaata hai* (To earn money[...] money only pulls money...money only helps to earn money)

Megha: *Hmmm [...] paise se hi paisa kamaya jaata hai?* (money only helps to earn money...but how to earn money from money)

H: *Kaam karne se* (Through work)

Megha: *Kaam karne se...aur parhne likhne se?* (Through work...and through studying?)

H: *Parhne likhne se bhi kamaya jaata hai. Parh likhke jab acha vo ban jaunga [...] engineer ya kuch ban jate hain [...] (through studying money also can be earned...after studying..when I become something Good...engineer or something good [...])*

H: *Main na kisi se ulta seedha bolne mein chookta nahin hun...maine chakoo bhi chalaya tha* (I do not mind saying anything bad to anybody...I have also stabbed with knife)

Megha: *chaaku maar diya...phir?* (you have stabbed with knife...then?)

H: *Andar gaya tha...thane mein...*(I went inside the jail...)

H: *Chorh diya tha unhone...aa gaya wapis...*(They left me...I came back)

Megha: *To kisi ka khoon nikla...to laga nahin ke kaise khoon nikal gaya kisika? Dar nahin laga?* (when somebody's blood pours out...didn't you feel, how somebody's blood came out? Din't you feel scared?)

H: *Nahin...main nahin darta...khaali apne ghar mein ek jane se darta hun bas...papa se...*(No...I did not feel scared... I am only scared of one person at home...only papa).

Megha: *Papa se darte ho...papa mummy kya chaahte hain ke tum kya bano?* (You are scared from your papa...what does your parents want you to become?)

H: *Vo to kuch bhi nahin chaahte...*(They do not want anything)

H: *Unhone...main tha saantvi class mein...to unhone ghar mein bitha liya tha saat mahine tak...saat aath mahine kaha parhne nahin jayega tu. Parhne nahin aata tha phir main. Phir aane lag gaya khud hi...(They...when I was in VII standard...they made me sit at home...for 7-8 months they did not send me to school...I did not come to school...then I started going to school on my own)*

Megha: *Abhi unhe pata hai tum aate ho school? (Now they know that you are coming to school?)*

H: *Unhone mere se bola tha apne pairon par kharha hojayega na kamaane khaane ke liye jab parhne lag jaiyo...(They told me...when you stand on your own foot...when you will earn...then go to school)*

Megha: *Acha...tumhe parhna hai to tumhe kamana bhi parhega, ye matlab hai....(okay...if you have to study, then you will have to earn as well)*

H: *Eeco chalata hun (I drive Eeco)*

H: *Ek route pe na 600 se 700 ki dhyaadi hojati hai. Kai saare route pe jata tha main, do do teen teen dinon tak ghar mein bhi nahin aata tha (On one route...I earn 600 to 700 INR...I used to go on many routes...for two-three days...I would not even come back).*

The conversation becomes a focal point where the veil over his inner dynamics of personality structure is seen as getting lifted. He is downtrodden and resentful of his parents as his family life breams with constant tension and negotiations that levy him with the responsibility of earning for the family. Studying in school thus becomes contingent on him being a breadwinner as he stated, “*parhna hai to kam bhi karna parhega*” (if you want to study, you have to earn as well). He has an exaggerated self regard, as he takes pride in his actions and uses the defense of isolation, intellectualisation, and displays passive aggression towards his parents. Although at the beginning of the session I felt that he was using the defense mechanism of projection where he blames his parents for his inability to become a good person and study well, I wanted to testify this notion of his and questioned him about the role of the school, to which he replied saying,

Megha: *Aur school ka kya role hota hai? School nahin acha banata? (What is the role of the school? School does not make anyone good?)*

H: *Sirji mummy papa ke samaan hote hain par unki izzat koi bhi nahin karta aaj ke time mein...(Teachers are like mummy-papa...but nobody respects them in today’s world)*

M: *Teachers ki izzat koi nahin karta...teachers bachon se pyar karte hain? (Nobody respects teachers...teachers love children?)*

H: *Karte hain...maarte bhi hain...kaam nahin hota to...(they do...but they beat also...when work is not complete)*

Megha: *To tumhe theek lagta hai pitai khana? Tumhe nahin lagta ke pitai theek nahin hai? (Do you find okay to get beaten? Do not you feel it is wrong to get beaten?)*

H: *Sirji ko koi haq nahin hai bachon ko maarne ka (Teachers do not have any right to punish)*

Megha: *...phir woh kaise maarte hain...(Then how do they beat?)*

H: *Mereko bhi maara tha (I also got the beatings)*

Megha: *To zaroori hota hai ye sab?(Is it important?)*

H: *Sirji ne bhi maine ghalti kari thi tab maara tha...*(Sir also when i did something wrong, hit me).

Megha: *Acha school hone se kya Matlab hai?* (what do you mean by a good school?)

H: *Principal aa gayein hain na naye...agar yeh banana chaahein to acha school ban jayega* (Principal has come...if he wants to make this school a good place...it will become.)

Megha: *Par mujhe to nahin lagta ke vo banana chahte hain...*(But I do not think that he wants to make it)

H: *Banana chahte hain, par bache thorhi na ban-ne denge. Yahan par D-Block ka school hai na...har koi Principal aur teacher darta hai yahan aane se...*([He] wants to, but children will not let it become...here there is D-block school...everyone is scared of the principal and teachers)

Megha: *Kyun?* (Why)

H: *Saare bache harami hote hain yahan par...*(all the children are bastard here)

Megha: *Saare bache...*(all the children)

H: *...harami hain* (are bastard)

H: *Class mein agar 10 bache bhi hain na parhne wale, baki bache unko parhne nahin dete. Jo bache kahenge main parh raha hun, uski copy phaad denge...copy cheen lenge us wale larhke ki yeh hota hai. Yahan sahi bache to 100 mein se 10 hi hoyenge...baaki saare harami hain...*

(In class if there are 10 children who study, rest of the children do not let them study...those children who says I am studying...[they] will snatch their copy...tear them...snatch the copy of that boy...this happens...here out of 100 only 10 children are good...rest all are bastard)

Despite the fact, H seems to be wholly withdrawn from his family and projects limited investment/cathexis in a relationship with his parents. However, he narrowly expresses his conformity towards the authority at school. His need for abasement in which he feels that the authority should punish or humiliate him is overpowering. He sees punishment as nurturance and somewhat represents a part of self as intra-punitive. As the conversations proceeded further, 'H' by divulging his inner self attempted to reveal his failures and weaknesses by attributing responsibilities not only on his parents but also showed his hostility and personal inadequacy in comparison to the out-group which comprised children from an elite class, addressed by him as 'Ameer'. For instance, in getting a particular low fade haircut, he exemplifies that he is inspired by "ameer log", yet he cannot become like them and vice-versa. He stated that,

H: *Ameer log hote to kuch bhi nahin hain...lekin vo acha khaate hain...acha pehente hain...to acha lagta hai.* (Rich people are nothing...but they eat well...wear good clothes...so it looks good)

Megha: *Matlab?* (Meaning?)

H: *Acha khaate hain...hum log hote hain hum sochte hain ke hum bhi ameer hote to hum theek hote. Ameeron ke larhke hote hain na jo...bigde huwe hote hain.Jo ghareeb hoyenge...unke larhke shareef bhi hoyenge, bigde bhi hoyenge. Ameer ghar ke hote hain na jo...unke ghar mein saari hi harkatein hoti hain...vo ek dusre ki sharam bhi nahin karte ke kya kar rahe hain kya nahin kar rahe, na apne larhke ki*

na apni larhki ki. (eat good food...we people think that if were also rich then we would also be fine...sons of rich people...are spoilt...those who are poor...their sons will be good and spoilt also...in the house of rich people...many types of incidents happen...they are not shy of each other...that what they are doing and what they are not doing...neither their sons nor their daughters...)

Megha: *Acha tumhare ko mauka mile ke tum kisi ki tarah ban-na chaaho, Koi aisa ek insan...koi hai tumhari life mein? (if you get a chance, whom would you like to become...one person...whom you know in your life?)*

H: *Ban to jaaunga main...khaali apne gharwaalon ke jaisa nahin ban paunga. (I will become...only I cannot become like my family members)*

Megha: *Gharwalon ki tarah nahin ban paunga? (You cannot become like your family members?)*

H: *Gharwalon ki wajah se nahin ban paunga. (I cannot become like my family members because of them)*

Megha: *Gharwalon ki wajah se nahin ban paunga? Tum kya ban-na chaahte ho? (You cannot become like your family members because of them? Then what do you want to become?)*

H: *Main to shareef aadmi ban-na chaahta hun. (I want to become a noble person).*

H: *Ameer ghar ka larhka hai na hamare jaise kaprhe pehnega na tab bhi theek lagega. Hum ameer larhkon ke kaprhe pehen lenge na jab bhi ghareeb hi lagenge. (If a boy from rich family wear clothes like ours then also he will look fine...if we wear clothes of rich people then also we look poor)*

Megha: *Kyun? (Why?)*

H: *Shakal ke oopar baat hoti hai na...woh khaate peete rehte hain aur hum itna khaate peete nahin hain. Unko khana bhi nahin mile ghar par to bahir hotel se kha lenge aur hamein nahin mila to aise hi so jayenge...vo to hotel se mangwa lenge, paisa bohat hota hai. Aameeron ki jeb mein hamesha paise parhe rehte hain. Hamare paas to hain thorhe dinon ke baad nahin hain. Khaali 10 rupaye leke aata hun.*

(There is something above the face...they eat well...and we do not eat that well...if they do not get food at home, they can go and eat it from hotel...and if we do not get food...then we sleep on empty stomach...they can order from hotel...they have so much of money...pockets of rich people are filled with money...we have for few days and after that we do not have...I bring only 10 rupees).

Toman (1960) stated that this is the beginning of the process of repression or counter-cathexis specifically. When a person continually is faced with deprivation of his desires, then there is likely an eruption of panic or anxiety, which would lead to collapse. It is through the mechanism of repression in a person's psychological world through which the object is annulled (Toman, 1960). When H is unsuccessful in becoming like his counterpart, he resorts to becoming a substitute of his counterpart through imitating. 'H' has exposed his body to become like his desired object (the elite children). As a result, one's own body becomes a part of the outer world and a part that can be controlled by those others' and the outer world (Toman, 1960). As the days passed, H was now able to confide confidently in me about his guilt that deeply penetrated his psyche. A pang of guilt which he had repressed inside him, and as a consequence, the session started to become cathartic and intense. He narrated an incident where he and his friend, who is imprisoned in Tihar Jail stabbed a

teacher with a knife. He says, “*ek sirji ke chakoo maine maara tha*”...(I stabbed one teacher with a knife...)

“...Kaam karke leke aata tha...to kaam jo main leke aata tha vo check bhi karta tha... lekin vo bohat maarta tha...ek din maine kaam to saara kara lekin beech mein saare akshar ghalat ghalat likh diye...aur sirji ne saara check kar diya...principal ke saamne chala gaya main...ke sir ye kaam ghalat hai ya sahi hai...sirji ne bola ke ghalat hai...to principal ne sirji ko naukri se nikaal diya...phir dusre sir parhane lag gaye the...phir mere doston ne un sir ko pakad ke chakoo maar diya tha...road pe log shareef hote hain...harami bhi hote hain...log sochte hain ke isko bhi ulta seedha bol do ye bhi shareef hi hoyega...unhe kya pata yeh harami banda hai...main rickshaw chalata hun aur police wale kuch bolte hain na ...to police ko bhi gaali de deta hun...dekha jayega baad mein...mere bhai ne bola hua hai...koi bhi ulta seedha bole to maar de...baad mein compromise hojayega...do bande meri taraf se aagaye...do uski taraf se aa gaye...matter solve kar diya...”

(I used to bring my completed work...so the work which I used to bring, he would check it also...but he would beat a lot...one day I had completed my work but in between the lines the alphabets were written wrongly...and sir checked it all...i went to the principal...asked this work is right or wrong...sir said this is wrong...then principal threw sir from the school...then my friends held that sir and stabbed him with knife...on road there are good people...there are also bastard...people think they can say anything to him thinking he must also be a good person...they do not know he is a bastard...I drive rickshaw and if police says anything...I abuse police too..I think I will see whatever happens later...my brother has told...if anybody says anything bad then you hit them...later compromise can be done...two people will come from my side and two will come from their side...matter will be solved)

My instant reaction was ‘I am feeling scared of you’. As, a researcher, I felt, I was not able to suppress my fear, or one can say the subjective bias that could harm the interaction between the participant and me. The session abruptly ended, leaving me astonished about H. However, the unconscious guilt and the need for punishment became commensurately evident in the stories and narratives of H. He did not show any feeling of remorse or guilt as I asked him if he waited to check on the teacher; whom he had stabbed, whether he was alive or dead. He directly looked in my eyes and said the teacher should not have hit him in front of others, which explained his estrangement towards any emotional involvement with people. The day ended, with me trying to resurrect a good man in him, again the definition of good is reified and taken from what society thinks is good in the eyes of other, the excerpt of which are:

“Main bhi to chahta hun ke main acha banu...is school mein parhunga to acha to main kabhi hi nahin ban paunga...private mein mummy papa nahin jaane denge na ...mere ghar mein khana bhi time se nahin milta khane ke liye...”

(I also want to become good...if, I study in this school then I can never become good...my parents will not send me to private school...I do not get food on time at home to eat...)

When I asked him, why he did not take the help of the Principal or police that could have prevented him from inexorably committing the crime of stabbing his teacher, he replied saying,

“Police wale kya karte? Sirji ke liye sahi rasta yehi tha...chaaku marna...ek sir ne ek bache ko mara tha...us bache ka haath fat gaya tha...to vo bola ke main report karunga...ye wale principal ne usi ko maara...naam kaat diya uska...”

(What could police do in this? For sir, this was the right decision to take...to stab a knife...one teacher hit one child...his hand got ruptured...so he said, I will report it...this principal hit him only...his name was struck too)

Through the act of stabbing the teacher, H projected a callous and a criminal side to himself. One may start vandalising him as a perpetrator rather than a victim. He can be seen from the lens of abnormality in his behaviour similar to that of pathological. In the next session, when I asked H to share his views on the importance of school in becoming a good person, he reflectively stated that,

H: *Sabse pehle to acha school hona chahiye...* (First of all the school should be good)

Megha: *Acha school kya hota hai?* (What is a good school?)

H: *Saare sirji parhane lag jayein to school bhi acha ho jayega...sirji bolte hain uniform mein aao...kaprhe pehen ke aao...jooto pehen ke aao...khud to kuch bhi pehen ke aa jate hain...sirji dress pehen ke aayenge to hi bache bhi dress pehen ke aayenge...aadhe bache jaise parhne wale hain...jaise main parhne wala hun aur koi khel raha hoga to mera bhi mann khelne ka kar jayega...aur saare bache parhne wale hoyenge to jin bachon ko parhna nahin ayega vo bhi parhna seekh jayega...*

(if all the children begin to study, then the school also become good...sir tell us to come in the uniform...wear clothes and come...wear shoes and come...they themselves wear anything to the school...if sir wears dress to the school then only children will wear dress...if half of the children like to study...for eg., I like to study and someone is playing...then I will feel like playing...and if all the children like to study, so those who do not how to study, they will also start studying)

Although, this could indicate a narcissistic defense in the narratives of H, where he seems like a buffer against the underlying feelings of inferiority. The main defense against such feelings is either to create a grandiose self to cover up those feelings and isolate the vulnerable self within (Abrams, 1993) or present an excessive extra-punitive side. According to Adorno et al. (1950), extra-punitiveness is a tendency to blame other people rather than oneself. Further, “a lack of insight into one's own shortcomings and the projection of one's own weaknesses and faults probably represent the essential aspect of the mechanism of scapegoating” (Adorno et al., 1950). At this juncture, H’s

narrative gave a lot of insights into how the mind of children studying in government school operates, yet it will not be right to say anything more substantial based on this idiographic information of H. However, the accusations of H on the oppressive side and the discriminatory practices of the school cannot be ignored either. As the interview session with H was almost coming to an end, he disparagingly stated that

“Is school mein sirji parhane aate hain...agar is school mein larhkiyan parhane aa gayin na...to school nahin rahega phir yeh...saare haramigardi karne lag jayenge...abhi hi haramigardi karte hain sirji parhate hain to...larhkiyan parhane aayengi to kitni haramigardiyan karenge...sirji aaye to aise aayein ke maare bohat... tabhi bache sudhenge yahan...principal sirji sirf tab aate hain jab prarthana hoti hain...baki sirji to aise hi ghoomote rehte hain...bachon ko bhi kuch nahin bolte... bas ek hi sir bolte hain...”

(In this school, male teachers come to teach us...if girl-teachers come to teach us...then school shall not remain a school...all will turn into bastard...those sir should come who beats a lot...then only children will be reformed...principal only comes during the prayer...rest of the sirs roam around...they do not say anything to the children...only one teacher says).

As the session progressed, he conceitedly told me that *“Aajkal saari larhkiyaan bigdi hui hoti hain”* (Now-a-days all the girls are spoilt). As though he was vilifying the rape culture and brigaded a collective opinion that,

“Ek baat bolun...aap jaise larhki ho...larhkiyan hi na larhkon ko bigaadti hain...Main jab murthal jata hun wahan par larhkiyan cigarette peeti hain. Peene ko mana nahin par khulle aam peeti hain. Hum poore poore kaprho mein rehte hain...larhkiyan pata bhi hai kaise kaise kaprho mein rehti hain? Aapne bhi dekha hi hoga yeh...is wajah se larhke bigad jaate hain”

(Should I tell you one thing...like you are a girl...girls only spoil the boys...when I go to Murthal, there girls smoke...it is not wrong...but in open they smoke...we come in fully clothed...girls you know...what kind of clothes do they wear? You also must have witnessed...that is why boys get spoiled).

There was a sudden silence in the room after that. Whom to blame? A child who is born in this world of an unspeakable crime, murder, domestic violence and has the audacity to rape and yet blame the victim? Or the society who produces the people who connive the voicelessness of the brave and throttle smash and consider women and the oppressed as a bequeathed entity?



Fig.8: Boy's wrist smeared with scars from the blade

From the image above, it is seen that the case H has deep wounds smeared on his wrist, the marks of which are very visible. Upon requesting for permission to click a photograph of his marks on the wrist, he aggressively stated, “*jab main blade le kar aaunga, tab aap photo kheechna...*” (When I will bring a blade, then you can click a photograph). The statement of H was quite confusing; hence, I further enquired about the meaning of his statement and the reason behind his bringing of blade. To this, he replied that, “*jab main blade launga, aur katunga to khoon nikega, tab aap khush hogi...phir photo kheechna...*” (when I will bring a blade...and I will slit [my wrist] blood will smear out...then you will become happy...then you should click a photograph). The day ended with me announcing the session for TAT to be held on the day next.

3.3.2 TAT of CASE H

CARD 1:

Ye soch raha hai kaun si dhun bajaun, jis se main hit hojaun. Jo bahar jaate hain kahin bajane ke liye, koi bulata hai...main kaun si dhun bajaun jisse log mujhe pasand karne lag jayein...jisse main acha insan ban jaun...vo yeh chahta hai

Megha: *To ye acha insan nahin hai?*

H: *Acha insan to hai, aur acha insan banne ki sochta hai*

Megha: *Aur acha insan...acha insan kya hota hai?*

H: *Jo bure karm na kare, kuch bhi na kare...apne kaam mein dhyaan de khaali bas.Vo hota hai acha insan. To yeh abhi aur acha insan ban-na chahta hai, dhune banana chahta hai...*

Megha: *Ghar mein kaun kaun hai?*

H: *Mummy papa hain iske...ek behen hai...aur ek bhai hai*

Megha: *School jaata hai?*

H: *Haan*

Megha: *Acha parhta hai?*

H: *Vo bhi acha parhta hai*

H: *Ek baat bolun didi tumhareko main...jo ghar mein barha bhai theek ho na, to saare bhai theek honge...*

Megha: *Tum ghar mein chote bhai ho, ya barhe bhai ho?*

H: *Sabse barha...*

Megha: *Sabse barhe ho tum...to tum ache ho?*

H: *Nahin*

Megha: *Tumhare bhai behen bhi ache nahin hain?*

H: *Na...*

Megha: *Kyun tumhe aisa lagta hai ke tum ache nahin ho?*

H: *Main bas...main hun hi nahin acha to...*

Megha: *Kya hota hai...achai kya hoti hai? Ache karam kya hote hain?*

H: *Ache karam jaise...har kisi ki nazron mein ache banke raho...kisiko ulta seedha mat bolo...pyar se bolo...*

Megha: *Ye kahan se seekte hain...acha ban-na...kaun sikhata hai?*

H: *Mummy papa...*

Megha: *Mummy papa...to ache ban-ne ke liye mummy papa bhi ache hone chahiye...hai na?*

H: *Mere papa to daaru peete rehte hain...*

Comment: His opening communication seems to be that he has low self-esteem, and his own family home is not fully adequate. There is a lack of genuine object related contact with family members. Grandiosity seems pertinent in his opening story when he fantasises and says that after playing the music, he will become popular. He realistically wants to become a good man and considers himself a 'bastard'. The story also suggests a wish to withdraw from 'Father' suggesting a negative cathexis with him and his uncongenial environment. At an elaborative level, he has a wishful fantasy to defend his narrow self-esteem. His significant conflict is with his negative ego-ideal.

H: *Didi...kuch batana mat jo bhi mummy papa ke baare mein bata raha hun main...agar papa ko pata chal gaya na to mujhe ghar se nikaal denge...*

(Didi...do not tell whatever I told you about mummy and papa...if my father comes to know then he will throw me out of my house).

CARD 2:

Ye iss ladki ki maa hai. uski beti hai. Ye iska husband hai...abhi bahar ja rahi hai. Usne bola bazaar ja rahi ho khane ke liye kuch le aana bahar se. wo kehti hai...maa main ja rahi hun phir masi ki yahan nikal jaungi, 2-3 din lag jayenge, apne aap le aana.(introduces 3rd and 4th character) ye iska bhai hai, wo kheti hai bhैया ghar pe aa jao, khana ban hua rakha hai. wo kehta hai behen main aa raha hun machli pakkad kr le kar aa raha hun, usko pakkad ke khayenge. per wo machli ko pakkad nahin pata. pakkadte-2 bahut der ho jati hai. behen phir aati hai. Bolti hai jaldi chalo khana thanda horaha hai...pareshan hota hai, subhe se pakkane ki koshish kar raha hun, agar kabhi bahar desh mein jaunga machli pakkadne, machli pakkad nahin paunga to sochta hai ki logon ke beech mein zaleel pho jaunga. zaleel wo hota hai na jisse logon ke beech mein kuch karna na aaye. ye iske papa hai, hal chalte hai kheti karte hain. papa hi khali ache hain uske ghar mein. Baki sab aise hi hain (itna hi bolun ya aur bolun)...mausi ke ghar mein ache se rehti hai. khati peeti hai. Mausii ke ghar par khana peena dekhke apne ghar aane ki iccha nahin hoti. wahan t.v.-v.v. sab hota hai. khana peena dekh kar uska aane ka mann nahin hota. wahin saheliiyan bana ke rehne lagti hai.

Comment: Some difficulty in object-related interaction is apparent by way of ambivalent relationship in this story with the mother. Negative cathexis with mother may also be further suggestive of oral regression and lack of nurturance. Low self-esteem is indicative of his inability to exhibit competence in the presence of others relating to inferiority feelings having being belittled and ridiculed by others. In the second part of the story, he shows positive cathexis with the father and nurturing the relationship with other females in the story. His significant conflict is autonomy vs compliance.

“...Mummy papa wali recording to nahin ki...?”

Megha: *tum mujhpe vishwas nahin karte? maine ye kissi ko nahin batana...*

H: *Vishwas nahin karta kisi par...ghar walon par hi vishwas nahin karta... duniya khali isliye hai ki insan ke paas paisa ho to hi bolenge. school mein dost hain to paisa le kar aaunga to hi sath denge...larhai mein bhi aur waise bhi... warna nahin denge... koi bhi ho chahe dost ya ghar wale.”*

(...did you do recording of mummy and papa?)

Megha: *Do not you trust me? I will not tell about this to anyone.*

H: *I do not trust anyone...I do not trust my family...world is such that if a person has money...then only one will talk...in school, I have friends...when I will bring money...then only they will give support...in fights...or otherwise also...otherwise they will not...be it anyone...friends or family).*

CARD 3:

Ek gaon mein rehte the. do log the... do nahin bohat saare log the...Gaon mein bura bura bolte the log... kabhi koi kuch bolta tha kabhi koi kuch bolta tha... pareshan rehte the. koi kaam bhi nahin tha is wajah se pareshan rehte the. khane peene ke liye dukhi rehte the... kuch bhi karte rehte the...isne chori karni bhi shuru kar di thi... phir vo chori karte rahe chori karte rahe...par ek na ek din chor ki chori pakrhi to jaati hi hai... Kheti bhi nahi the. khane ko bhi kuch nahi tha. Kaam bhi nahi tha. Chori Karni start Kar li. na koi Ghar tha. aise hi rehte the. Dheere-dheere sharif banne ki koshish kari. sharif ban gaye theek thak, phir gaon mein dost ban gaye bohat saare. dost banne k baad bhi khush nahi rehte the...vo bhi sochta tha na mere bhai hain na behen hai sirf papa hain... dost banne ke baad bhi bohat chup rehte the...ladka sochta tha khali mere papa hain. pita ji wife ko le Kar rote the, beta bhai ko, ma ko aur behen ko lekar rota tha. dheere dheere dost ban gaye bohat gaon mein. ache se rehne lage, khana peena bhi theek hua...bohat dukhi rehte the... Wife chorh Kar chalk gayi...dheere dheere vo bhi aur kahin rehti thi... ek din unki wife t.v. dekh rahi thi, to baap-bete ko dekhti hai news mein... unhone kuch acha kaam kiya hai. ye dekh kar patni ghar aa gayi. Khush ho Kar rehne lag gaye...usko ek beti aur ek beta tha... gaon mein Izzat bhi mil gayi. khush rehne lage.

(Megha: *Wife isliye aayi kyunki vo ab paise wala hogaya tha? Isliye vo chorh ke chali gayi thi ke uske paas paise nahin the? Kaise kamaya vo...sharif kaise bana?*

H: *Har koi jail mein jaata hai, ya sharif ho jata hai ya to wo zayda harami ho jata hai. to harami ki jagah sharif ban Gaye ye dono.*

Megha: *Logon ne inhe accept kiya ke chalo ab ye jail se aaye hain phir bhi hum inhe kaam dhandha dete hain...? Logon ne socha aisa ki unko aise discriminate kiya ki jail se aaye hain to...*

H: *Har kisi se pyar se bolne lage ulta nahin bolte the...*

Megha: *Khud kya sochte the ye apne baare mein..ke hum jail se aaye hain to ab hum acha banna chahte hain...ye kahan se aayi unke andar ye soch...ache banne ki?*

H: *Gaon mein rehte the, logon ka pyar dekhte the, koi beti maa se pyar se bolti thi ye dekhte the doosro ko dekh kar acha banne ki chahat hui. makaan bana liya. mazze se rehte the dono...)*

Comment: The story again begins with the feelings of inadequacy and passivity in life, along with abasement fused with socially ridiculed behaviour. While the act of stealing is justified as he rationalises his poverty for it, there is an underlying need to be moral. This dynamic inference seems to have a grandiose wish of becoming a famous individual having publicity suggestive of recognition fused with an exhibition. Like in the previous story, this story deals with positive cathexis with father, but some ambivalent relationship is depicted yet again. At an elaborative level, this relationship may be suggestive of inverted Oedipus (fixated on father) as there is a deliberate omission of mother/wife from son's/father's life. The environment ranges from being hostile due to their immoral acts to being congenial after completing a sentence in prison.

CARD 4:

Ye ek gaaon mein rehti hai...iske mummy papa the...behen bhai the. Iske daddy bhi the...iske daadi dada saare jane the...larhka kisi aur se love karta tha. Aur larhki thi dusre gaaon ki, to phir ek din shaadi ke liye larhki wale dekhne aate hain...larhke walon ne to haan bol diya tha larhki ko dekhke... Aur larhki walon ne bhi haan bol diya larhke ko dekhke...Par inki marzi nahin thi, in dono ki. Par larhki wala tha na jo...Bohat paise wala tha...Larhke wala to gareeb tha... Aise hi shadi karwa rahe the paise ke laalach mein...larhke walaon ne...na larhke ki pasand thi na larhki ki pasand thi. Aur unhone paison ke laalach ko dekhke unki shaadi karwa di...Aur jo shaadi karwai thi vo unhone ghar mein nahin karwayi thi...Vo jo larhka tha bohat shareef tha...duniya ke liye vo shareef tha waise vo haraami tha. Waise shareef tha, lekin aapas mein shaadi ho gayi... Shaadi ke baad vo bohat dukhi rehte the, na ek dusre se bolte the...na khana khaane ke liye poochte the...Khaali dusre ke baare mein sochte rehte the...meri pehli wali wife kahan par hoyegi...kaisi hoyegi...Larhki bhi sochti rehti thi ke jisse main love karti thi...vo kaise hoyenge..kahan hoyenge...Khana khaya hoyega ya nahin khaya hoyega... Lekin aapas mein nahin poochte the ke khana kha liya ya nahin khaya hoga. To aise hi ek din...unke mummy papa ne bola jaake khana kha lo...to vo khana khane to chale gaye...par vo room mein jaake shaant kharhe hogaye...Mummy papa ne aake dekh liya ke shaant kaise kharhe ho...inhone apni asliyat bata di apne mummy papa ko...par larhki to paise wale ghar se thi...Larhka bohat gareeb ghar se tha...Larhke ke baap ne...pitaji ne bola tha...bete aisa mat karo ... hamare paas dhan daulat nahin hai...isliye humne paise walon se tumhari shaadi kar di. Larhke ne bola tha papa paise de do...har cheez kharidi hui aapki hi hai... Hmm... Khaali pyar hi nahin khareed paate. Main us larhki se pyar karta hun...vo mere dukh mein rehti hogi...yeh hai...vo hai...larhki to kuch bol nahin sakti thi...vo to thi hi apne sasural mein...rakhi aati hai to larhki jaati hai na apne bhai ko rakhi baandhne...to larhki ne jaake sachai apne pitaji ko batatdi thi...larhki ne apne maa baap ko sachai batayi thi jaake. Phir bhi unhone kuch kara nahin...kehte agar hum dusre larhke se shaadi karenge to hamari badnaami hoyegi...larhke wale ki to kuch bhi nahin hoyegi. Ab larhki wala chorhega to larhki wale ki hi badnaami hoyegi. dheere dheere kai saal hogaye...dheere dheere bolne lag gaye yeh...dheere dheere bolne lag gaye...phir aapsi mein dono ka pyar barh gaya...dheere dheere ye bolne lag gaye, aapsi mein rehne lag gaye...mil baant ke khaane peene lag gaye.

Story 2

Phir inki ek larhki hogayi. Larhki ko inhone tuition mein daal diya private school mein daala tha. Larhki barhi hogayi parh likhke..unki larhki bhi barhi hogayi.Larhki...ache tution mein parhti thi...ache school mein parhti thi. Uske friend bhi the bohat saare. Vo apne friendon ko dekhke bolti thi...apne doston ko dekhke bolti thi... Vo apni larhki ko bohat pyar karte the. Uski shaadi ki baat hui thi...shaadi ki baat leke aaye the gharwale...vo chahte the apni larhki ki shaadi nahin karenge. Larhki to waise hi rahegi...hamari larhki to eklauti hai. Vo chali gayi to hamara ghar to soona soona sa ho jayega. Phir larhki bolti thi...papa larhki to paraya dhan hoti hai..karza hoti hai...chukana hi parhta hai. Dheere dheere larhki mana karti thi...larhki ki maa bhi mana karti thi aur uske pitaji bhi mana karte the. Dheere dheere unhone bola hum bhi kisi se pyar karte the...hamari bhi shaadi hui thi...iski bhi shaadi hoyegi to acha hi rahega. Phir larhki ke maa baap ne shaadi kar di uski. Phir larhki ke maa baap ne bhi gareeb ghar mein shaadi kari thi, ke humne ameer ghar mein shaadi kari to royenge...larhki wala gareeb hai to vo hi ho jayega scene. Larhki ko bohat dukhi rakhta tha larhke wala. Dheere dheere jo larhka tha na...vo bhi larhki ko maarta tha. Jo saasu maa thi vo bhi taane deti rehti thi ke ye kaam kar vo kaam kar...vo kehti thi saasu maa mujhe bhookh lagi hai uske baad kaam karungi. Vo bolti thi khana baad mein khaiyo.. pehle kaam kar. Use raat mein der se sona parhta tha. Aur subah uski saasu maa hi use jaldi utha deti thi ke kaam kar. Vo khaana peena bhi nahin kar paati thi theek se. Vo bohat pareshan hogayi thi. Dheere dheere bohat zyada pareshaani hogayi thi phir ekdum hi uski death hogayi thi.

Megha: *Itna pyar kiya uske parents ne...uski sasur maa ne aur husband ne kya kiya na uske saath..? Hai na...? Death kaise hogayi thi?*

H: *Insan na pareshan hojata hai...khana peena nahin khayega...to bimari lagegi. Aur bimari lagegi to saasu maa bimari ka ilaaj bhi nahin karwayengi. Larhki ke mom dad ko nahin batayengi. Ilaaj bhi nahn karwayenge to death hi hojayegi. Bukhaar aayega...to bukhaar ki dawai bhi chahiye hogi.*

Comment: This story does not meet the prevailing mood of the story. Although his stories so far have not established the traditional triadic relationship with his parents, this story too omits criticalities of the mother-son relationship. The image of the father is that of greedy and authoritative, which point towards an underlying feeling of passive aggression towards the father figure. It also reveals the conditional relationships within the family. This is justified by the statement “he was poor and married a rich girl”. He projects his two self in the story: the primary self as an obedient and self-sacrificing son and the secondary self as an overly aggressive husband of his daughter’s projected husband. Mental rigidity (sameness) is seen where he thinks what his parents did with him should be repeated with children, especially daughters. Aggression and hostility towards daughter can be seen through her tormented relationship with her husband and mother-in-law leading to death.

CARD 5:

Story 1

...Gala-wala daba raha hai yeh kya iska?... Ye iske pitaji hain...ye larhki ke pitaji hain...uski ek maa bhi thi...yeh ek gaaon mein rehte the aur inki larhki thi na ek 11-11.5 saal ki thi, harkatein hi pelti rehti thi... Ulti seedhi harkatein hi karti thi...kabhi kisi ko maarna, log hai na uske pitaji ke paas aake taane dete rehte the. Vo uske pitaji usko ghar pe aake bohat maarte the ...tab bhi woh larhki apni harkaton se baaz nahin aati thi. Unki ek lauti larhki thi khaali. Gaaon mein log ulta seedha bolne lag gaye. Larhki ke chakkar mein unki bhi izzat nahin rahi...yeh larhki aisi hai...yeh karti hai...woh karti hai...ulti seedhi harkatein karti hai. Sabhi ke ghar se kuch utha ke le aati hai. Maa ne bol diya main utha ke nahi laayi thi. Uske papa ko bohat bura lagta tha. Larhki ke papa usko pyar bhi nahin karte the. Uske pitaji ne socha ab main isko maar hi dunga...phir log taane nahin denge...isse chutkara hi paa lunga. Larhki ko kai baari maarne ki sochta hai...koi na koi beech mein aa jata hai. Koi aa jata tha to seene se laga leta tha, matlab dikhane ke liye ke main isse bohat pyar karta hun. Ek din usne larhki ko maar diya. Larhki ko maarne ke baad vo bohat pachtata tha. Sochta tha ek hi larhki thi maine usko bhi maar diya... Pachata tha ke ek hi larhki thi.

Story 2

Mahine beet-te jaate hain yaad bhi kam ho jati hai logon ke dilon se...Dheere dheere maihne beetne ke baad unko ek larhka hua. Woh larhka unka bohat acha tha...Chota tha to pyara tha phir woh bhi aisi hi harkatein pelta tha...lekin uske papa usko kuch bolte nahin the. Dheere dheere woh barha hota gaya aur usko samajh aati gayi. Pehle jab mummy papa the ulta seedha bolte the larhki ko...larhki ko jaisa bolo waisa hi seekhti hai woh. To unka larhka hua...usko achi shiksha dete the. Dheere dheere unhone uska admission karwa diya. Woh jata tha class teacher ke pair choota tha...par usko parhna nahin aata tha...Usko to parhna parhega jabhi aayegi.Dheere dheere sirjee usko pass to kar dete the uska achapana dekhke ...koi aib nahin hai. Phir ek din job ki uski woh aayi thi... wahan par woh gaya tha. Phir saamne ek larhki baithi thi...english mein baat kar rahi thi, usko english bhi nahin aati thi. Usko na logon ne bohat zaleel kara...bohat taane diye ke tu itna barha hogaya...tu parhta likhta nahin hai kuch bhi nahin karta. Phir dobara usne class mein admission karwa liya...Gaurav Public School mei. Phir woh dheere dheere 3 baari fail hogaya. Sirjee pitayi karke bhejte the use ghar pe ke ja beta tu nahin parh payega. Phir ek din ek aunty kuwen mein se paani nikaal rahi thi...wahin pe ek perh tha wahin par jaake beth gaya woh. Woh rassi na kheench kheench ke...dheere dheere ghis jaati hai kheench kheench ke...aur toot jaati hai. Phir usne dekha ke main bhi aise hi fail hote hote pass hojaunga. Usne bohat dhyaan diya...Acha khaasa parhne lag gaya likhne lag gaya. Phir woh usi larhki ke paas dobara gaya...wohi larhki jisne izzat utaar di thi uski...phir larhki zaleel hoke khud hi chali gayi. Dheere dheere doctor ban gaya woh...logon ka ilaaj-wilaaj karne lag gaya. Usne khol liya aspatal...apne pitaji ke naam ka. Par un logon se zyada paise nahin leta tha... woh sochta hai pehle main bhi ghareeb tha...main bhi parh likhke ameer ban gaya...uske mummy papa bhi usko bohat pyar karte the. Phir woh apne pitaji ki bohat izzat karta hai, pooja karta tha apne pitaji ki. Woh bhagwan se bhi oopar apne pitaji ko manta tha.

Comment: There are two stories which are narrated by H. In the story 1, H identifies with the father who killed his daughter because she was bringing bad name to the family. The opening line of the story is “Gala-wala daba raha hai yeh kya iska?” (strangulating the neck of that person). It is a typical introduction of a home where aggression towards females is overt. The issue of killing a girl has deeper meanings connected with his psyche. There is a defensive process underlying his obsession for killing the girl. This is symptomatic of a latent gratification, which when exhibited

liberates H of his impulses. It is a form of restriction of the ego which Anna Freud (1936) discussed, in which this act of H means that in order to remove unpleasure from any external situation, the ego adopts a defensive position in rationalising the events that led to aggressive behaviour. In the second story, the Case H identifies with a young boy. The grandiose fantasy takes the central stage in this story. There is an abrupt loosening of the grip of reality. He introduces school and a teacher with whom his interaction reveals a part of life in which he lives in reality. His depiction of teacher's behaviour represents harshness and coarseness that his psyche undergoes in the school, as he states, "*Sirjee pitayi karke bhejte the use ghar pe ke ja beta tu nahin parh payega*" (Sir would beat me and send him home that son! You will not be able to study). There is a defense of denial, magical thinking and most importantly, he identifies with the aggressor. Identification with the aggressor happens in his ego as he internalises his teacher's value judgements that he does not have enough brains required to study further. Grandiosity enters when he says he became a doctor and treats the poor patients for free.

CARD 6:

Naav dikh rahi hai...perh paudhe hain...nadi dikhayi de rahi hai...Naav hai, ped paudhe, jheel. (does not want to go to such a place). Mera mann nahin karta aisi jagah jaane ka...Yahan paise wale log jaate honge ghoomne... (in between afraid of light)...Roshni mein problem hoti hai...main rehta hi nahin roshni mein zyada... Ek naav wala tha. Biwi thi. do bache the....ghar nahin tha...naav mein hi rehte the...nadi mein jo paise phekte hain na.. un paison ko nikaalte the chumbak se... train ka pul hai. train ke aandar sona ja rha tha. Train pani mein gir jati hai...pul toot jata hai to pani mein gir jati hai... chumbak phenkte hain neeche. Train se khazana milta hai...aur woh paise wale ho jate hain...paise wale to ho jaate aukaad nahi bhulte... vo log paise hone ke baad bhi gareeb ki tarah rehte the. mahal bana lete hain. phir bhi wo hi kaam karte rehte hain....chumbak se paise hi dhoondhte rehte the... Gaon mein rehne chale jate hain. gaon mein raja aata hai...raja gareeb ko thappad marta hai ...usko pata nahin hota ke gareeb us se bhi zyada paise wala hai...jab wo gareeb apni asliyat batata hai to saare gaon wale soch mein parh jate hain... gaon wale sochte hain ke inhe to ache kapde pehen kar rehna chahiye...raja ki tarah apni beti ki shadi karwani chahiye... gaaon wale sochte the kisi larhki ki shadi karwa dega to hum ameer ho jayenge ...dheere dheere unke bache bhi barhe ho jate hain...ek ho jata hai 19 saal ka aur ek ho gaya 21 saal ka...gaon mein shaadi kar deta hai vo... larhki bhi khubsoorat hoti hai bohat... lekin larhke ke pita ji lalchi hote hain...vo sochte hain main apni property mein se kisiko kuch nahin dunga... jab larhke ki shaadi karte hain to vo sochta hai ke meri biwi rani ban jayegi...do-teen mahiney ke baad dusre larhke ki bhi shadi ho jati hai...bache phir sochte hain dono ki hamare papa hamein kuch bhi nahin de rahe hain... alag ho jate hain...sochte hain hum alag hoyenge to hamareko hamara hissa milega...alag ho to jate hain par unhe kuch bhi nahin milta...apne papa ki tarah hi nadi mein kaam karte the...vo bhi bolte the ke papa hamara koi bhi nahin hai...papa se jyada paise wale ho jate hain... bache apni mehnat se bante hain ameer. papa ke paas jo paise hota hai wo government ko pata chalta hai ke inke papa ne hi sona le liya tha...makaan property sab le lete hain...daddy gareeb ho jate hain... unhone apni ma ko apne paas rakh liya... aur vo kehte hain pita ji aapne hamare bohat aansu bahaye hain hum bhi aapke bohat aansu bahayenge...isne hamare liye kuch bhi nahin kara...unke pitaji rote rehte the...na vo khathe the na peete the... ek din bachon ne bhi pareshan hokar pita ji ko apna liya... saath mein rehne lag gaye...bohat khayal bhi karne lag gaye the...

Comment: The opening “I do not want to go to such places, people with money must be going”, suggests a further feeling of personal inadequacy and resentment against rich people. Although he is able to go beyond a sparse description of the picture having a boat, however, it points towards how he does not feel his own family home to be fully adequate (“*They did not have a home, they lived in a boat*”). His grandiose fantasy clubbed with magical thinking about life takes over again, with instances of the train carrying gold falls off the bridge. The predominance of material disposition over emotional involvement suggests the presence of little or no empathy towards other people as he interprets the stimulus materialistically omitting people travelling in the train. This story reconnects with the previous stories told so far in which he sees his father in an ambivalent way. He uses denial as a defense against his economic conditions “although they became rich, they never forgot their roots” (“*Gareeb ki tarah rehte the*”). Against this backdrop, the aversive relationship with the wealthy class is again evident in the story (“*Raja gareeb ko thappad marta tha*”). The feeling of indefiniteness about his world and especially Father in which he is tending to find his autonomy from his greedy father is suggesting his need for withdrawal from the unrealistic expectations of his father. The wishful fantasy of Father secluded from family is suggestive of oedipal wish to replace the father, but these feelings are resolved by engulfing father back into the family. Again some sort of inverse oedipal desire for father is visible with his ending line “*Bohat khayal bhi karne lag gaye the*” (they started taking care of the father).

CARD 7:

Ek Gaon mein ek insaan tha uska naam Pappu tha... uski do biwiyaan thi... ek ko bohat pyar karta tha...dusri biwi ko pyar nahin karta tha... dusri biwi dekhti rehti thi. dusri biwi paise wali thi...aur jiske saath rehta tha vo gareeb ghar ki thi... Gareeb wali ko bahut pyar karta tha... gareeb wali ke do bache the...ameer wali biwi ka ek bhi bacha nahin tha... dusri wife ke saath hi rehta tha...unka kamra ek hi tha lekin kamre ke peeche deewar lagi hui thi...aur usme choti si ek khirhki thi...jo dusri wali biwi thi vo us khirhki mein se jhaank ke dekhti thi ke vo dono kya kar rahe hain... ameer biwi ne doosri shaadi kar li thi choti umar ke ladke se shaadi kar li...us larhke ne paise ke laalach mein us aurat se shaadi kari thi...dheere dheere pati (chote larhke) ke naam property kar li... pehle pyar se rakhta tha larhki ko... Ladke ne shaadi to kar li thi, lekin jab bhi gaon mein jata tha gaon mein taane dete the... ke iski umar dekho aur iski biwi ki umar dekho...aisa lagta hai jaise apni hi biwi ka bacha hai...phir vo apni wife ko maarne lag gaya tha...usne property ke chakkar mein shadi kari thi ... biwi case kar deti hai, maine saari property iske naam kar di mujhe maarta peet-ta rehta hai... uske pati ko jail hojati hai...jail se choot kar aata hai...to bolta hai ke meri wife chahti to mujhe chorh sakti thi...wife chorh ke nahi jaati...phir vo sochta hai ke isko kisi aur gaon mein le jaunga, wahin jaunga to mujhe saare taane denge isliye vo sochta hai ke akela jaunga to koi taane nahin dega...bahana kar dunga ke meri ma hai... dosre gaon mein chale jate hainphele ladki hoti hai...vo apni larhki ko bohat pyar karta hai...larhki 11 saal ki ho jati hai... ladki ko behen bolta tha... log samajhte the ke uski behen hai... uska admission kar deta hai... phir 12 saal ke baad bhai hota hai... wo apne bhai ko bohat pyar karti hai...ek din bhai aur vo train ki patri par khel rahe hote hain...khelte khelte train ki patri pe ja kar so jati hai... train aati hai, bhai train se kat jata

hai... pita ji bohat maarte hain... maarte maarte road pe le aate hain... gaon wale samajh jate hain ke ye to iska beta hai...kyunki vo larhki bolti hai pitaji mujhe nahin pata...yeh hai vo hai... dheere dheere us gaon mein bhi taane milne lag jaate hain...sabko pata chal jata hai uski wife hai maa nahi, gaon chodna padta hai....phir vo larhki ko zyada pyar nahin karta tha ke isne mera beta maar diya...apni biwi se bhi zyada nahin bolta tha...phir dusre gaon mein jakar haqeeqat bata deta hai ke ye meri biwi hai aur ye beti...phir log kuch bhi nahin kehte aur vo wahan par kiraye ka kamra le lete hain...dheere dheere larhki jo hai unki parh likhke bohat achi ho jati hai...doctor ban jati hai...phir uske pitaji bolte hain hamari larhki ne hamein larhki ka bhi sukh de diya aur larhke ka bhi...hamari ek hi larhki ne dono bachon ka sukh de diya...jab iska bhai mara tha to unhone ulta seedha bola tha...lekin ab dono ka sukh mil jata hai unko...

Comment: With this story, he forays into adult relationships involving fidelity and trust. The atypical introduction and rejection of his “rich wife” among the two wives and her threatening second husband who is younger than her may suggest a fear situated around of his fantasy interfering and disrupting with reality testing on two dimensions:

1. Case H having a relationship with a woman older to him
2. Regressing to his primal oedipal fantasy of marrying and copulating mother leading to castration in the form of “*taane*”, i.e., social banishment.

Again his wrath and aggression on the females and the condescending object relations in the story is significant of power fused in the hands of male members in the patriarchal societies: “*pita ji bohat maarte hain... maarte maarte road pe le aate hain*”; “*phir vo larhki ko zyada pyar nahin karta tha ke isne mera beta maar diya...apni biwi se bhi zyada nahin bolta tha*”. He finds himself in *imbroglio* is repeated by his stances of “*log taane marte the*” (people would slam him). His reluctance to form closeness with females is also evident. He uses higher defenses of repression and sublimation of his anger on wife and daughter significant of primitive splitting in him. Although the outcome is hopeful for the future, again it is repulsive of conditionalities in object relationship.

CARD 8:

Ek jungle tha bohat barha...pati uski wife aur 2 bache jungle mein picnic manane jaate hain. chupan chupai kehlne lag jate hain... jahan awaz aati wahan jaate the... saare bhatak gaye ek dusre ko dhundte dhundte... dhundte dhundte do din ho jate hain...raat ho jati hai...patni pati ko, bacho ko dhoondti hai. 3-4 din beet jate hain. sab pareshan ho jate hain. mandir ke sahaare baith jaati hai...beech jungle mein mandir hota hai...vo sochti hai ghar hai yeh..mandir ki seerhiyon par let jati hai...subah hoti hai to use pata chalta hai key ek mandir hai...mandir mein prarthna karne lag jati hai ki bacho se mila do pati se mila do... prarthna karke wahan se chali jati hai...agle din pati mandir mein prarthna karne aata hai dhundte dhundte.... Prarthna karne ke baad pati bhi nikal jata hai sabko dhundne..phir bache jate hain. per vo wahan se jaate nahin hain. bache wahan rehte hain...vo sochte hain itna ghana jungle hai yahin par rehte hain...kai saal beet jate hain aise. jungle hota hai bohat barha...dheere dheere jungle kat jata hai... wahan pe ghar ban jate hain...bahar se log aa jate hain... sarkar ka jungle hai..sarkar ki zameen hoti hai... gareeb sarkar

ki zameen par apna haq jama lete hain par gareeb logon ko sarkar kuch nahi bolti...chota sa mandir bohat barha ban jata hai... ek din pitaji aur maa mandir mein aate hain... boorhi hojati hai vo apne bachon ko nahin pehchan pati... unke bache maa aur pitaji ko pehchan lete hain photo dekhke...bache mandir mein pujari hote hain... gaon wale aake bachon ke pair choote the... bahar se koi barha neta aata tha to bachon ke pair chooke jata tha... maa ke pair choote hain... gaon wale bolte hain ke inhone to kabhi kisike pair nahin chooye is burhi aurat ke pair queen choo rahe hain...vo sab gaon walon ko apni haqeeqat batate hain...ke ye hamari maa hai aur ye pitaji...hum bichad gaye the...phir batate hai ki phele khane ko bahut nahi milta tha... maa bhi wahin rehne lag jati hai...door door pani ke liye jate the...dheere dheere nal lag gaye... Bacho ke pita ji bacho ke bare mein sochte the. ki wo (bache) mar gaye ya zinda hain...phir pitaji ek din sochte hain ke mandir mein jata hun... bacho ko nahi pehchan pata per maa ko pehchan leta hai...biwi bhi pehchan leti hai...vo apne pati ke pairon mein gir jati hai... gale milte hain... maa bolti hai bache bhi humare paas hain. mandir mein hi rehne lag gaye. khane ko milta hai. seb le kar aate hain. gaon mein bade bade log aate the....khoob paise daan mein dete the...bache vo paise gaon walon ko baant dete the...kisi ka makaan nahin hota tha to unhe dete the...kapde dete the... isiliye jo gaon gareeb tha vo bohat bada ban gaya tha... gaon mein jhoppad pati nahi makkan ban gaya.

Comment: This story is the only story with its beginning, where he fantasies normal triadic relationships with his parents. But as he proceeds further, it relapses into an extremely muddled and conflicting situation where the family disintegrates while having a picnic. The separation anxiety relating to object loss “*bache maa ko dhoondne lage...maa bachon ko dhundh rahi thi*” (The children were searching for the mother, and the mother was searching for the children) invades his story when they accidentally separate from the mother and on reunion they express that, “*phele khane ko bahut nahi milta tha...*” (Earlier they did not get enough food to eat) points towards a lack of oral nurturance. Some oedipal affiliation with mother is reflected in his narrative “*wo sirf maa ke pair choote the*” (they would take the blessings of only Mother). He has some perception of reality of the situation when he says, “*sarkar ki zameen hoti hai... gareeb sarkar ki zameen par apna haq jama lete hain par gareeb logon ko sarkar kuch nahi bolti*” (Government owns the land...poor people confiscate the property of the poor...government does not say anything to the poor). However, the vestiges of reality testing slowly disappear with his reboot into grandiosity of becoming a temple priest whom everyone, including the pertinent minister, bows their heads in front of him. More primitive defenses are called in to objectify the situation where his superego makes an appearance that of omnipotent and influential figures such as priest having all the material resources, money and food. He again uses denial that he allocated the money to needy people. In the entire story, he could be latently seen projecting his parents to be ineffectual, unproductive and non-nurturing, and only his magical thinking helps him reunite with lost objects.

CARD 10:

Lohe ki pipe mein baitha hai... ye ek bohat barha chor hai...Chori karta tha... chori kar li... pehle bohat gareeb tha chori kar karke bohat ameer ho gaya...bohat paisa aa gaya uske paas... sab se

zyada ameer ban jaun aise sochta tha...uspe bohat saare case lag gaye the tab bhi vo nahin sudhra...chori hi karta rehta tha...ek din raja ke ghar mein chori kar li... raja ne pakkad liya bhaagte hue...raja ne talwar nikalke maari chor ko...uske to lagi nahin...chor ke paas jo chakoo tha vo phenk ke maar diya...raja ke lag gaya...raja ki death hojati hai... police wale aa jate hain...vo saare choron ko bulate hain...sirf yehi chor nahin aata...Police samajh jati hai ke isine chori kari hai isliye nahin aaya...to vo chupa chupa phirta rehta hai...kabhi kahin kabhi kahin...vo har jagah usko pakad lete the...jab bhi vo nahin manta tha chori karta hi rehta tha...sirf use ek jagah theek lagti th...ek pipe tha wahan par koi aata jaata nahin tha...to wahan par aake baith jata tha...poori raat wahan pa rehta tha...phir raat mein wahan se nikal jata tha...ek din jo pipe tha vo cut chukka tha...diwar lagni thi to kaat diya...police wale samajh gaye ye rasta hai...police ne pakad liya usko...usko saza hogayi... to usko death ki saza suna di.

Comment: His underlying emotions screeches out loudly in this story in which he projects himself as a thief. The elongation of reality testing and its conflict with his id is persistent in his story, making morality vs impulsivity his significant conflict. Where his need is acquisition through stealing, he uses rationalisation and projection as his defenses. His environment is hostile and contains the elements of the death drive as death is the outcome. But, here, death is not the desired outcome and his superego functions inadequately in the story.

Blank Card:

Isme kya bataun...kuch dikhayi de nahin raha...meri taraf se aap bana do ispar...ek gaon tha...usmein bohat saare bhoot rehte the...(sheher mein kuch nahin hota...gaon mein bohat zyada hota hai...) gaon mein koi 6-7 baje ke baad ghar se nahin nikalta... yahan par to poori raat ghoomte rehte hain... main bhi poori raat ghoomta hun... idhar udhar ghoomta rehta hun... road pe ghoomta rehta hun main to bas... jhuggiyon mein rickshey kharhe rehte hain na wahan par saare mere dost rehte hain...to woh poori raat jagte hain...wahan par aake baitha rehta hun main...kabhi kabhar apne ghar se kitab bhi utha ke le aata hun ghar se...

Comment: It is the nature of the picture which overwhelms him to say anything more beyond the blankness of the card, which signifies emptiness, loneliness and passivity in life. In this card he perseverates his life lived “main bhi poori raat ghoomta hun...idhar udhar ghoomta rehta hun...road pe ghoomta rehta hun main to bas” (I also keep wandering at night...roam around here and there...I keep roaming on the road) in which there are profound loneliness and disappointment in relationships. The vulnerabilities in his life are observable and emphasise on meaninglessness in the construction of everyday life.

Interpretation

1. “Main Theme: Most repeated theme is to lead a normal life. One is moral only when he acts good in the eyes of others and is liked by everyone.
2. Self-functioning of main hero: Main heroes of the stories are Males. They are mostly unruly (1,3,7) in competent (2, 5), isolated (3, 4,10), overwhelmed (4, 6) and famous (3,8)
3. Main needs and drives of hero: Behavioural needs of hero (as in story) to become a famous person and be socially accepted by others. Introductions: Grandiose circumstances, famous persons, threatening critical father and a non-nurturing mother. There are no omissions in the picture cards.
4. Conception of the world: Unproductive and threatening, overly demanding, uncaring, overly critical and non-nurturing
5. Interpersonal object relations: Parental figures (mother: yes, father: yes) are seen as non-nurturant and subject’s reaction is rejecting. Contemporary figures (male-no, female-yes) are seen as non-loving and subject’s reaction is hostile. Junior figures (m: yes, f: yes) are seen as obedient sons and hatred towards daughters and subject’s reaction is ambivalent
6. Significant conflict: Impulsivity vs Morality, Passive aggression towards parents/Same sex authoritative figures, Overt aggression towards females
7. Nature of fears, insecurities and anxieties of physical harm and punishment: Yes, of illness or injury: Yes, of disapproval: Yes, of deprivation: Yes, of lack or loss of love: yes of being devoured: Yes, of being deserted: Yes, of being overpowered and helpless: Yes, other: Lack of protective Home environment and basic necessities
8. Main defense and coping mechanisms: Projection, rationalisation, splitting and reversal of affect.
9. Superego functioning: Withdrawal, Rationalisation, Isolation, Repression, Projection, Integration of the ego: Story outcome: No attempt to mediate conflict (3, 10). Failed attempt to mediate conflict (1, 2, 6, 7, 9). Successful mediation of conflict (4, 5, 8). Appropriate plot (2, 5, 6). Stereotyped plot (4, 7). Original plot (1, 3, 8, 9, 10).
10. Integration of the Ego functions: The outcomes are unhappy. There is no resolution to conflicts, the plots are original yet alarming” (Adaptation from Bellak’s TAT manual, 1975).

3.4 CASE ‘M’



Fig. 9

Case M tries to make himself comfortable in the slightly compact desk. As the process of getting acquainted M begins, some boys keep barging in with their steadfast curiosity, as they peek furtively inside the room. He gets up quite appalled by their presence, yells and brandishes the boys saying, “*tujhe to main baad mein dekh lunga*” (I will deal with you later). At times, I felt an atmosphere of disgust, sitting alone in the room with the subject on whom TAT was administered, coming from the boys in the school who thought of me in a mysterious way. They would intrude in the session saying, “*Ma’am apse mazey le raha hai*” (ma’am, he is flirting with you) and ascribe sexual meanings to the whole session of sitting in an isolated

or secluded spot with a teenaged boy. Sometimes the method of projective test such as Murray’s TAT cannot undo the subjective biases of the subject on whom the research is conducted towards the researcher. One needs to consider how the subject perceives the researcher as it plays a major role in determining the subject’s responses to particular picture cards.

The physical appearance of M can be described as having black hair with streaks of chunky golden brown hair and is slender in outlook. He is 16 years old and works as a vendor at an eating joint on the roadside where he takes out fried bread made of flour, in his own words, he says “*dukan pe jata hun, main bhature nikalta hun*” (at shop, my work is to pull fried bread from oil). Recalling an episode from his days of childhood, he says he was thrown out of the school because he hurled a stone at the principal, trying to save himself from the punishment. “*Maine patthar phenk diya, unka sir phoot gaya tha*” (I threw stone at him which caused injury to head), he says feeling indifferent towards the entire episode and asserts that he did not know that he is not permitted to hit the principal. His father had to enrol him in some private school then because on the termination letter the principal labelled him as deviant and unruly. The principal ensured M’s father could not enrol his son in any other government school. It was in VII grade when his father no longer could afford the private school fees, transferred him back to this government school. ‘M’ can be seen as vilifying his father’s decision on transferring him to a government school not



Fig. 10

only in his interaction with me but, also in one of the TAT stories narrated by him, where the tensions and fissures in his relationship with his father regarding this are quite evident.

He begins to tell me, “*Ma’am ji yahan par saare hi harami hain*” (Ma’am, here, all of us are bastards). As he paints a sordid picture of the children studying in the school, I asked him what does he intend to say? He replies,

“Ma’am ji ye aate hain aur bhaag jaate hain hamesha...ma’am ji ye sir ji se bhi akad jaate hain. Ma’am yeh jaise aayenge na...aate hi bhaag jayenge aur jaise sirjee ne ek class mein maar diya...ma’am ye bahar jaake na sirji ko maarte hain...isliye yeh sab harami hote hain”

(Respected Ma’am, they run away from school as soon as the day begins. If a Sir smacks them during the class, they strike back at him outside the school. That is why they are all bastards. Ma’am, they come to the school and run away all the time...ma’am they show arrogance with sir. Ma’am they like come and run and if sir hits them in the class...ma’am they will go out and beat up sir...that is why they are bastard).

Further, he said that,

“yahan pe na ma’am koi oopar neeche nahin hai...saare hi ek jaise hain...sirf vo chatin (6th) mein jaate hain saatvin (7th) mein chote bache milenge aapko shareef bas...par usme se bhi kuch 5-6 honge jo aise honge”.

(Ma’am, here, no one is topper or failure. They are all ranked alike. Only those who are in Sixth standard you will meet the better ones, who are younger, as they move on to seventh standard. But surely five or six of them must also be bastards.)

It was a moment of *déjà vu* as M’s understanding of bastard coincided with H’s metaphoric use of “*Harami*” (bastard) vis-a-vis “*acha insan*” (noble person). At this juncture, to make visible the rubric under which M dialectically understands the world around, how he essentialness the binaries of good and evil and how his mind operates in the broader discourse, I tried to help him deconstruct bad from the good and asked him,

Megha: *Acha kaun hota hai?* (who is a noble person)

M: *Acha ma’am vo hota hai jo araam se discipline mein rahe aur ...woh...jo sirji ki saare baat maane...copy poori rakhe aur jo aage baith-ta hai aur jo akalmand ho* (ma’am, noble person is the one who is disciplined, who abides by Sir, has complete notes and who sits in the front row and who is intelligent)

For M, a good person is the one who remains in discipline, conforms to the authority, maintains his academic records well and most pertinently who sits at the front desk; and is intelligent. M’s deconstruction of a good person gets intimately related to Adorno’s notion of reification which

according to Hammer (2006) refers to the general process whereby social and historical meaning gets hypostatized and transcoded such as to be presented in terms of first principles, that is, as static, invariant, and self-identical. In short, it means that M's and H's contextualisation of a good person is significant to collective thinking, which is both social and historical at the same time. They are misconstrued and thought to evolve objectively as a first principle, meaning it was there in the society, in the minds of the people, rather seeing them as constructed socially and mediated by the society itself. Thus, being hypostatized, the good person becomes a sacred entity, although this is analysed in the next chapter verily. Although, M's understanding of a good person is mediated by the school, society, home and his everyday life, however, it was essential to know how M situates himself. To unravel this, I asked him his position in the classroom, to which he replies saying,

Megha: *Tum to aage nahin baith-te?* (do you sit in the front row?)

M: *Meri to ma'am aadat hai peeche baithne ki* (Ma'am, I am habitual to be a back bencher)

Megha: *Kyun?* (Why)

M: *Ma'am ji mere dost hain na vo bolte hain peeche baithne ke liye* (Ma'am, my friends insist that I also sit in the back of the class)

In the construction of self, M paradoxically identifies himself not with the category of good people, rather the complete opposite of good people as per his definition. According to him, he does not sit at the first bench, but through his honest disclosure of some traits of his personality, he also displays his extra-punitive side as he blames his friends for the entire misdemeanour. This also means he put more emphasis on being part of a group. To divulge more into the dichotomisations that are saliently operating in M's mind, I inquire him whom does he idolises, and wishes to become like, to which he alludes by pointing at his class monitor and says,

“Ma'am ji ek Ganesh hai monitor hai...vo Ma'am apne kaam se kaam rakhta hai... na khelne aata hai lunch mein...(noise)...Ma'am ji vo apne kaam se kaam rakhta hai aur khelne bhi nahin aata ...vo class ka monitor hai Ma'am aage hi rehta hai aur kabhi nahin bhaagta vo...vo roz aata hai... Ma'am uske kaprhe bhi ekdum saaf rehte hain”.

(Respected Ma'am, Ganesh is a class monitor, I find him disciplined and focussed only on his duties. He would not participate in playing or have lunch with us. He always attends to school and never runs away. His clothes are always neat and clean)

Thus, a constant framing of the mind of M revealed through his underlying objectified, and a reified way of thinking is profoundly internalised and can be highlighted with him glorifying his monitor's identity. However, the contradictoriness situated in his mind cannot be avoided in which he portrayed himself as the significant other who failed to identify himself with the idolised category

substantively. This is revealed, when I asked him if there is any person whom he thought of becoming like, to which he replied saying,

“Bhains...ek dost hai mera, to Ma’am ji uski aadat hai larhkiyon ko chernhe ki...uski tarah main nahin ban sakta...bas karna chahta hun kar nahin pata Ma’am... Ma’am ji bas mazey leta hun...mazey ke liye...aur Ma’am ek teacher hain jaise...vo na beej khate hain...to Ma’am unki tarah karne ki kabhi kabhar soch lete hain vo bhi nahin kar pata main... Ma’am in sab mein main na sabse peeche hun...bohat peeche...ye sab...karne ki sochta hun par...kabhi kar nahin pata”.

(Ma’am, I have friend, Bhains, he is an eve-teaser. I cannot become like him though I want but could not. I just watch him eve tease to enjoy.... I try but never succeed...and ma’am there is one teacher...he eats tobacco...so ma’am, I think of doing something like him...I think...that also I am not able to do... I am lagging behind in such activities.)

The superlatives used by ‘M’ such as *“main unki tarah karne ki sochta hun, per kar nahin pata”* (I think of doing something like him...I think...that also I am not able to do... I am lagging behind in such activities) can therefore be seen as constitutive of his psyche which is mediated by the larger consciousness of the society. He is pervasively divided between the behaviour he should adapt to be accepted by the society and his constant internal contradictions to identity with his immediate group whom he wishes to internalise yet he cannot. To get more insights into his psyche, I asked him,

Megha: *Acha parhne ke liye kya karna chahiye?* (what should one do to excel in studies?)

M: *Acha parhne ke liye to...jaise ma’am...parhne ke liye na...(noise)...(to be studious, one must [noise])*

He gets a little distracted and responded to the question differently as he compared his present school with the previous school. He said that,

“Poora school...jo sirji bolte the na wohi karte the...jab vo bolte the tabhi baat karte the...yahan par period gul hote hain na...ma’am wahan pe na class se bahar bhi nahin aata tha koi. sirji kuch bhi bolte the...jaise ma’am ji ek copy nahin banata tha bas maths ki...Ma’am ji Maths na mujhe jaldi aata nahin tha...pehle Maths bhi aata tha...par ma’am ji doston ke saath reh reh ke na aise hi hogaya”.

(The entire school strictly followed instructions given by Sir. We would talk only when he gave permission. Here, students bunk classes now and then, but there no one would leave the class. I could not maintain notes of Mathematics subject. I am weak in grasping mathematics. I understood mathematics better before I started to spend more time with my friends.

Concordantly, he agreed that students should be punished and beaten up by teachers as he stated that, *“Bache yahan ke maante nahin hain yahan par sirji isliye strict hote hain. Yahan par kuch*

nahin ho sakta...ya to naam kaat dein TC leke bhaga dein ya to tabhi theek hoga ye school” (Here, Sir is strict because students of this school do not abide by sir. Nothing can change here lest such student’s names are stroked off, or give transfer certificate and ask them to run away, perhaps then this school will be a better place). The correlation between the Punisher and the nurturer is seen as overlapping and can be identified with Freud’s major theme that a child who is being beaten; understands punishment as being loved. To verify and validate H’s testimony that children in this school have stabbed people with a knife, I politely asked him if he has seen or done the same. There were no expressions of amusement on his face, and he said with utmost honesty that,

“...Ma’am ji maine to bohat dheere chalaya hai...Ma’am ji mere teen dost the na ek Mehtab, Subhash aur Sangeet tha.....inhe koi kuch bolta thana to mere se bardasht nahin hota tha...chakoo main gussa aata tha to maarta tha to kahin bhi lag jata tha...to vo bhi laate the aur main bhi chakoo lata tha pehle...ek baar kisine meri dost ki behen ko cherha tha to usne use maara tha...phir usne apne doston ko bulaya tha...usne dande-vande maare the to hum bhi yahan se chakoo leke gaye the...humne bhi maara tha unko..unke haath-vaath kaat diye the humne.

(Respected Ma’am, I used it mildly. I had three friends-Mehtab, Subhash and Sangeet; I could not bear if someone ridiculed any one of them, so, out of anger, I used the knife aimlessly causing injury anywhere. So, my friends and I used to carry knives all the time. Once, my friend’s sister was eve teased by a guy, so my friend had beat him up. Then, that guy ganged up with other fellows and beat him up. In turn, we also used knife to take revenge, they suffered cuts on their hands).

In between, I interrupted him and asked him,

Megha: *Phir hospital leke gaye?* (so, did you take them to hospital?)

M: *Ma’am ji hospital ka kya chakkar hai usme? Patti-vatti karwai hogi... hum to bhaag gaye the...*

(Ma’am, why bother taking them to hospital. They must have gotten dressing done locally. We just ran away from there.)

Megha: *Chakoo chalana garv ki baat hai?* (Is using knife a matter of pride?)

M: *Itna bhi nahin hai...main jab D block mein aaya tha sirf ek hafte ke liye laya hunga main chakoo...phir ek baar larhai hui thi to maine chakoo se maara bhi tha phir maine socha yahan par batanchi hoti hai kya...ek barhi wali hoti hai aur ek choti wali hoti hai...*

(Not very proud, when I moved to Block D, I carried a knife for only a week. It was when I was in a fight that I used the knife. Then I thought, in this area there are Batanchi which could be big or small in size.)

3.4.1 TAT of the CASE M

CARD 1:

Bacha ye soch raha hai phele kaunsi pin bajaun, jisse acha sangeet nikle aur jisse main achi achi kahaniyan suna paun. Iska naam Mitesh hai, 18 saal ka hai...iska ghar jhoppad patti mein hoga...anganbadi mein padta hoga...iske shakal se ye lag raha hai ye pura sharif hai...aur ye kuch banna chahta hai. Apne hisab se baal bhi kaatwa rakhe hain. simple kapde pehne hain. Ma-baap, papa chahte hain kuch bane. yehi soch ke singer banna chahta hai. Acha ban na chahta hai taaki mummy papa ko aur ache ghar mein rakh sake. maths mein halka sa kamjor hai. baki sab mein theek hoga. Isko gareebi se problem hai, jaise main chahta hun mere mummy papa aur ache kapde pehne aur achi cheezein khayein, ache se rahein.

Comment: The opening communication represents the musical instrument as the main support of life at a fantasy level. He constructs personal fantasies in the story which constitutes an alternative reality of the external world he is living in. He uses the defense of denial of reality and unexpected goodness, optimism, positiveness and gentleness (Cramer, 1996) in the story. The environmental press is representative of lack and deprivation, leading to his need for acquisition of social power, prestige and power related career. Further, there is a strong affiliation and identification with parents.

CARD 2:

Ye gaaon lag raha hai... ek aadmi hai woh apni khet ki bailon ko le ja raha hai apna khet jotne ke liye...aurat baithi hui hai apne dhaan ko saaf kar rahi hai...aur peeche dekh rahi hai ke kya ho raha hai...aurat yahan se apne bache ko leke ja rahi hai kahin...aurat sar pe potli rakh ke ja rhi hai...beti udas si lag rahi hai...ek admi hai jo talaab mein machli pakad raha hai...ek bakri hai jo jhopdi ki taraf aa rahi thi...bakri ke peeche peeche aunty aa rahi hain...ye kisan apne khet jotna ke liye ja raha hai. peeth per kuch bhi kapde nahin hai. Isne sar par kuch rakha hua hai jisse barish hogi to ye bheegega nahin...barish hone ke baad ye achi fasal ugayega...Barish aayegi to paise aayega. bael le sakta hai. aur paise aayenge. to phir aur khet karide ga. Jhoppad pati ko patthar ka makkhan bana sakta hai. ho sakta hai ki inke bache bhi ache kaam karenge...acha khana khayenge. Inke bache aage bade ho kar dekh bhaal karnege...bade bade school mein jayenge, sab kuch bade bade school sikhate hain. jaise is school mein izzat nahi karte waise bade school to karte hoyenge aur apne maa baap ko baitha ke khilayega. ye kisan ameeron se isiliye darta hoga kyunki yeh gareeb hai aur iske paas abhi kuch bhi nahin hoga...Ameer kahin uski jayedaad na hadap le, inko zameen par laake na chorh dein...sochta hai shanti se aram se kheti karein araam se jiyein...karte hain aur khaate hain...ameer ke paas vo hota hai jisse woh araam se dusron par apni akad dikha sakte hain...gareebon ko aur neeche dabane ki sochte hain...unki bohat pehchan hoti hai kisi se, bade bade logon se...gareebon ko satane ke liye bohat kuch karte hain vo...ameeron ke paas aukaad hai sirf wo hi dikha sakte hain...gareebo ko kaam se kaam rakhna chahiye. ameero ko kuch nahi bolna chahiye. Ameer ban-ne ka tareeka yeh hai ke gareeb apna ek khet bech dein aur dusre mein bakriyon ke liye rakhein...phir ek khet bechke kisike teen khet khareed le...inki bhi pehchan aur oopar ja sakti hai...ye ameeron ko bhi bohat neeche gira sakte hain...ameer ban-ne ka tareeka yeh hai ke maar ke hi ameer bana ja sakta hai...jaise ameer car mein zyada ghoomte hain to yeh ghareeb jate hain to ye sochte hain yeh to ghareeb hai...ghareeb yeh nahin dekhta ke main isse ghareeb hun...isliye ye (ameer) thappad maarta hai to yeh (ghareeb) bhi thappad de deta hai...vo (ameer) ek maarega to ye (ghareeb) do maarte hain...par ameer ke paas vo nahin hota jo ghareeb ke paas hota hai...jaise gareeb to har ek mehnat karta hai. aur ameer to sirf rishwat khaate hain...par ameer dhang ka kaam to karte nahin hain koi sa...gareebon ko maar ke hi ameer bante hain.

Comment: His fantasies exhibit a dysphoric quality marked in relation to helplessness and a wishful fantasy to escape from his poverty laden home. He has a master-servant interaction in which he projects himself inferior and dependent. The tone is rather wishful for future depicting optimism and elation. Higher defense of primitive splitting is used indicative of the ‘descriptions of characters which tend to be unidimensional; characters are seen as all bad or all good, all powerful or all weak, all nurturant or all frustrating’ (Cramer, 1996, p.161). In the present story, the defense of splitting is used when he shows his affliction indicative of fearfulness and being less defensive against the dominating rich class with a statement like “*Ameer kahin uski jayedaad na hadap le, inko zameen par laake na chorh dein... sochta hai shanti se aram se kheti karein araam se jiyein*” (The riches might take away his possessions... they won’t be left with anything...He thinks, it is best to do farming peacefully and live comfortably. Plough the land and live). Such statements point towards his personal inadequacy combined with negative anticipation of his fantasied success. The environment is uncongenial suggestive of genuine object relations with other people.

CARD 3:

Ye ek Ladka hai aur uske papa hain... udaas khada hai larhka... apne papa ke Kandohe per sir rakha hai...Dukhi ho gaye hain, aisa lag raha hai inka kuch chala gaya hai...kisi ki nishani ho...ya kuch aur ho.. Thand hai, uske papa ne kuch odh rakha hai...udaas hain kyunki inki kuch keemti cheez chali gayi hai. shayad ghar-var toot gaya hai. sab chala gaya hai usi mein dab gaya hai...rashan-vashan... papa aur beta dono mil kar samaan nikalenge usmein se...doosra makkan kharha karenge. Beta padhna chahta hai, per pad nahi pa raha hai. jaise school bol rahe honge ki gareebo ko nahi parhayenge. Fees ki wajah se. inke papa khete hai ki makkan tayyar karenge to parhne ke liye paise nahin bachenge...to phir kabhi parha lenge... bacha soch raha hai ke mujhe parhna hai kuch karna hai warna main isme fail ho jaunga, aage kuch karna hai...jo kara hai wo sab kharab ho jayega...isme main fail ho sakta hun...isme meri ek saal ki mehnat kharab ho jayegi. wo chahta hai mere school ki fees bhar do, uske baad makan tayyar kar sakte hain agar padhane ke baad meri naukari lag gayi to acha makkan banayenge, ache se rahenge.

Comment: This story nicely portrays the conventional dyadic conflictual relationship between father and son. Thus, his story involves several themes suggestive of identification with his father in the course of development. The storyteller, although touches upon the central conflict between the son’s wish for pleasure and the parents’ imposition of rules and restrictions. However, it is not a direct case of a son’s wanting autonomy over unrestricted gratification; rather it is a conflict between his wish to study and father’s desire for the son to give up studies for job and money, showcasing conditionalities in their relationships. Even though the adult demands takes primacy over son’s wishes, this story indicates that the parent’s mores have been internalised and this results in identification. Thus, the major defenses used are sublimation and identification. The

environmental presses point towards the lack of nurturance. The significant conflict of the storyteller is autonomy vs compliance.

CARD 4:

Isme ek Ladka hai aur uski Maa hai, dono udaas kharhe hain...jaise inka kuch chala gaya ho...apni maa se gussa hoga ya iski mummy gussa honggi isse...ek dusre se gussa hain shayad....kuch baat huwi hogi...kahin Khelne gaya hoga. Maa ne mana kia hoga. ye nahin maana hoga isliye gussa hogaya hoga...iski mummy ne hi kuch kaha hoga...ladka sharminda hai. aisa lag raha hai iski mummy ne mana kiya hoga aur ye tab bhi gaya hoga aur aane ke baad isne mummy se jhooth bola hoga, kehti hain tujhe khelne nahin dunggi...tujhe khana nahin dunggi isliye ye sharminda hai... Mummy isko maarti honggi.... ye sochta hai maare na pyar se bole to main wohi karunga jo mummy bolengi par iski mummy aisa nahin karti hain... school mein to pit-ta nahin hoga...ye kisi ko Marta hoga. Sir ji batate honge iski mummy ko. isliye mummy gussa honggi. bolti hain ki discipline mein rakho isko.

Comment: There is a lack of genuine object-related contact with the mother with the opening statement of “*iski mummy gussa honggi isse*’ and ‘*Mummy isko maarti honggi*”. Reversal of affect is used as a defense against passive aggression for his mother when he says he is ashamed of himself and later convoluting it into an argument that she should talk to him with love and should not beat him. Again he uses the mechanism of denial and projects himself as an aggressor in school. The major conflict is autonomy vs compliance.

CARD 5:

Bacha school jata tha. Teacher marte the...aur iski maa bolti thi ke tu aisa kaam mat kiya kar ke teacher maare tujhko... ye kisko maarta ho ya Copiyan cheen leta hoga...ya kisika bag leke bhaag jata ho...use satata ho...chirhata ho... Sir ji thappad marte hain. Roj mummy bolti honggi to sun sun kar bore hogaya tha...apni mummy ko bola hoga ke aisa mat bola karo...mummy ne phir bola diya hoga...to isliye isne apni mummy ka khoon karne ki sochta hoga... Gala dabana shuru kar deta hai mummy ka...phir Ma maarti nahin hai par ghar se nikaal deti hai...kahin rehta hoga dost dost ke yahan apne...School jaana band kar deta hai.

Comment: A rather short yet thought-provoking story by him unravels the on-going dilemma of finding autonomy against the wishes of the mother. Here again, the need of the storyteller is to have unrestricted gratification of his aggressive impulses and the subsequent conflict regarding mother’s imposition of rules and restrictions. The son fails to internalise and idealise his mother’s demands and thus, he projects an aggressive self in the story. The significant conflict is between the presses of aggression vs need of nurturance.

CARD 6:

Ek nadi hai...gaaon mein idhar se udhar jate honge...kaam ke liye bache aate honge. Gaaon mein dost hote hain to unka mann karta hai chal us taraf phal khane chalte hain...aam khate hain. pet bhar ke phal khayenge. Ghar ke liye bhi layenge...dadi-dada, mummy, papa, bhai, behen, chachi, chacha...unhe pet bhar ke khila sakte hain...gaon ke bache isme nahane ke liye bhi ja sakte hain...

Comment: The conception of his childhood and adolescence give insight into his life where he sees himself/other children, not as school going students, rather workers or labourers, “*Kaam ke liye bache aate honge*” (For work the children must be coming). His own family/home environment seems inadequate and less nurturing “*phal khane chalte hain...aam khate hain. pet bhar ke phal khayenge*” (they go for eating fruits...they eat mangoes...they eat fruits with their stomach full...). His major defenses are sublimation and repression.

CARD 7:

Isme ek aadmi hai aur vo apni biwi se mazey le raha hai aur dusri khidki se ek dusri aurat jhaank rahi hai... vo bhi uski hi patni hai. udaas si hai. Ke uske pati ne doosri shaadi kar li hai isilye wo udaas hai ke kya pata vo iske paas jata ho aur uske paas na jata ho...

Comment: “*Mazey*” in this story stands for a sexual relationship. He identifies with a man who is enjoying sexual activity with another woman, apart from his wife. He uses the defense of Isolation of affect and intellectualisation. A latent form of promiscuity is evident. His story projects the position of women in his unconscious as both the women in this story are shown as vulnerable and dependent on the Man.

CARD 8:

Yahan par ek jungle hai...uske andar ek mandir hai...uske andar aag jal rahi hai...Ek Aurat hai use dekh kar aisa lag raha hai vo seediyan ke oopar haath rakh ke ro rahi hai...aisa lag raha hai jaise uske ghar mein kuch hua ho...vo yahan par aayi ho ya usko kisine kuch kar diya ho...vo yahan pe aayi ho ke theek ho jaye...iske bete ko ya kuch ho gaya ho ya phir iske bachon ko saanp ne kaat liya hoga...yahan par mannat maang rahi hogi ke mera beta theek hogaya to main yahan par hawan karwaungi...isme aisa lag raha hai ke ye iske pati ho aur ye kahin ja rahe ho...aur ye mana kar rahi ho ke mat jao...iska pati chala gaya ho aur ye yahan par baithke soch rahi hogi ke kab ayenge...vo chah rahi thi kahin na jayein sirf mere paas hi rahein... vo kehti hai ke wahan mat jao yahin raho kam se kam ghar par hi to rahoge...pati chod ke chala gaya hai.

Comment: The main hero of the story is not the lady but, the other subsidiary character which he introduces in relation to the lady; son and the father. His story displays a strong self-focus in a complex dyadic relationship with his mother in which he is thriving for an autonomous self. There is no expression of emotion in the story, rather they are very ambiguous, significant of conditional object relations. He introduces ominous and frightening circumstances for the lady-“the snake bites children”. This sub-theme occurring in the story is pointing towards his extra-aggression directed at

the mother so that she endures pain, weakness, helplessness, emptiness, and abandonment, by losing her son or husband. The actions of the female begging are representative of social conditionings of females who are denied the overt expression of aggression. A manifestation of the sadistic superego is appearing in the content that is punishing or showing cruelty to the character of a lady representing his mother in the story.

Card 10:

Aisa lag raha hai ke mummy ne bola hoga Bache ko ke school jao. Uska jaane ka mann nahi hai...uske doston ne bola hoga ke aaj main bhi nahin aaunga... socha hoga ke aaj kaam bhi poora nahin hai... Sir ji maareng. uska kaam bhi pura nahin hua hai...

Comment: This story portrays the physical or a psychological form of ego's withdrawal from painful situations, which involve a failure in providing nurturance and interpersonal gratification. The representation of relationships is shown to be hostile, empty, or capricious, but is not profoundly malevolent. There is also profound loneliness or disappointment in relationships. He also projects fear from the anticipated punishment. As Freud (1936, p.80) stated that, "the ego protects itself against the reactivation of the original conflict by developing a phobia and avoiding the occasions of trouble. It imposes restrictions upon its activity, thus evading any situation which might lead to a return of the repressed impulses". His story also represents guilt that he has not completed his homework, which he experiences as superego anxiety. In other words, a defense which, according to Freud (1936) develops when the child experiences pressure from the outside world in which there is a strong un-pleasure.

Blank Card:

Mummy bolti hain school mein jaane ke liye...aur main mana karunga...aur mummy gussa karengi to aisa to hai nahin ke mummy ka gala dabaunga main...mummy ki baat maanke ache se school jaunga...chahe mera kaam poora na ho tab bhi school jaunga ...mummy ki baat to waise bhi main kaat-ta nahin...ek school hai... acha school hai... bahut saare bache padte hain...aur unme se ek bach aisa hai.. aata to roz hai school mein... par sochta hai humein to kya karna hai. Humein to redhi lagani hai. dost kehte hain chorh na. apne ko kya karna hai... nasha karne jata ho...pure school ko bigaad diya hai. Yahan par to saare bache bigde hue hain par private school mein to sudhre hue honge...poori vardi mein aate hain...i-card bhi hota hai...kaam bhi poora karte hain chahe ghar ka ho ya bahar ka ho...ghoomne bhi nahin jaate... teachers ko bhi ulta bolte hain. phele to allowed nahi tha, per ab mar sakte hain teachers. khelte bhi nahi, sirf t.v. dekhte hai phir so jate hain. sir ji sirf aate hain maarte hain, bhaunkte hain aur chale jate hain...ghar mein alag khana banta hai aur bechne wala alag banta hai...lekin main zyada dukan par hi khata hun.

Comment: The opening line of the story is that he cannot kill his mother, like the hero of his story does with his mother. He uses the defense of sublimating his anger over his mother's interfering

nature and his quench for autonomy. There is a sense of reality testing in his story in which he intellectualises that education will not create enough opportunities for him, and he will be a hawker with a cart. He uses the defense of passive-aggression to show how authority figures act out in the school and behave with children aggressively. There is a conflict of infavoidance, infused with harm avoidance.

Interpretation

1. “Main Theme: Most repeated theme is to abscond from being beaten at school and at home. Hero is doubtful of his future.
2. Self-functioning of main hero: Main heroes are all Males. They are mostly poor and aspire social status (1, 2, 3), afraid of the authoritative figures (2, 3, 4, 5, 10) and overwhelmed (2, 3).
3. Main needs and drives of hero: Behavioural needs of hero (as in story): Hero aspires social transformation of self (1, 2). Oral Needs (6). Withdrawal (5, 10, Blank Card). Introductions: Threatening Critical father, Non-Nurturing mother, both critical and supportive Teachers.
4. Conception of the world: Unproductive and threatening, over-demanding, coercive and rejecting.
5. Interpersonal object relations: Parental figures (m: yes, f: yes) are seen as non-nurturant and subject’s reaction is rejecting, Contemporary figures (m,f) are seen as and subject’s reaction is Junior figures (m: yes, f: yes) are seen as and subject’s reaction is ambivalent
6. Significant conflicts: Autonomy vs Compliance, Passive aggression towards parents/Same sex authoritative figure
7. Nature of fears, insecurities and anxieties:of physical harm and/ punishment: Yes (4,5), of illness or injury, of disapproval, of deprivation: yes, of lack or loss of love: yes of being devoured, of being deserted, of being overpowered and helpless, other: Lack of protective Home environment and basic necessities
8. Main defense and coping mechanisms: Withdrawal, Passive Aggressive Acting out, Projection and sublimation.
9. Superego functioning: Integration of the ego: Accepts authority, Story outcome: attempt made to mediate conflict (3). Failed attempt to mediate conflict (1, 2, 6, 7, 9). Successful mediation of conflict (4, 5, 8). Appropriate plot (2, 5, 6). Stereotyped plot (4, 7). Original plot (1, 3, 8, 9, 10).
10. Integration of the Ego functions: The outcomes are unhappy. There is no resolution to conflicts, the plots are original and The plots are self-reflective” (Adaptation from Bellak’s TAT Manual, 1975).

3.5 CASE 'D'



Fig. 11

'D' has a legacy of abuse and neglect; the despair is evident as we sit to talk. He is fair with coloured hair and is about 5'5" tall. Being the youngest offspring of his parents, he hopes to become like his uncle, who works as a chef in a foreign land. His father works at the biggest vegetable market of Delhi as a vendor, and he says, he does not want to become like his father. He has often seen his mother being mistreated by his father and to break this culture of violence, he, of lately has started confining his father and holding him captive in the house next door. In his own words, he says that,

"Papa sahi nahin hain...Matlab ki vo drink karte hain... gaaliyaan bakte hain ...bas [...] mummy ko gaali dete hain... larhai karte hain mummy se... isliye papa ke jaisa nahin banna...wo daru pi lete hain...mummy bolti hai daru pi liya...ye vo phalana dhimkana".

(Father has unpleasant character... I mean he drinks alcohol... swears bad words all the time... and ... abuses mummy verbally... argues with mummy... that is why I do not want to become like my father...he is an alcoholic...)

Intermittently, I asked him, does he try to save his mother? To which he replied saying,

"Main rokta hun na...main ghar mein daal deta hun dusre wale...ek aur ghar hai hamara saamne...to usme hum papa ko daal dete hain...Papa ko usi kamre mein band karke kundi laga deta hun...bas...band karne se pehle ek pani ki botal de deta hun unko...pani ki botal rakhke band kar deta hun...phir papa jaake khud let jaate hain...phir jab thorhi sham hojati hai...mujhe lagta hai ke ab bhookh lag rahi hogi to mummy se kehta hunke mummy khana de do...mummy kehti hai main nahin de rahi...main kehta hun de do na...phir mummy nikaal deti hai...phir main jata hun...kundi kholta hun...dekhta hunke so rahe hain...khana rakhke jagake phir bhaag ke aa jata hun gate pe".

(I stop him... I lock him up in the other house... we have one more house which situated right opposite... so we lock him up over there... I lock my father in that room... I leave a bottle of water for him before locking him up... then father lies down by himself...then by evening... when I feel he might be hungry so I ask my mother to serve him food... mother refuses to serve him meal... I request her to serve... then mummy pushes me out the house... then I go... and open the lock... I see that he is still asleep... so I leave the food and run from there...)

Subsequently, I asked him, what does he feel at that moment and during the time-lag when he confines his father inside the room and when he frees him open from that confinement? Does he feel fearful? I asked him in my next question. He very thoughtfully answered that he does not feel

any pangs of fear, rather an embarrassment that his father will start hurling abuses all over again, and the cycle of tethering him again in that room shall continue.

“Nahin...phir kahin pakarh lein...bahar aa jayein dobara...kya fayada gaali bakenge... phir jab subah utar jaati hai na...to mummy kabhi mama ko bula leti hai...nahin to aise hi”.

(No... what if he catches hold of me... he will come outside... will swear again... then in the morning... mother calls her brother for help... otherwise we just let him be...)

He vehemently stated that he does not like being beaten or punished, which is quite ironical to the case H's and the case M's obsequious stance on punishment. He enigmatically began to tell his story that his classmates always tell his real name to his teacher when teachers' interrogate him on his absence from the class, due to this, he has to endure severe beatings. Again, the previous argument of using pseudo names by the students to combat any punishment leading to termination of name from the school can be corroborated. He further stated that,

“Acha nahin lagta tha school mein...koi dost nahin hota tha to main ghar chala jata tha...class walon se main baat nahin karta tha...class mein ache nahin hai koi...dogle hain...ye saath nahin dete na kisi cheez mein Jaise ki koi kaam parh jaye...kisi kaam ke liye bheje to ye chal nahin sakte...matlab ki yahan par jaise ki...abhi jaise ek sir aaye...unhone naam poocha...to main asli naam bata deta hun...woh keh rahe the ke sir ye ghalat bata raha hai...vo keh rahe the ye ghalat bata raha hai...vo soch rahe the main ghalat bata raha hun...phir maine ghalat bata diya to sab kehte ke sirji jo isne pehle bataya tha wohi sahi hai...maine kaha sirji maine to bataya tha... aapne yakeen hi nahin kara”.

(I did not feel good at school... did not have any friend so, I would leave to home... I did not speak with class fellows... no body is good in the class... they are all bastards... they back away when needed... they do not accompany... I mean... like when Sir comes... and he asks my name... so I gave him my name... but the fellows insist to sir that it is not my name... so sir also thinks I am intentionally giving out wrong name... to play along I also give wrong name, so, they back away and say I was gave my right name the first time... I said sir I told you my real name... but you did not believe me...)

Quite surprisingly, when I asked 'D' if none of the teachers' knew him from his name, to which he replied,

“Ek chote se sir hain...jo maarte hain ...vo jaante hain mera naam aur ek dusre sir bhi jaante hain mera naam... Naam se kisi ko nahin jaante...bolte hain, “Aey larhka kharha ho...”, phir bolte hain roll no bata apna...principal ke paas bhejunga...ek sir hain unhe mera naam nahin pata...vo bohat maarte the mujhe...kyunki main school se ghar bhaag jata tha...”

(There is a sir, short in height... he beats... he knows my name and there is another sir, he also knows my name... does not know anyone by name... they say, “you, stand up”, then asks for roll number... I will send you to the Principal... one sir does not know my name... he beats me all the time... because I run away to home...)

D’s narrative brought forth the vicious bullying by his classmates and also, how he was emotionally and physically abused at home and the school, especially. To evade from his daily sufferings at school, he has successfully used the mechanism of ego withdrawal through running away from painful situations, for eg., bunking classes. He stated that often he takes around 2-3 periods at school, then vault over the school gates and runs away from the school. This act of him lands him in trouble ensuing him with punishment, at the hand of his teachers, whose period he missed. He backlashed his teachers, saying, “...unko ye jalan hogayi ke ye dusre period mein tha to mere mein kyun nahin raha...to phir agle din bohat maara unhone mujhe...” (They must be jealous, for I attended the class in the first period, but why not in my class... so he thrashed me the next day...). Following D’s narratives of being admonished by the teachers for escaping from the school, I asked him to elaborate on how he was beaten. The excerpts of which are as follows,

D: *Dande hi dande maare...thappad hi thappad...phele murga bana diya...phir maara...maine kaha sirji maaro mat, merese bologe murga ban ja to main ban jaunga...phir maara mujhe...*

(Hit me with sticks... slapped rigorously... punished me to sit like a rooster... then he hit me... I asked him not to beat me, I requested to punish me to sit like a rooster... he hit me again...)

Megha: *Tumhe yeh school kaisa lagta hai?*

(How do you find this school?)

D: *Pehle acha lagta tha ab acha nahin lagta...*

(I used to like at first but not anymore...)

3.5.1 TAT of the CASE D

CARD 1:

Ye ladka hai. sangeet gata hai. ye acha ban-na chahta hoga. ye soch raha hai abhi dhun ke baare mein. medium ghar ka hoga. na zyada ameer, na gareeb. usko sangeet ko acha nahin samjhate. usko sangeet acha laga hoga, per bahut acha nahin laga. jisse isse kaam mil jaye dhun ka. 15-16 saal ka hai. ismein talent hai. ye sochta hai iski job kar sakta hai. ismein harunga nahin. isiliye naukri ki talash mein hai. akhir mein ye dhun bana leta hai. mash-hoor ho jata hai. mash-hoor ho jata hai. mash-hoor ho jata hai.

Comment: Storyteller’s personal inadequacy and his concern over moral values stand blatant in his opening communication “*acha ban-na chahta hoga*” (He wants to become good by playing music). He recognises that the character is not completely disinterested in music but mostly sees the musical instrument as the primary support of life. This causes frustration of personal ambition “*per bahut*

acha nahin laga” (He does not like it that much). The storylines express emotions in which the storyteller defends against his inadequacy that he would not fail by creating a personal fantasy by substituting the reality. The denial of reality allows him to exhibition, recognition and achievement. The significant conflict between ‘achievement vs pleasure’ and ‘compliance vs autonomy’.

CARD 2:

Aadmi ke aas paas mein pani bhar chuka hai. mohalle walon sab ke ghar mein paani bhar rakha hai. ek dusre ki madat kar rahe hain. Aurat hai uska koi nahin hai. Is aurat ki khali ek beti hai...ladki ko parhانا chahti hai. Chote gaon ko chorh kar barhe gaon mein jati hai.. job karti hai. udhar ja kar apni beti ko parhانا chahti hai, matlab beti bahut parh-jati hai. phir wo engineer ban jati hai. bahut parh jati hai. maa budiya ho jati hai. Larhki bolti hai apni maa ko ke chalo mummy gaon mein chale jate hain jahan hum pehle rehte the... wahan aake ...vo engineer to hoti hi hai... gaon mein sab badal deti hai. is jagah jahan paani bhara hota hai wahan kuwein banwa deti hai. gaddhe bharwa deti hai gharaon ko patharon ka banwa deti...aur bhi bohat kuch karwati hai... phir iski shaadi ho jati hai. Phir iska ladka hota hai. Apne larhke ko shehar bhej deti hai. ye sochti hai wo parhega, per wo parhta warhta hai nahin. wo ghumta phirta hai. usse bula deti hai. wo bolta hai wo sangeet teacher ban chuka hai. Us larhki ki maa mar jati hai...vo larhki aur uska pati gaon mein hi rehte hain... uski maa larhke ko bulati hai...uske saath girlfriend hoti hai. Ussi larhki ko sangeet teacher bana ke le aata hai makeup karke...us larhki ko burhiya banake.... gaon walon ko to pata nahin hota ke sangeet kaisa hota hai. Vo jo marzi bolta hai to unhe lagta hai ke yeh sangeet gaa raha hai... aur vo ghalat bol raha hota hai...phir vo wahan se chala jata hai... aise hi rehne lagta hai. pita ji jaate hain wahan par aur usko dekh lete hain. bahut din tak dekhte rehte hain ki kya ghalat kaam karta hai, kya sahi kaam karta hai. todhi der ke baad dekh lete hai tu koi kaam nahin karta hai, bas is ladki ke saath awara ho kar ghumta rehta hai. main abhi teri maa ko phone kar bata deta hun. Pitaji maa ko batate hain ke dekho tumhara larhka yahan par kya karta hai...maa nahin manti ki ye sach hai. mummy ke baare mein soch kar shehar jata hai. sangeet seekhta hai. phir gaon mein aata hai saare gaon wale uski pooja karte hain.

Comment: The beginning of the story with reference to thema of flood coalesce the entire story structured around urethral complex suggestive in the storyteller. Murray’s fixation at the urethral stage is associated with excessive ambition, a distorted sense of self-esteem, exhibitionism, bed-wetting, sexual cravings, and self-love. In the first part of the story, the hero identifies with the female in the story. The vivid identification with the girl is significant of three attributes: helplessness, displacement and his home not fully adequate- “The women had nobody, leaves the smaller village and goes to a bigger village”. His story amalgamates fantasies of personal gratification into grandiosity fused with exaggerated self-regard, constant demands for attention and a larger than life idealisations of self with statements like “*wo engineer ban jati hai; gaon mein sab badal deti hai. is jagah jahan paani bhara hota hai wahan kuwein banwa deti hai. gaddhe bharwa deti hai gharaon ko patharon ka banwa deti...aur bhi bohat kuch karwati hai...*” (She becomes an engineer; everything changes in the village...in the place where there was water accumulation, she constructed wells...filled the holes...she constructed the houses made out of bricks....and also gets

many things done). Along the need of exhibition, recognition and achievement, there are instances of abasement, blameavoidance (To avoid blame and obey the rules) and infavoidance (to avoid failure, shame, or to conceal a weakness) as well as which can be seen present in the second story when identifies with a boy introduced in the story. These are the defenses of status which he again fuses with the exhibition in the form of veneration of self towards the end of the story as depicted by “*phir gaon mein aata hai saare gaon wale uski pooja karte hain*” (The villagers start worshipping him).

CARD 3:

Ye beta aur baap hai...ye sharif insan hai, papa बहुत हारमी है. papa के खानदान में बंदुके चालते हैं. पिता जी को सही काम नहीं करता...ये लड़का कभी नहीं चाहा है के मेरे सामने खून खारबा हो...इसे पिताजी गाँव के दूँ हों हैं...और ये सोचता है के मैं अपने पिता जी के जैसा ना बनूँ. इसी माँ का इंतकााल हो चुका है बहुत पहले...ये तब से सोचता है के मैं पिताजी के साथ ना रहूँ...पिताजी को चोरी कर दूसरे शहर चला गया है... वो वहाँ दूँ सिखाता है. तो बहुत अचानक बन जाता है...पिताजी भी कभी मिलने आते हैं और अपने बेटे से बहुत प्यार करते हैं... त.व. में आता है. उसके पिता को पता चला जाता है के मेरा बेटा उस शहर में है. पिता अपने दोस्त को बोलता है तुम्ही बताओ मैं क्या करूँ? कैसे घर लाऊँ बेटे को. मैं अपने बेटे के बिना नहीं रह सकता...पिता जी के दोस्त बोलते हैं तुम हमारा साथ चोरी दो...बोले मैं तुम्हारा साथ कैसे चोरी दूँ तुम्हारे बिना तो मेरा दिल ही नहीं लगेगा. एक दिन उसके पिताजी उसको लेने चले जाते हैं अपने बेटे को लेने...ये जानकर के पिता मुझे धोँधने आ गये हैं लड़का दूसरी जगह भाग जाता है. पिताजी अफस करते हैं के मेरा बेटा मुझसे प्यार नहीं करता...पर वो बहुत प्यार करता था...और अब भी करता है...वो सोचता है कि पिता सुधर जायें तो चला जाऊँ दोबारा गाँव. जिन लोग की ज़ायद जप्त की थी उन सब को बाँट देते हैं दान कर देते हैं. रात दिन धोँधते रहे थे बेटे को बँधके प्यसे...ग़लत दूँ के साथ भी चोरी देते हैं. अब किसी के साथ नहीं घूमते थे...याद आती थी अपने लड़के की...उनका बेटा को बहुत याद आती है तो चला जाता है गाँव. पर पिता जी यहाँ नहीं होते. देख कर रोते हैं दूँ...गले से लगा देते हैं. पिताजी केहेते हैं के अब कहीं मत जाओ मैं हमेशा तरे साथ ही रहूँगा...कोई बात है तो हम मिलकर सुलझा लेंगे. पिता जी अपने सारे ग़लत काम चोरी दिये? बेटा तरे चक्कर मैंने सारे ग़लत काम चोरी दिये. लड़का केहेता है के पिताजी मैं कभी नहीं जाऊँगा...गाँव फिर से अचानक लगता है. गाँव में शरिफ़ लोग के साथ घूमता है. पिताजी खुश होते थे...केहेते थे के शादी कर लो ...अब मैं भी बुद्धा हो गया हूँ...खाना बनाने के लिये कोई भी नहीं है...

Comment: This story can be as a direct window to the storyteller’s potent relationship with his father, which is structured around negative Oedipus-taking father as a love object with a striving to submit to him in a passive-receptive manner. This is to say that “I love him” becomes “I hate him” where later is defended against by the mechanism of projection, i.e., I hate because he hates or persecutes me (Freud, 1911 in Jaffe, 1983). This projection can be seen rooted in childhood experience with an authoritarian and overwhelming father toward whom submission was mixed with insubordination and hostility (Jaffe, 1983). This story encapsulates a lot of conflicts arising out the storyteller’s narrative when he starts projecting his own self in his father’s narration “that the father says I cannot live without my son and to live with his son he has to sacrifice his friendship”. These narratives clearly state his deeper needs of symbiotic ties with his father as he is seeking to

establish his relationship with the father as an ally. His constant altering between compliance and rebellious behaviour is suggestive of his need for power, resistance to a domination which later transforms into reawakened passive submission to his father visible through his verbatim “*Larhka kehta hai ke pitaji main kabhi nahin jaunga*” (Son says to father, I will never leave you). This story also brings along the storytellers need for exhibition, achievement and recognition (He becomes a big singer and comes on T.V.). There are also manifestations of his conflicts structured around impulsivity vs morality, which are projected in the narration of father.

CARD 4:

Maa bete hainge...jab ye hua tha to pita ji ka intekaal ho gaya tha. maa sochti hai ab main kiske sahare jiyungi. to unhone uske (bache) sahare jeena ka socha. jab ye 1-2 saal ka ho gaya to school mein naam likhwaya. jab ye chathi-aathvi mein aa gaya...bada ho gaya, to ghalat logon ke sath rehne lag gaya. iski maa ko nahin pata tha ke ghalat logon ke saath rehta tha. uski maa to sochti thi mera ladka bahut hi pyara hai. uski maa hamesha usko gale se laga kar lagti thi. school jata to school chorhne jati thi. jab ye aata tha to uske saath aati thi. phir usne ghalat logon ka saath pakad liya tha, to uske dost bolte the mummy ke sath kyun aata hai? hamare saath aaya kar, humare saath mazza bhi aayega! To usne bola theek hai abse main tumhare saath hi aaunga...phir jab uski mummy lene aayi to usne apni mummy ko vapis bhej diya. Bola mummy main akela ja raha hun...yeh bohat gareeb tha. To mummy boli paise to hai nahin, kahan se laungi.bola mummy andar jaane ka sahunk nahin hai, balki bahar se dekhkar hi aa jaunga. mele mein jhoot bol kar gaya doston ke saath, dost nasha-vasha karte the, ghalat kaam karte the, wahan bitha liya aur wo sab karne lage. nasha karne lage. wo ladka bola main ghar jaa raha hun. meri maa akeli hogi...mujhe ghar jana hai...uske dost bole aaj humare saath hi ruk ja. to usi time uth kar ghar aa jata hai. uske dost aagle din usko bhi wo sab sikha dete hain. raat mein ghar jata hi nahin tha. sirf school ke time pe milti thi. mummy kehti thi ghar to aa jaya kar...ye kehta tha mummy mere school ke sir hain main unke saath rehta hun...jhoot kehta tha apni maa se... jahan ye ghalat kaam karte hain uski ma wahin chali jati hai. ye wo kaam nahin karta hai. Iski maa sochti hai mera beta yahan kahan hoga, koi aur hi hoga. mummy chali jati hai. Ab ye dekhta hai ke meri mummy thi ab to mujhe ghar jana parhega...ghar jaake so jata hai...mummy kehti hai ke beta aaj tu teacher ke saath nahin tha? mummy aaj mujhe acha nahin laga. mummy dekh leti hai wahan jana. Ye phir jata hai ...to iski mummy dobara jati hai to isko dekh leti hai... mummy poochti hai ke tu yahan kya kar raha hai? Ye kehta hai ke mummy main kuch nahin kar raha, ye log mujhe maar rahe hain. phir ye chala jata hai ghar. koi ladka aata hai .. jo is larhke ka best friend hota hai... ghar pe aa kar sab bata deta hai. aunty ye ache logon ke saath nahin rehta, naasha-vaasha karta hai. ye ghar pe jaata hai, to iski maa se nazrein nahin milti hain. ma isse kehti hai maine itna kharch kara, maine ek ek paisa joda itni mushkilon se tujhe parhane ke liye, ab tu hi aisa nikala to mai kya karun. ussi time school chorh deta hai. kissi kam pe lag jata hai. uske dost bulane aate hain to gali deke bhaga deta hai ke mujhe tumhare saath nahin rehna hai...

Comment: With the opening line of the story “The father had died”, the storyteller delves into a restricted arena of fantasied sexual relations with the mother by having an oedipal wish to eliminate the rival father and the son’s wishes to be alone with the mother. But the absence of father does not entail him unrestricted gratification over his wishes as castration is symbolised of relationship with his friends who antagonises him to renunciate his Oedipus desires for same-sex relationships “to

uske dost bolte the mummy ke sath kyun aata hai? hamare saath aaya kar, humare saath mazza bhi aayega!” (His friends tell him why do you come with your mother? Come with us, with us you will enjoy also). This is followed by strong guilt feelings about sex. Thus, sexual wishes of the storyteller towards the maternal figure and the fear of counter-aggression by the mother figure force him to direct his sexual impulses on his friends, but he finds himself highly distorted, unstable and channels his fears and aggression on himself in the form of guilt. The fear of rejection by the mother enables him to again identify with his mother in an even more significant way is visible in the end. The sentence “*ghar jaake so jata hai*” (He goes home and falls asleep) diagnostically points towards withdrawal and passivity by the subject.

CARD 5:

samajh nahi aa raha isko dekh kar. gaala ghotne wala lag raha hai. Ye ek ladka hai. ye college mein parhta hai aur ladki hai, ye bhi college mein parhti hai. Ye larhki college ki sab se khoobsurat ladki hoti hai. Larhka isse pyar karne lagta hai...larhka pyarse bolta hai ke main tumse pyar karta hun...larhki mana kar deti hai ke main tumse pyar nahin karti...isi zidd mein sub padna chorh deta hai. Larhke ke parents kahin bahar desh mein rehte hain to vo jab aate hain to iska naam dobara usi college mein likhwa dete hain...ke tumhe parhna parhega...phir ise pyar hojata hai...ladki ka koi aur boyfriend hota hai.. vo dono ghoomte the to ye unhe dekh kar jalta tha. sir ji se hamesha ladai hoti thi. iske pita ji bahut ameer the. koi kuch nahin kehta tha college mein. pita ji ki wajah se larhki bhi ise kuch nahin kehti thi...isne bohat logon ko maara bhi hai...isliye larhki use kuch kehti nahin thi kyunki uske pitaji barhe aadmi hain...larhke ke pitaji ke aage vo kuch nahin hai...ek baar uske pita ji college aate hain, larhki bol deti hai ke tumhara beta mujhe chedta hai. papa bahut marte hain ghar pe jaake larhka agle din college nahin jaata hai...larhki sochti hai ke kahin larhke ke pitaji ne larhke ko maara to nahin hoga...larhki sochti hai ke main usko dekhke aati hun...ladki ghar jati hai, larhka sochta hai ke ab ye mujhse pyar karne lag gayi hogi isliye mere ghar aayi hai...bolti hai main sirf friend banungi. sochta hai, wo mujhse pyar karti thi. dheere dheere ek saath ghoomne lag jate hain...ek baar us ladke ke saath jab ghumti hai, to uska boyfriend dekh leta hai...sochta hai ke kya pata bhai ho...uska boyfriend larhke se poochta hai ke tum kaun ho...vo bolta hai ke main uska boyfriend hun...phir vo wahan se chala jata hai...baad mein ladke ko maarne lagta hai. goli mar deta hai...larhki dekh leti hai...iska bhi gala daba ke maar deta hai larhki ko bhi.

Comment: The value of the theme construction is very unusual as it does not meet the predominant mood and the stimulus in the story. It is cluttered with an ambiguous plot, yet the storyteller’s attempt to project his real self cannot be defied anytime. The most ominous feature of this story is that he killed the susceptible boyfriend of the girl he loves and later strangulated her with no afterthoughts. The realistic details of his obsessiveness show strong extra-aggression projected mainly on the woman.

CARD 6:

Achi jagah hai. ye samundar se bahut nazdeek hai. samundar mein koi jata nahin hai. samundar se hoke jaana parhta tha is jagah par... ek admi khoj karne ja raha hota hai. samundar khatarnaak hota hai...samundar mein bohat jaanwar hote hain...saanp, dinosaur ye sab cheezein hoti hain... Dinosaur kha leta hai us aadmi ko...us aadmi ka larhka kehta hai ke mere pitaji kahan hain...vo kehta tha ke mere pitaji ki mujhse baat karwao...to uske pitaji ki to death ho gayi thi...vo saath mein apne 2-3 doston ko bhi leke aata hai...jab vo samundar ke raaste aa raha hota hai to uske ek dost ko dinosaur kha jata hai...phir vo 2 bachte hain aur sochte hain ke ye kaisi jagah hai...vo sochte hain ke is zamaane mein dinosaur kahan se aa gaye...to phir vo pata karte hain ke kya hua...to wahan par dakoo ne vo sab bana diya tha...jo aa gaya yahan aa gaya wapis jana bohat hi mushkil tha...vo wapis jaane ki sochte hain lekin wapis jaa nahin paate...aur vo bohat tareeke aazmaate hain wapis jane ke liye...phir vo jab ja rahe the ki ye sab koi dakoo kar raha hai...use dekh kar ghabra jaate hain...raat hojati hai...apne rehne ka intezaam karte hain...naav banate hain...usi mein so jate hain...subah perh se phal todkar khate hain...aakhir mein daku pakde jate hain aur kisi tarah wapis chale jate hain. baad mein police ko wahan late hain lekin police vishwas nahin karti ke ye sab dakoo kar raha haivo kehte hain ke vo asli dinosaur hai...vo dono dost hi kuch karte hain aur dinosaur ko maar dete hain...phir daku ko bhi pakarh lete hain aur apne pitaji aur dost ko bacha lete hain...phir unka naam hojata hai ke inhone ye khoj kari hai...

Comment: This story has the occurrence of bizarre and unrealistic plot and outcomes. His thought process is not structured. The introduction of water again ties in with the urethral aspect of the use of the water in one of the previous stories. The theme is a typical of triangular oedipal situation, however; any mention of the mother is missing. The father is killed and later revives in the story. In this way, he is able to identify with the male figure in a more significant way. There is a visible mention of the storyteller need for exhibition fused with achievement. In this picture card hero's oral needs are met.

CARD 7:

Iski is aurat se shaadi hui padi thi. aadmi is aurat se shadi nahin karna chahta tha...uske gharwalon ne zabardasti uski shadi karwa di. aadmi kisi aur se pyar karta tha...vo chahta tha ke mujhe isse shadi karni hai...aur iske gharwale bolte the ki hum teri shadi kahin aur karwayenge... jab iski shadi kissi aur se ho jati hai, wo usse pyar nahin karta. dusri se roz milne jata tha. kuch dino baad jab vo daily jaane laga to uski biwi poochti hai ke aap office se aake direct kahan jaate ho...vo kehta hai ke tumhe koi matlab hai...main tumse pyar nahin karta hun...vo itna bolke hamesh taal deta hai aur jab bhi vo khana banati hai vo khana nahin khata...vo bolta hai main tumhare haath ka khana nahin khaunga...aur vo hamesha hotel se khana laata hai...vo ghar mein naukar rakhta hai kyunki vo sochta hai ke mere ghar pe koi na aaye...jaise main auron ke ghar pe jata hun to mere ko pata chal jaye ke koi aa raha hai mere ghar pe...chaukidar rakh leta hai...ek din uski biwi ja rahi hoti hai to chaukidar usse poochta hai ke madam aap kahan ja rahi ho...vo bolti hai ke main apne pati ko dhoondhne ja rahi hun...vo kehta hai ke main phone karke bula deta hun...jab vo phone karke bula deta hai to vo kehta hai...ke aaj raat main nahin aaunga...to uski biwi usi time kuch acha nahin lagta hai ke uska pati aaj raat nahin aayega...uski mummy mar gayi hoti hai...uske pitaji ne dusri shadi kar li hoti hai...jab vo apne pitaji ko bulati hai to uske pitaji nahin aate...to vo sochti hai ke main ab kya kar sakti hun...to phir vo sochti hai ke main ghar chorhke chali hi jati hun yahan se...vo sochti hai ke apne pati ka ghar chorhna acha nahin rahega...phir woh ek din apne pati ka peeche karte karte aa jati hai...vo dekhti hai ke vo ek ghar mein ghus jate hain...phir vo ek khirhki se jaake dekhti hai ke pati kya kar raha hai...phir jab uska

pati ghar aata hai to vo poochti hai ke tum kahan the...vo kehta hai ke main kaam se kahin gaya tha...uski patni kehti hai ke jhooth kyun keh rahe ho...pata hai mujhe ke kahan gaye the...bata do mujhe, main kuch nahin kahungi...kisi ko kuch nahin bolungi...khao geeta ki kasam...to vo kehta hai ke haan main kahin nahin gaya tha...phir vo kehti hai ke maine dekha tha tum kisi aurat ke ghar gaye the...aadmi usse kehta hai ke mujhe maaf kardo...aaj ke baad kabhi nahin jaunga...main hamesha tumhare hi saath rahunga...pitaji ko mat batana...2-3 din hojate hain...phir jis aurat ko vo pyar karta hai vo phone karti hai to phir uski biwi dekh kar poochti hai ke kisse baat kar rahe ho...phir vo kehta hai ke main office mein kisi se baat kar raha hun...koi kaam hai...to vo chali jaati hai...phir aakhir mein usi din dusri wale ke paas chala jata hai...to phir iski biwi dekh leti hai...ke ye mere is kaam to aa nahin rahe hain...to vo larhke ke pitaji ko bula ke le aati hai...iske pitaji aate hain to ise bohat maarte hain aur dono ko jail mein band karwa dete hain...kehte hain ke tumne kanooni apraadh kiya hai...tumne kisiki zindagi kharab ki hai...aur uske pitaji bohat hi ache hote hain...

Comment: The predominant mood of the story is anxiety-gratification; autonomy vs compliance. Sexual components of the hero are revealed by D. He uses the defense of passive aggression against his father and compliance to his overt demands. The father is shown as powerful, threatening and critical of son's actions.

CARD 8:

Gufa hai. aurat hai. ache ghar se hoti hai. isme bohat ghamand hai. kissi se baat nahin karti. Kuch ladke harami hain to iska un ladkon se ek baari paala parh jata hai...vo larhke isko kuch nahin kehte ke ye ameer hai iska hum kya karenge...ye to hamein aur ulta phanswa degi...to vo isko kuch nahin kehte hain...jitne bhi log jaate hain vo kabhi inke oopar color phenk deti thi...kabhi apne kutton se katwati thi. sochti thi wo akeli hi rahe. khali pitaji hote hain...pita ji usse pyar karte the. chahe vo koi bhi gali kar le uske papa uska saath dete the...kehte the ghali usi aadmi ki hogi teri ghali nahin hogi...jin 4-5 laundon ne ise kuch kaha tha unhi 4-5 ladko ke paas jati hai.vo sochte hain ke is larhki ka kuch karna parhega ye hamesha hamein kuch na kuch kehke chali jati hai... ek larhka ghar ke bahar khada kar dete hai aur ek uski chhat pe... ishara karte hain ke nikal gayi ghar se...jaise hi nikalte hai to van mein dal dete hain aur isko leke chorh dete hain. aisi jagah chorh dete hain jahan se ye vapis hi na aaye. jungle mein bhatak jati hai...ghoomti rehti hai...sochti hai ke main kahan soun... jungle mein goofa milti hai wahin jaake ye soti hai. akhir mein problem hoti hai aur sochti hai ke aaj pata chala ke akela rehna kaisa lagta hai. daily ladke pareshan karte hain. kissi ladke ne isko mar diya tha. pita ji dhoondte rehte hain. pata chaala ke jungle mein hai...jaan se maar diya tha is larhki ko...phir pitaji apni beti ke kaatil ko dhoondhte hain...aur unhe pata chal jata hai ke kaatil kaun hai...uske pitaji kuch bhi karke saboot chahte the...gufa mein pagal aadmi rehta tha...usne dekh liya tha...us pagal aadmi ko leke gaye...jab usse poocha gaya to usne keh diya ke 5 larhke hain unhone maara hai usko...to phir un larhkon ko bulaya jata hai...poocha jata hai ke yahi hai...pagal mana kar deta hai ke ye nahin hai...phir vo dobara pareshan hojata hai aur sochta hai ke meri beti ka qaatil kaun hoga...jungle mein ek perh mein camera laga hua hota hai...kisi shikari ne lagaya hota hai...ke koi shikar aaye to pata chal jaye ki shikar hai...shikari jab camera utarta hai aur use dekhta hai to vo dekh leta hai ke us larhki ko un larhkon ne maara tha...to phir jab vo pata karta hai ke uske pita kaun hain to vo video unko de deta hai...unhi 5 larhkon ko bulaya jaata hai... phir unhe saza hojati hai. Larhkon ko poocha jata hai ke tumne kyun maara larhki ko...vo kehte hain ke hune us larhki ko isliye maara ke vo larhki hamesha ghKd mein rehti thi...jab bhi hum idhar udhar jaate the to humse ainth ke hi bolti thi...hum use samjhate rehte the ke humse aise mat bola karo...hum ache log nahin hain...vo hamesha kuch na kuch kehke bhag jaati thi...kabhi hamare peeche kutte lagwa deti thi...kabhi apne driver se hamein pilwati thi...to

humne socha is baari isko kidnap hi kar lete hain...humne kidnap kiya tha isko par socha nahin tha ki isko jaan se maar denge...jab humne ise dhakka diya to iska sar seedi par lag gayato ye usi time mar gayi...

Comment: Aggressive and sexual components of his personality are seen symptomatic of perversion, sadism, hostility and domination. His misogynistic approach towards the girl in question reveals phallic aggression. He uses the defense mechanism of projection, isolation of affect and rationalises the homicidal actions.

CARD 10:

Andhera hai...ek larhka baitha hua hai...udaas hai...vo isliye udaas hai ki uska koi nahin hai...us din ki baat hai jab vo apne doston ke saath ghoomne ja raha tha...uske doston ne kaha ki tu kahan ghoom rahe ho...unhne socha iska to koi nahin hai kya pata ye sahi na ho...to unhone apne dost ke parents se bola ke iske saath mat ghoomna...to phir isko batate hain ke hamare parents ne mana kiya hai iske saath ghoomne ke liye...ye unse alag hojata hai...phir ye ek din unhi ke saath ghoom raha hota hai...to unke parents dekh lete hain...to vo bolte hain ke beta iska to koi gharbaar nahin hai tum apna ghar mein baitho...kaam vaam karo...to ye jabse hi udaas rehne lagta hai...uska koi nahin hai...ye kahin kaam karta hai...chaye ki dukan par...bartan dhota hai...aur ek amma iske paas hamesha aati hai...vo iski dukaan ke paas se hamesha guzarti thi...vo bohat ameer thi...vo isko hamesha dekhti thi...us amma ka ek larhka tha jo mar chuka tha...vo jab bhi isko dekhti thi to use lagta tha ke yehi mera beta hai...to phir vo ek din isko apne saath le jati hai...kehti hai ke chal tujhe main apna ghar dikhati hun...phir apne ghar mein isko khana khilati hai...kaprhe pehnati hai...nehlati dhulati hai...phir ye bolta hai ke mujhe hamesha hi tumhare saath rehna hai...to vo bolti hai ke beta tu hamesha mere saath nahin reh sakta...kyunki jo uski bahu thi vo bohat harami thi... amma sochti hai ke main kya karun...budiya ki saari jayadad bahu ke naam hoti hai...to vo budiya kaise bhi karke saari jayadad apne naam karwa deti hai...to phir jab vo isko leke aati hai na...jis school mein iske dost parh rahe hote hain...jisme uske dost apna naam likhwana chahte the...vo budi amma usme iska naam likhwa deti hai...aur phir us school mein ye har saal topper aata hai...har saal yeh top karta tha...aur ye bachon ka interview leta tha admission ke liye...to ye itna intelligent hogaya tha...jab uske dost ki mummy school mein aati hain aur usko dekhti hain aaj ye baitha hai is jagah...to vo wahin se bahar jane lag jati hain...to vo kehta hai ke aajao aunty aajao...aur bulake kehta hai ke interview do...vo kehti hai ke main mere bete ka har saal interview dilwati hun uska yahan par ho nahin paata...ye kehta hai ke is saal main hun to hojayega...phir unhi teeno ke ghar jaata hai class dene...parhane...taaki interview mein pass hojayein...aur phir unka school mein naam likh diya jata hai...aur phir unki mummy kehti hain ke isi ke saath raha karo aur kisi ke saath mat ghooma karo...

Comment: The story begins with splendid isolation and as Abrams (1993) put it that the narrator displays only a surface level adjustment with people. The hero has low self-esteem due to his poverty. The narrator shows his helplessness and vulnerability and demands for attention. He introduces grandiosity coupled with magical thinking that some rich lady will adopt him. He has immense self-regard, and in the plot, he showcases an oedipal wish towards the old lady that she bathes a teenaged boy and reclaims a fear of separation from the mother at the hands of her daughter-in-law.

Blank card: *Ek ladka hai. 15 saal ka hai. police wala banna chahta hai. uske parents bhi support karte hain. uske school ke samne acha school hai. wo dekhta hai. vo sochta hai ke kaash main is school mein parh sakta hota...to vo ek din usi school ke saamne kharha hojata hai...usse teachers bula lete hain. teacher kehte hain ke yahan kya kar rahe ho tumhare school ka time hogaya hai jao school...vo kehta hai ke mujhe apna school acha nahin lagta hai...mujhe is school mein parhna hai...uska test liya jata hai... wo 7th mein hain. 12th ka pad leta hai. usme bohat dimaag hota hai par gharwale support nahin karte hain. poore school mein first aata tha... teacher apni fees se parhate hai. ussi school ka principal ban jata hai. principal banne ke baad fess ko 500 rs ko 250 rs karwa deta ha.fees ko half karwa deta hai...us ilaake mein ye tha ki jhuggi ke bache nahin parh sakte the sirf ache bache parh sakte hain...jab vo principal bana to usne wo rule ko hata diya...likha ke isme khali wohi bache parhenge jo parhna chahteh hain...vo nahin jo sirf ghoomna chahte hain...*

Comment: The main hero of the story is a boy of age 15 years who share an ambivalent relationship with his school and fantasies of going to a good school. The beginning of the story with a dream of becoming a police officer conveys that the hero wants to socially transform the world and take charge of himself as a responsible citizen. Grandiosity enters his story when he says that the hero who is in VII grade can read the texts of XII grade, indicating narcissistic personality fused with exhibitionistic manifests. The grandiose representation of self reveals a personality of the narrator, which contains the power, perfection accompanied by the feelings of being admired and adored. The narrator is using defense to protect himself from painful events.

Interpretation

1. “Main Theme: Most repeated theme is to acquire power and success through boastful grandiosity.
2. Self-functioning of main hero: Main heroes are all Males Main heroes are all Males They are mostly vulnerable, incompetent, isolated and possess a desire for acquiring a great stature.
3. Main needs and drives of hero: Behavioural needs of hero (as in story): To become a person of high social prestige. Introductions: Grandiose circumstances, Famous persons, Threatening Critical father and dubious Friends, Nurturing Step-Mother. Omissions: None
4. Conception of the world: Unproductive and threatening, overly demanding, uncaring, overly critical, non-nurturing.
5. Interpersonal object relations: Parental figures (m: yes, f: yes) are seen as non-nurturant and subject’s reaction is rejecting. Contemporary figures (m: yes, f: yes) are seen as Rejecting and subject’s reaction is withdrawal. Junior figures (m: yes, f: yes) are seen as and subject’s reaction is none.
6. Significant conflicts: Phallic Aggression, Achievement-Pleasure, Strong Homosexual Fear, Urethral.
7. Nature of fears, insecurities and anxieties: of physical harm and/punishment, of illness or injury, of disapproval, of deprivation: yes, of lack or loss of love: yes, of being devoured, of being deserted: Yes, of being overpowered and helpless, other: Lack of protective Home environment and basic necessities
8. Main defense and coping mechanisms: Isolation, Projection and Rationalisation.
9. Superego functioning: punishment for crime is delayed and unjust.
10. Integration of the Ego functions: The outcome is happy but unrealistic. Plots are bizarre and unrealistic” (Adaptation from Bellak’s TAT Manual, 1975).

3.6 CASE 'K'



Fig. 12

K is eldest among his siblings with sisters already married. His parents work as daily wage labourers on the construction site and earn about INR 300. His mother, a Muslim woman, had married a Hindu man, and K was born out of the alliance. K and his mother were never accepted by his maternal grandparents, only after his father, who died at a young age, his mother was married by her parents to a person of their 'Khandaan/Biradari'. He has a half-brother whom he thinks is loved most by his step-father. He vividly tells me about his family occupation and says:

“Main bohat jagah ghooma hua hun...Mumbai, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Assam, Kashmir...humare yahan khandan mein khel dikhate the...pehle hamare khandan mein barhe barhe the na jo to vo bhaloo nachate the...dekha hoga aapne kahin bhi bandar ka khel...vo hamare biradari ke hi hote hain...koi vo jo tokre wala hota hai...usme bache ko gayab kar dete hain...main bhi karta hun...”

(I have visited many places...Mumbai, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Assam, Kashmir...In the past, our family occupation was to showcase huge plays... the elders in the family used to organise dance by Bears...you must have seen Monkey's dance somewhere... they belong to our community... the ones who carry basket... they make kids disappear...i also do the same...)

There was a sheer excitement on his face when he was telling me about his life outside the school. He became a little more disinterested in the session when I asked him about his life in school by giving only one-liners. The excerpts are as follows:

Excerpt:

Megha: *parhai likhai ke baare mein aapki kya soch hai? Parhna likhna kya hota hai?* (What is your opinion on education? What is education?)

K: *Parhna to ma'am...English to aati nahin hai itni...Hindi to aati hai...bas parh lete hain...*(Ma'am education is...I have not learned English... I have learned Hindi... can only read...)

Megha: *Acha Batao kitne subject mein pass hue abhi jo exams hue the?* (Okay tell me, in recently held examination, how many subjects did you pass?)

K: *Ek mein bhi pass nahin hua...jo parha tha wohi kar diya...*(I did not pass in any of the subjects... I performed as I was taught...)

Megha: *Yeh school ke baare mein aap kya sochte ho?* (What is your opinion on this school?)

K: *Yeh school to bohat ganda hai...* (This school is very bad...)

Megha: *Kaunsa school bohat barhiya hota hai?* (Which is school is supposed to be excellent?)

K: *Bas parhai honi chahiye...* (where only education is imparted...)

Megha: *Is school mein parhai nahin hai?* (Does this school impart education?)

K: *Itni parhai nahin hai...sirji aata hai parhata-varhata kuch hai nahin...aur bache bhi sirji ke control mein nahin hote... (Not a lot of education... Sir does not focus on teaching... and kids are also beyond sir's control...)*

Megha: *Control matlab? (What do you mean by control?)*

K: *Control matlab ke jaise sirji se darte hain bache...ke haan sirji agar hum ghalti karenge to maareng...hamari class mein to saare bache darte hain sirji se...ke hum kuch ghalti karenge to sirji maareng hamein...yahan wale bachon ko to kuch bhi dar nahin hai...aur vo to sirji ko hi maarte hain...sirji bolte hain bohat maarunga...to bache bolte hain ke befaltu mein maar dega...ye vo...jaise sirji bolega kaun karega...aur bache wahan pe tub hi bol de to bache ko punishment milti hai...haath kharha karte hain...dande se maarte hain...main wahan jata tha to sahi rehta tha...yahan pe saare badmash hain...koi hamare jaan pehchan ke aate hain yahan par bhi...ye bangali kuch zyada hi hote hain...unka ilaka hai isliye zyada bante hain...jiska zyada hoga who to banega hi... (Control means like how sir is afraid of kids... but if we make a mistake sir will definitely hit us... in my class everyone is afraid of sir... that if we will make a mistake sir will beat us up... kids on this side are not afraid of anything... and in fact they beat up sir... sir emphasises on beating... so kids say he might beat us up with no reason... etc etc... no one is expected to follow sir... and that side of kids gets punished if they speak up... (explains types of punishments) ... I used to be better when I was there... here everyone is naughty... family and friends also come here... these Bengali think they are superior... it is their territory... the one who has large portion of territory will obviously think to be superior...)*

Megha: *Agar acha school ho...jaane ka aapko mauka mile...to kaunse school mein jaana pasand karoge? (So, if there is a good school... and you get the opportunity to become its student... then which school would you like to go?)*

Megha: *Private school mein? (in a private school?)*

K: *Private school mein sahi bache jaate honge...jiske papa ke paas paisa hoga...vo bache jaate honge...humare paas itna kahan hai! (Well off kids must be the ones who go to private schools...their fathers must be rich...we do not have money like them!)*

3.6.1 TAT of CASE K

CARD 1:

Ye K hai...ye soch raha hai, violin ka kya karun? bajaun? sikhta tha ya sikhega kisi se? kya pata hai isse pata hi na ho ke kya hai? soch raha hai, dekh raha hai ke iska kya karna hai kya nahin karna...soch raha hai ke isko bajaunga to iski awaaz kaise aayegi? Aur bajana nahin aayega to ulta seedha bajata hoga. Vo soch raha hai ke aage isko kaise bana diya jayega, violin se guitar ban gaya aage kya banega...ghar mein iske papa rehte hain aur iski choti behen hai...iske papa pyar nahin karte. kyunki vo violin seekhna chahta hai aur iske papa violin se gussa hain. woh seekhna chahta hai. papa ke khilaaf jayega. violin seekhega. kaam karega khet mein, usi se violin seekhega. garib hai. papa bolte hain kaam kar...faltu mein fizool mein kyun laga hua hai, per ye seekhna chahta hai. kaam karte hain kuch banne ke liye. Jab isko tankha milti hai to iska papa marta hai, paise cheen leta hai. jisse ye sikhta hai wo sahi sikhata hai. papa marte hai ki mazdoori kar beta...tujhe kya milega ye seekhne se...tujhe kya milega seekhke... duniya hasegi jab bekar mein zindagi kharab kar lega.

Comment: At a basic level, his opening story looks like him in conflict with his father is represented as savage and cruel: “*Papa marte hain isko, Mazdoori kar*” (His father chastises him to start working as a labour). The musical instrument is seen causing frustration of personal ambition “*Wo seekhna chahta hai aur papa violin se gussa hain*” (He wants to learn how to play but his father is angry over the violin). He omits his mother in the family description. The central conflict between the child’s wish for pleasure and the parent’s (authoritative father) imposition of rules and restrictions is vividly expressed in the story. This is indicated by the storyteller’s conflict between unrestricted gratification and the pressure of adult demands, which he internalises. There is also a mention that he will be belittled and ridiculed by others if he does not give up his aspiration for playing the musical instrument. This again leads to his overriding conflict of compliance vs autonomy. This story of K represents what Freud (1919a) in his paper ‘A child is beaten’ alluded to. It is an imaginary situation which characterises a masochistic phantasy of being beaten by the father at the expense of gaining pleasure from it. This phantasy is stemmed in jealousy and rivalry with the sibling and begins with “My father is beating the child whom I hate.” It meant, “he loves only me.” The resultant of the beating fantasy derivative is in an analogous fantasy that involves subjugation and humiliation, over-dependence or enthrallment and shame, in which the child is fixated at the father, i.e., he derives an inverted attitude in the oedipal phase. This will be followed up more elaborately in the discussion of themes.

CARD 2:

Ladka hai Bhasin. Ye machli pakarhta hai. isse sham ho jati hai. ek bhi machli nahin aati. udaas ho jata hai. sochta hai ke main kya karun... sab ghar pe bhukhe baithe hain. ye sochta hai, meri behen intezaar kar rahi hogi. main machli pakad ke le jaunga, meri mummy kab baneyegi. do machli pakad leta hai. ghar chala jata hai. ghar pe ja kar dekhta hai ki sab ne khana bana kar kha liya hai. ye kehta hai ke mummy main machli pakarh ke laya hun ye tum bana lo...phir uski mummy kehti hai ke beta aaj to ye kha le, kal bana lenge. Phir ye subah uthta hai aur dekhta hai ke dono machli mar gayi...kyunki zindi pakarh ke laata hai... rone lag jata hai ke maine itni mushkilon se pakarhi thi... phir ye nadi ke kinaare dubara jata hai. paani saaf rehta hai to dekhta hai ke zyada machli aayi hain. jaal gherta hai aur machli pakarh leta hai. ye bohat saari machli pakarh leta hai...phir sochta hai aaj banaunga nahin bechunga...phir ye ghar jata hai, sab ko bechta hai. phir bechke 200 rs milta hai. ussi paiso se apni mummy ko saag deta hai, aloo chawal deta hai.

Comment: The storyteller offers indications of his family relations through this picture. Primarily, he omits central figures in the picture except for the boy and a woman. He identifies the hero with the boy who is inadequate in catching hold of the fishes and the woman with the mother. In this story, the underlying theme is his personal inadequacy and unmet interpersonal relationships within the family. This is clear from the statement that while he came home after a day long hunt for fishes thinking his family must be waiting for him for dinner, he had to face the fact that his family

already ate the dinner without waiting for him suggesting no interpersonal interaction within the family. His mother is seen as a pacifier, and so positive cathexis with the mother is visible in the story. The lack of satisfaction of oral needs is also significant in the story; however, in the end, the oral needs are seen to be met. He presents a sorrowful self fused with lack of nurturance and succourance in the story.

CARD 3:

Ek larhka rehta hai. papa se bohat pyar karta hai. wo apne papa ke liye kuch karna chahta hai kyunki uske papa uske liye kuch nahin kar sakte the kyunki uske papa apahij hote hain. bacha kaam pe jata hai. kaam pe 200 rs milte hain. ghar pe aata hai. papa ke liye nashta pani bana kar khila deta hai. Subah uthta hai to dekhta hai ke dustbin mein daru ki bottle hai. papa se puchta hai ye kya hai to uske papa kehte hain ke beta yeh to dawai hai. vo poochta hai ke yeh kaisi dawai hai...papa bolte hain ki beta ye pet ke dard ki dawai hai. kaam per jata hai. raaste mein dekhta hai ke kuch aadmi wo hi bottle pi rahe hain...koi kahin so raha hai koi kahin so raha hai...vo sochta hai ke yeh to nasha hai... wo bewade hai. Kaam par jata hai aur jab wapis aata hai to papa pi rahe hote hai. wo aa kar apne papa ko kheta hai ki yeh gandi cheez hai...nasha hai...isse apke lever kharab ho jayenge...aapki tabiyat kharab hojayegi papa... Papa ko samjhata hai. kaam pe jata hai. dekhta hai uska papa nashedi daru pi kar wahi pada hai. ambulance aayi hui hai. poochta hai ke kya hua to vo kehte hain ke gurde kharab hogaye...bahar jaake bachao bachao kehta hai...ek aadmi aake uski madad karta hai...papa ko hospital le kar jate hain. doctor bolta hai operation karna padega. 1 lac operation ke liye maangta hai. phir kaam pe chala jata hai. sabke aage girh-girhata hai koi nahin deta. Phir kaam pe jata hai kamata hai...aur iske papa phirse daru peete hai. papa tum marna kyun chahte ho, apne papa ko bolta hai. phir kahin se paise le kar operation karwa deta hai. operation ke baad papa sudhar jaate hain...

Comment: This story portrays the storyteller's wish to humiliate father, which is expressed as a phantasy that the father is handicap symbolic of castrated. The impotent castrated father is the reversal of the situation that the storyteller has gone through in his childhood. This is followed by his guilt feelings, which he overcame through taking care of the vulnerable father. "These fantasies tend to have a fixed, masochistic shape and express these patients' position of helplessness facing their fathers, unable to mobilise their aggression" (Perelberg, 2015, p.36). It is here the storyteller enters into a fantasy that he is able to forgive the dying father and the dying father recuperates by the extravagant treatment by his son.

CARD 4:

Yeh ladka Islamuddin rehta hai. iski mummy ka naam rehta hai ruksana. mummy kheti karti hai. kehti hai ghar pe ja kar kaam karungi, beta kehta hai aapne mujhe paal poske itna barha kar diya main aapko aise nahin dekh sakta mummy...vo kaam pe jata hai, maa sochti hai kaama ke aayega aise sochti hai. iske bete ko paise mil jate hain kahin par. ghar pe le kar aata hai. mummy puchti hai ki tune ghalat kaam to nahin kiya...aisa nahin hosakta, koi agar aaya to main police mein de dunggi. bolta hai, ek jagah mein pipe mein mil jate hain. wo puchti hai kahan gaya tha, ab mat jaana. ye sab chorh do, khana peena dene ke baad sula deti hai.

Comment: In this story, the storyteller is able to project a latent fear of disapproval and counter-aggression by his mother. Fear of losing his primal object relations and re-experiencing separation anxiety is visible in his affect tone. There are care and concern for the mother, but, he possesses an anxious mood that his ego-ideal of being a perfect son will be threatened if his real self is projected in front of the mother. Although his oral needs are getting satisfied, there are symptoms of withdrawal (sleep) in his narrative, such as “after providing with the food; she makes him sleep”. Thus, the significant conflict is autonomy vs compliance. His major defenses are withdrawal and repression.

CARD 5:

Raaste mein larhki ja rahi hoti hai...Mumtaz. larhki andhere mein se aati hai kaam par se. udhar hi yeh larhka hota hai...vo sochta hain aaj koi aayega to paise cheen lunga. larhki aati hai to larhka wahin baitha hota hai perh ke neeche...larhka ekdum se uska haath pakarhke bolta hai paise de de nahin to main mar dunga. Larhki use apne phone paise sab de deti hai...phir bhi larhka uska gala ghot ke mar deta hai phir larhka apne ghar chala jata hai...iski maa beemar hoti hai to vo uski dawai leke aata hai...subah iski maa ki ghalat kaam se maa guzar jati hai.Mumtaz ke peeche police aati hai to isko pakarh ke le jati hai aur poochti hai ke tune kyun kara aisa...bolta hai meri mummy bohat bimari thi...mujhe iske ilaaj k liye bohat saare paise chahiye the...isiliye ek din main perh ke neeche baitha hua tha to wahan se Mumtaz ja rahi thi to maine socha ke isse paise cheen lunga. ladki saara kuch deti hai, isiliye main usse dar ke maare maar da hun.

Comment: The storyteller enters into sadistic terrain through this story in which he depicts his self as homicidal; having aggression fused with the acquisition (money). Remorse or slight guilt permeates in the mind of the storyteller where he says that it is due to his punitive actions that his mother faced death, which symbolises the real punishment for him. His superego is externalised as he believes in the supernatural fate of his mother. Here, he rationalises the main motive behind committing the crime (robbery) “his mother was terminally ill”, but he again shows extra-aggression on the girl. This is suggestive of an endogenous source of anxiety within him, which is followed by a terrifying impulse to run from the crime scene. It was not just conciliatory/complying behaviour that he was seeking from the sexual object (girl), rather he is seeking revenge for his mother’s health. The major conflict is “anger vs acquiescence or dominance vs submissiveness interpersonal object relation.” At a deeper level, this story brings about the fear of counter-aggression in the storyteller.

CARD 6:

Ek jagah rehti hai bilkul sunsan. student kho jate hain. 3-4 bache. Vo bohat barha jungle hota hai...vo sochte hain ke hamein koi bacha le...jaanwar se koi khatra hoga. Phir vo chalte rehte

hain...nadi dikhti hai...phir vo nadi ke kinare kinare ghoomte hain....vo dekhte hain door ek naav khadi hoti hai...usko haath dikhata hai. phir vo ek kinare pe jaake ek danda gaad kar white kameez laga dete hain...ladke dekhte hai ke koi aayega to hamein bacha ke le jayenge...koi nahin aata. barish hone lag jati hai. sochte hain, hamara bachna possible nahin hai...vo 2 din tak bina khana khaye sirf pai pi ke chalte rehte hain...unhe bohat bada pedh dikhta hai to uspe charhke dekhte hain ke hamein kahan jana hai. perh par charh kar dikhta hai kaash koi hamein ghar chorh de. Jaate hain aur jungle ke log dikhte hain. wo unhe pakkad lete hai. wo rone lagte hai. jungle ke log sochte hain ke ye kyun ro rahe hain...phir unka mukhiya kehta hai ke inhe chorh do...khane ko fruits dete hai aur chorh dete hai. chalte rehte hain. school ki taraf se ghoomne aate hain. wo raat bhar chalte rehte hain. raaste mein koi dikhta hai wo ghar pe le jate hain, aur bolte hain rasta bhatak gaye the. Phir vo unhe unke ghar chorh dete hain...

Comment: This story is suggestive of the theme of feeling unprotected in an externally threatening world and a fear of being devoured and annihilated (Abrams, 1993). Interpersonal needs are not met. Oral needs are not met, but later are met in the story.

CARD 7:

Ek aadmi rehta hai uski do biwi rehti hain. ek jisse papa shaadi kar dete hain. papa ki izzat rehti hai gaon mein to vo kehte hain ke beta shaadi kar le...to ye pyar kisi aur se karta hai aur iske papa shaadi kisi aur se karwana chahte hain...to ye papa ke khilaf nahi jaana chahta. Papa shaadi karwa deta hai...phir shaadi ho jati hai. jisse pyar kar leta hai usko bhi apne saath rakhta hai...dhoka dene se to acha hai...to usse love marriage karta hai...to ye ek biwi se zyada pyar karta hai aur ek biwi se kam karta hai...to uski biwi kehti hai ke mere paas kabhi nahin ate...yeh vo...uski biwi roti hai...ke jab mujhse pyar hi nahin tha to mujhse shaadi kyun kari...iski biwi kahin bula leti hai aur poochti hai ke mere paas kyun nahin aate ho...to yeh kehta hai ke maine tumse shaadi isliye kari thi kyunki mere papa chahte the...ab maine jisse pyar kiya tha isliye usse bhi shaadi kari...aakhir mein dono se hi pyar karta hai...koi chorh ke nahin jata...

Comment: This story nicely portrays the themes of frustration-gratification. K identifies with a boy who had to marry a girl of his father's choice. The father is seen as threatening and critical. Father is also projected as self-centred and overly demanding. The major conflict is autonomy vs compliance. In this story, K identifies with the father as an aggressor and to his demands. His ego tries to mediate the conflict as there is wish to fulfil a fantasy in the story when the hero as marries the girl whom he loved. Thus, his ego is able to forgo severe superego retaliation. However, women are reduced to objects and are projected as vulnerable. He also sublimates his aggression towards the authority figures, and shows compliance as a defense.

CARD 8:

Ek aurat rehti hai. Geeta...iske do bache rehte hain...judwa. dono se pyar karti hai. lekin dono ki banti nahin hai aapas mein. dono bete aapas mein larhte rehte hain. ek ka naam rehta hai Akash, dusre ka naam rehta hai Rahul. Dono larhne lag jate hain...to Rahul ko chot lag gayi. Akash pit-ta hai apni mummy se. Akash bolta hai apni maa ko aap mujhse pyar nahin karte Rahul ko hi pyar karte ho. tum dusre se zyada pyar karti ho. To maa kehti hai ke beta main to dono se hi pyar karti

hun lekin tum dono ko kuch ho jata larhte larhte to main kya karti...ek baar dono larhai karne bahar jate hain, log dono ki kushti karwa dete hain. Rahul jeet jata hai, Akash bolta hai main badla lunga. Rahul ko maarne lag jata hai...unki maa dono ke liye prarthna karti hain mandir mein. dono ko samjahti hain ke log tum dono ki ladai karwate hain. Phir agle din jo inki larhai karwa raha hota hai dono milke use hi maarte hain...dono pakke dost ki tarah ho jate hain...phir unmein kabhi larhai nahin hoti aur aram se apni zindagi jeene lag jaate hain...

Comment: The story begins with the defense of acting out in which the hero of the story acts his aggression out on his brother whom he detests. There is a form of regression in his story as he is possessive about sharing his mother's love with his brother. There is a feeling of rejection from his mother, and the hero faces emotional aloofness.

CARD 10: *Ek larhka hai usse ghalat kaam hojata hai to vo jail mein pakrha jata hai...jail mein kisi andheri jagah mein jaake baith ke soch raha hai, maine aisa kyun kiya. Mera acha khasa pariwar tha...ghar wale bhugat rahe honge. Kahan se kha rahe honge...kya kar rahe honge...kaise kar rahe honge...vo andhere se bahar aata hai to use bhookh lagti hai aur vo khata peeta hai phir ek aadmi ja raha hota hai to usne poocha ke tujhe kya hua tu andhere mein itna rota kyun hai? vo kehata hai mere saath aisa hogaya...main to kuch banne aaya tha...mujhe dhokhe se phansa diya...mere haath se ghalti se khoon hogaya...meri mummy aur 2 behnein hain...dono behne jawan hain...main yahan aaya hi kyun...phir vo sabko batata hai...apni kahani sonata hai...ke mujhe kisine chori karne bhej diya...kisi ne dekh liya...mere haath mein chakoo tha ...to uske lag gaya aur vo mar gaya usi ke case mein mujhe jail mein daal diya...meri maa aur 2 behnein kaise kama rahi hongii aur kha rahi hongii...*

Comment: The beginning of the story with “ghalat kaam” (wrong-doing) signifies guilt. Antecedents of the murderous impulse in the storyteller have been constant with this story as well. He indicates homicidal dangers in his personality. His thoughts are predicting murderous impulses while the actions of the central character show his extra-punitive personality, where he blames others for such an action. He rationalises his actions that were meant to only induce acquisition through stealing. There is no anger manifested in the story rather, it is described as an accident “ghalti se ho gaya” (happened due to mistake). There are remorse and punishment for his crime, which signifies his superego to be weak but not inadequate. He has set his ego-ideal of a good son and a brother to compensate for the id's impulses. He omits father in his family description, indicating him as an absent father.

BLANK CARD: *Ek larhka rehta hai... 'K', bhalaswa dairy mein rehta hai. parhne ka bahut dil karta hai, par ghalat sangat mein parh jata hai. vo apne doston ke saath bure bure kaam karta hai. mummy kehti hai chal beta naam katwa dungi school se. ab tu kamayega. wo kehata hai mujhe itna parhwa do...ek mauka de do...pehle to parhta rehta tha. phir vo dobara ghalat kaam karne lag jata hai...uski mummy kehti hai ke ab to tu bilkul nahin parhega...mummy parhana nahin chahti hain. Teacher kehata hai tu sahi parh raha hai aise hi parhta reh...tera future barhiya hojayega...vo apne teacher se kehata hai ke meri mummy mujhe parhana nahin chahti...hamare wahan saare buri*

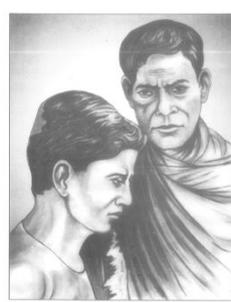
sangat mein parh gaye hain...to teacher kehta hai ke mummy se baat karwana...phir vo uski mummy se baat karta hai ke aapka beta parhne mein bilkul theek hai to aap usko parhana kyun nahin chahte...to mummy kehti hai ke yeh mummy ke saath din bhar khelta rehta hai...poora din ghar par nahin aata...teacher kehta hai ke yeh to hoshiyar hai isko parhana kyun nahin chahte... to uske mummy kehti hai ke yeh parhai mein to sahi hai par yahan par gande gande kaam karta hai...nasha karta hai...na khana khata hai...pata nahin kahan se khata hai kahan se peeta hai...kahan rehta hai poore din... ghar mein aata nahin hai pata nahin kahan rehta hai...ab jahan talak iska dil karta hai parh sakta hai...phir vo parhta rehta hai...aur 12th pass karke sochta hai ke yaar kuch karna hai...to vo engineer ban jata hai...

Comment: This story seems to be one of suffering and rejection faced by the storyteller himself coupled with a wish to over-achieve academically (grandiosity). This serves the storyteller to act like a narcissistic buffer against underlying feelings of inferiority and suffering. The central theme is a common one, which is the constant tension in adolescence and a struggle between the two generations. On the one hand is the freedom to take one's own course of direction and on the other hand, feeling overwhelmed and pressurised to follow parents' footsteps unilaterally. Here, the character of the mother comes entirely from the mind of the narrator, who presents an ongoing scene from his everyday life at home. This is also depicted in card 1 where he says the father chastises him and asks to start working. In this story, chastised father is replaced with chastised mother. However, the storyteller is using the defense mechanism of projection and highlights his own inner conflicts that he is not a good person because of his dependence on toxic substances and the mention of '*ghalat kaam*' (wrong-doing) specifies the sexual act. Thus, it is almost a recital of evading his guilt that every time his id impulses act out profoundly, he projects the hero as a good-ideal onto the woman in the story, especially on the character's mother. With his weak superego, he experiences that his 'id' is not able to sublimate his impulses relating substance/toxic abuse. This idiosyncratic aspect of his personality reveals that he is frustrated from his own life and presents a disharmony between him and his parents. His creation of a grandiose and delusional self-image is prominent, which is to overcome the vulnerabilities at school. However, the story ends at a promising note where the storyteller resolves all inner conflicts and differences with his mother and is reformed. However, one critical point that needs to be mentioned is that there is a preoccupation that teachers are the nurturers are also seen in K's narrative.

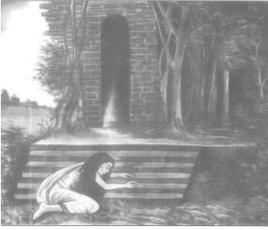
Interpretation

1. “Main Theme: Most repeated theme is the need to be loved by his father. Unconscious guilt of committing a crime and being severely punished by authority
2. Self-functioning of main hero: Main heroes are all Males They are mostly criminal, incompetent, isolated.
3. Main needs and drives of hero: Behavioural needs of hero (as in story): passive aggression towards female figures, to acquire education. Introductions: Prison, Hospital, Grandiose circumstance, Famous person and Threatening and critical father
4. Conception of the world: Unproductive and threatening, Overdemanding, uncaring, Non-nurturing and hostile
5. Interpersonal object relations: Parental figures (m: yes, f: yes) are seen as non-nurturant and subject’s reaction is rejecting, Contemporary figures (m: yes, f: yes) are seen as hostile and counter aggressive. Subject’s reaction is threatening.
6. Significant conflicts: Impulsivity vs Morality, Passive aggression towards parents/ Same sex authoritative figure, “anger vs. acquiescence or dominance vs. submissiveness interpersonal object relation. Nature of fears, insecurities, and anxieties: Of physical harm (3, 5, 6, 7, 10). Of being overwhelmed and helpless (1, 2, 3, 7). Of deprivation (4?, 6, 9). Of disapproval and criticism (8).
7. Main defense and coping mechanisms: of physical harm and/ punishment: yes, of illness or injury, of disapproval: yes, of deprivation: yes, of lack or loss of love: yes of being devoured, of being deserted : yes, of being overpowered and helpless, other: Lack of protective Home environment and basic necessities
8. Superego functioning: Withdrawal, Rationalisation, Isolation, Repression, Projection, Integration of the ego: Story outcome: No attempt to mediate conflict (3, 10). Failed attempt to mediate conflict (1, 2, 6, 7, 9). Successful mediation of conflict (4, 5, 8). Appropriate plot (2, 5, 6). Stereotyped plot (4, 7). Original plot (1, 3, 8, 9, 10).
9. Integration of the Ego functions: The outcomes are unhappy. There is no resolution to conflicts, the plots are original yet alarming” (Adaptation from Bellak’s TAT manual, 1975).

SUMMARY OF FOUR CASES: TABLE 1

PICTURE CARDS	H	M	D	K
<p data-bbox="233 360 352 394">CARD 1</p> 	<p data-bbox="424 327 655 618">He wonders which song to play so that he gains popularity and becomes a good person whom everyone likes.</p>	<p data-bbox="671 327 903 506">A child living in slums is thinking which song to play and to wants to become good.</p>	<p data-bbox="919 327 1150 663">The boy is a singer. He does not like music so much but considers it to be a profession. By playing music he wants to become good.</p>	<p data-bbox="1166 327 1398 685">A boy is curious to play violin but his father is against it. His father beats him and tells him to become labour other wise people will laugh at him.</p>
<p data-bbox="233 853 352 887">CARD 2</p> 	<p data-bbox="424 819 655 1144">Story of a girl who finds her home inadequate and leaves for her aunt's place. A boy fails at catching a fish fear humiliation by others.</p>	<p data-bbox="671 819 903 1223">A farmer is wishing for rains through which he will good vegetation. It means money. Through money he will teach his children, but is afraid of rich people.</p>	<p data-bbox="919 819 1150 1335">Mother and Daughter in the first part of the story have to abandon their house and shift to a town due to floods. In the second part girl becomes an officer but her son is a loser, later everyone worships him</p>	<p data-bbox="1166 819 1398 1223">A boy goes out for catching a fish. He gets worried that his family must be hungry. He goes home only to find everyone has eaten and slept. His mother feeds him.</p>
<p data-bbox="233 1391 352 1424">CARD 3</p> 	<p data-bbox="424 1357 655 1895">Father and son cannot meet their daily needs and start stealing. They get convicted and abandoned by everyone including his mother. They later attain public appreciation and wealth and mother comes back.</p>	<p data-bbox="671 1357 903 1760">Father and son lost their house. Father is asking son to drop out from school because he is unable to pay his fees. Son wants to study and is sad he will fail in life.</p>	<p data-bbox="919 1357 1150 1715">Conflict between father and a son. Son bereaves for his father as he is not a noble man. Until unless father turns noble, the son does not accept him.</p>	<p data-bbox="1166 1357 1398 1682">A boy loves his father but his father is an alcoholic. His father is almost dying but his son gets him operated and is saved.</p>

CARD 4	<p>Incorporates two stories. First part, a son who is poor gets married out of compulsion to a wealthy girl of his parents choice. In the second part he marries his daughter to a poor boy and later succumbs to death due to ill-treatment by her husbands and mother in-law.</p>	<p>Mother is upset with her son because her son does not listen to her. She beats him and counter-aggressively he beats others due to which teachers' complain against him.</p>	<p>Mother is upset with her son as he got involved in bad company and mother sees him doing something wrong with his friends. He lies to her that they are beating him, later sleeps in order to avoid confrontation.</p>	<p>Mother and a son. Mother works at the farm and son tells her not to work from now onwards. But he gets money from somewhere and his mother is unhappy about it.</p>
				
CARD 5	<p>Incorporates two stories. In first part father kills his daughter because he is humiliated by others due to her actions. In second part his son is a man of-good character but unintelligent and often humiliated who with hard-work becomes a doctor.</p>	<p>A child goes to school and is beaten by teachers everyday. His mother also scolds him and in aggression he starts strangulating his mother.</p>	<p>Love triangle gone wrong. A rich boy loves a girl who in turn loves another boy. In rage he kills them both. There is no mention of guilt, remorse or punitive action against the killer.</p>	<p>A boy tries to snatch and steal everything from a girl but later murders her. His mother who was very sick dies and he is caught by the police.</p>
				
CARD 6	<p>Family steals gold and precious things after a train fell off the bridge. Their lives turn from rags to riches. But father is money minded and sons along with mother separate from him. Later father is caught by the police, but sons'</p>	<p>A scenic place where children get to eat a lot of fruits.</p>	<p>The ocean is very dangerous and possess man-eating animals. His father gets eaten by a dinosaur and later is found by son.</p>	<p>A group of boys gets lost in a jungle. They walk for many days.</p>
				

	forgive him.			
CARD 7	Incorporates two stories. In the first a man divorces his first wife and in the second a man younger to second wife marries her and tells everyone she is his mother	A man has two wives. He is having relationship with his 2nd wife and first wife is watching.	A person is smitten by love but is married against his wishes by family. But he did not leave his first love and later is apprehended by his father and gets thrown in jail for not obeying.	A boy gets married to a girl of his father's choice. But he later marries a girl of his own choice.
				
CARD 8	Two children who are separated from their mother and the father are later found as teenagers. They have become temple priest whom everyone worships.	A woman is seen crying for her son/ husband who have left her.	There is one rich proudy girl who always teases gang of poor boys. To teach her lesson they kidnap her and drag her in a van to an aloof place; forest. Later they murder her.	A mother has twins. Her both the sons are poles apart and fight with each other.
				
CARD 10	A thief who wants to become rich. In rage he kills the king and is convicted. He is indifferent and there is no feeling of remorse	A child is sitting alone and is afraid to go to school fearing he will be beaten up by teachers as his work is not complete.	The boy is sad. He is very poor and orphan. His friends abandon him due to his poverty. One rich old lady adopts him and he studies in a good school. He becomes an interviewer who interview children for	A boy is sitting aloof in the prison. He had murdered someone and is now thinking about its repercussions on his family.
				

			admission in the school. People accept him wholeheartedly.	
BLANK CARD	A wanderer who roams around the whole night.	He thinks schooling has no value for he has to become a vendor. Teachers' do not teach only beat up students.	A 15 year old boy is standing and looking at a good school from his school. He does not like his school and he gives exam for that school. He is very intelligent and is admitted in the school where he becomes the principal	A boy falls into a bad company yet he is a good student. His mother does not want him to study further but teachers speak highly of the child. Finally mother understands him and allows him to study further.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

PART I

The Vicissitudes of Self, Dystopia and the End of Innocence

“The object has only one quality of the object and that is being opposed to I” (Kristeva, 1982).

The Context

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part I of this chapter seeks to explore Freud’s notions of infantile sexuality, which has an impact on object relations and cathexis. The present chapter argues that individuals seized under the inability to idealise their parents have a debilitating effect on their psyche as well as it manifests in their outward behaviour. It also incorporates the theoretical explication of Kakar’s mother enthrallment and analyses the TAT stories under the notions of savage father and De(cathexis) in children. The part I (Section 4.1 to 4.5) is based on Kristeva’s (1982) explication that inception of abjection in the life of an adult is associated with one’s experience as an infant. Most pertinently, it is the relationship that an infant formed with the primary caregivers, which determines abjection in his/her adult life. Theoretically, an infant to form individuation of self rejects the mother, according to Kristeva (1982). Singh (2008) states that the first instantiation of subject formation is not to become like someone else. It is rather an experience embodied as an experience of separation with the mother. Two simultaneously different processes overwhelm the infant in separation from the mother, which are: “1) an infant wants to retain the emptiness that comes out of this separation from the primary caregiver because it is the only way that separate identity is established, 2). However, an infant wants to cover over this separation to protect itself from suffering” (Singh, 2008, p.147). The failure on the part of an individual to overcome successful transformation in the process of individuation and subject-formation, cause the abjection to return in one’s adulthood. The underlying premise of the present chapter is that an abjected self is “the self threatened by something that is not part of us in terms of identity and non-identity, human and non-human” (Pentony, 1996).

Part II of this chapter questions the promised turn towards the subject and the subjectivity that the enlightenment discourse of Kant quintessentially advocated in his magnum opus ‘What is Enlightenment?’ (1784). Part II essentially posits a paradox in analysing the TAT stories from the lens of psychoanalysis solely. It critically stresses upon analysing the subject’s subjectivity and its existing pitiful conditions as a social reality. Part II re-appropriates subjectivity from the lens of Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, who analytically questioned a widespread belief that unconscious is purely driven by the instinctual form. Chapter IV, part II, enquires into the social conditioning of instinctual drives, which supersede the formation of a subject’s ego based on the reality principle. It elaborately discusses that the practices of the school situated in a larger society reify normalcy vis-a-vis aberrations. Chapter IV provides an analytical departure from the theory of

Freud and concludes that the psyche of the individual in the present society has been brought under the lens of social dialectic and is investigated under the microscopic lens. As a consequence, ego psychology has become a substitute for what reality lacks. This creates an illusion that “individuals are free of their social relation and economic production” (Lee, 2014).

Part I: Voices from the School and the Freudian Insights

4.1 Reading the Body, Contextualising Infantile Sexuality, and object cathexis

TAT stories presented in the previous chapter elicits that the mental processes of children are governed by the pleasure principle and wish for unrestricted gratification at the stake of avoiding unpleasure. This is evident in the picture card 7, which is the card for sexual intimacy. All the four cases projected themselves of having two sexual partners, for instance, Case M revealed “*Isme ek aadmi hai aur vo apni biwi se mazey le raha hai aur dusri khidki se ek dusri aurat jhaank rahi hai... vo bhi uski hi patni hai. udaas si hai*”. There are popular notions that sexual impulse are absent in childhood only to have found its origin and manifestation in the maturing process of puberty. Critically analysing these notions, I incorporate Freud’s advanced theory of sexuality, which he prescribed his book ‘Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex’ (1905/2005) and in particular its relation to childhood. Freud explicated that “in the medical literature, premature sexual activities of small children, erections and masturbation are referred to merely as exceptional occurrences, curiosities, or as desiring examples of premature perversity” (Freud, 1905/2005, p.109). Freud recognised the normality of the sexual impulse in childhood and is centred around the conception that every child is a ‘polymorphous perverse’, i.e., the child is ready to demonstrate any sexual behaviour, with any pleasure without any transgressions. It is at this age of the child that “psychic dams against sexual transgressions such as shame, loathing and morality are not yet erected or only in the process of formation” (Freud, 1905/2005, p.102). It means that the origin of sexuality at a tender age is normal under the usual conditions. However, only when the child is sexually stimulated by a clever seducer, there is an upsurge in the child’s sexuality in which he/she attains pleasure in the form of perversion. For Freud, the little child is shameless, pleasure-seeking, and the infantile sexual life from the very beginning has other persons regarded as sexual objects (the seducer). With the propounding theory of infantile sexuality in hand, Freud demonstrated the sexual organisation and the pleasure associated with it are achieved at different phases in the development of an individual beginning from childhood.

A significant theoretical understanding evolved from the Freudian theory of sexuality is that the object selection during childhood has repercussion in the object selection, an individual makes during puberty. Freud (1905/2005) entailed that an object selection (person from whom the sexual attraction emanates) takes place in childhood, which is of characteristic as the one represented in the phase of development of puberty. As a consequence, a man's "infantile memories of the mother's tenderness, as well as that of other females who cared for him as a child, energetically assist in directing his selection to the woman, while the early sexual intimidation experienced through the father and the attitude of rivalry existing between them deflects the boy from the same sex" (Freud, 1905/2005, p.153).

The object selection proceeds in a manner that "all sexual strivings proceed in the direction of one person in whom they wish to attain their aim" (Freud, 1905/2005, p.113). The object selection is closely linked with identification in adult life, which takes place in two periods or two shifts. According to Freud, the first shift originates in the age between three and five years and is interrupted around the latency period. It is during the onset of puberty that the second phase begins. The second phase determines the formation of sexual life in a definitive manner. Blum (2010) posited that "in developmental theory object selections and relations refer to the importance of the primary caregiver-infant relationship, bonding, attachment, communication, and identification" (p.973). Throughout the latency period, the "child learns to love other persons who help him gratify its wants" (Freud, 1905/2005, p.153). It is in this period the child identifies with his parental tenderness. A "child brings along into the world germs of sexual activity and that even while taking nourishment, it at the same time also enjoys a sexual gratification" (Freud, 1905/2005). The popular theory which Freud entailed regarding the infantile sexuality and first sexual object relations corresponds closely to the view that the world is divided into two halves-man and woman who strives to become reunited through love, but surprisingly sometimes the sexual object for certain men are not woman but man and for certain women are not man but woman. For Freud, "Such persons are called contrary sexuals, or better, inverts; the condition, that of inversion" (Freud, 1905/2005, p.22).

Keeping this into consideration, this chapter seeks to examine the notions of object relations in the minds of the children. In the Freudian language, unconscious of the subject is repressed under the mechanism of the Oedipus complex. Repression is inaccessible to the consciousness; however, its attributes are visible in the bodily disturbances manifesting through symptoms or exhibited through verbal disturbance. This refers to the "maladjustment during the process of subject formation"

(Singh, 2017a, p.116). The pivotal point in this chapter is that in the subject formation and its maladjustment, as Blum states that the “unconscious intrapsychic conflicts between impulse and defense always involve defensively structured internalised object relations; there are no ‘pure’ drive expressions that do not involve an internalised relation between an aspect of the self and an object” (Blum, 2010). The fight between impulse and defense, attributing to a psychological conflict between the subject and the internalised object relations can be located in the narratives of children from the picture card seven as described above, that even as children, on the one hand, the individuals seek a constant gratification mediated by the pleasure principle.

On the other hand, they are subjugated under the reality principle that always seeks renunciation of those instincts. This is expressed in the underlying theme of the stories narrated by case H, D and K in the picture card seven that a boy is smitten by love but gets married to a girl of his father’s choice. Only in the story by case D, the outcome of the story is different in which he is apprehended by his father and gets thrown in jail for not obeying. The stories reveal passive aggression towards the father who is projected to be powerful, threatening and critical of son’s actions, yet the authority of the father is omnipotent. The narratives obtained from the TAT stories of other children, especially from the case H reveals as Freud (1905/2005, p.46) put it that “the sexuality of most men shows a taint of aggression”. In that aggressive component of sexuality, is the suffering that is associated with gratification. Suffering erupting from the pain is connected with loathing and shame. The subject seeks its transformation under the sway of a competent authority. In the narrative below Case H transcends the notions of moral agency to school and reveals a passive, submissive attitude towards the teacher, where he seeks punishment for his inappropriate conscience, and is remarkable when he narrated that

Narrative from personal interview: “...school mein sirji parhane aate hain...agar is school mein larhkiyan parhane aa gayin na...to school nahin rahega phir yeh...saare haramigardi karne lag jayenge...abhi hi haramigardi karte hain sirji parhate hain to...larhkiyan parhane aayengi to kitni haramigardiyan karenge...(A boy fantasies what it would be like if they are taught by female teachers as the school is full of bastards and consequently wishes that teachers should severely beat students to reform them). (*H, student*)

Although, the narrative of case H presents a confluence of fantasy and reality. However, it also represents a form of masochistic thinking, as described above. Through the narratives of Case H, it may be stated that “the masochistic sufferings carried with a person is on a condition that they shall emanate from the loved person and shall be endured by his commands” (Freud, 1905/ 2005). Berenstein (2013) postulated that “fantasy has a character of a scene highly specific to the subject in

which the unconscious wish is fulfilled, and the reality principle is the constant rejection of fantasy” (p.137). This is visible in H who fantasies a sexual relation with female teachers in the school which is a taboo in the Freudian terms, and he has a developed conscience and a severe superego in which there is heightened guilt for which he seeks punishment for his forbidden wish. It is representative of him transforming his inner chaos into sublimation. The desire for subjugation and incursion of the forbidden desires which H seeks from his school teachers, present his masochistic position which as Berenstein (2013) states, “calls for the presence of the other as the persons who performs the actions on the ego” (which is the teachers who by inflicting punishment on the deviant children cure them of their unconscious guilt according to H). His narratives point towards the need for exercising sadistic actions by competent authorities on his ego as a source of the punitive superego. To understand the harsh superego conscience, psychologically manifesting itself in the deep terrains of minds of children, I use the concept of the savage father. Savage father predominantly discusses the son’s futile attempts to idealise his father due to the father’s stern and hostile behaviour. In the savage father, a glimpse of failed parental imago may be seen, as the child creates an ego ideal image of the father in his mind and therefore, looms a conflict in the mind of the son whose ideal image of the father does not meet the real father. However, a conventional idealisation occurs in the mind of children who see the stern father at home or powerful authorities outside the home as instilling in children a moral conscience which they think they lack in the subject formation. The savage father, de facto, is the superego which “invokes external, conventional and stereotypical values” (Adorno, 1951). The relationship between the teachers as punishers and the students as seeking punishment gets nuanced under the principle of punitive superego sanction, whom children have surrendered to and as a reason, their ego-ideal gets re-awakened and re-animated due to the conventional idealisation of the father’s authority at home, which I will explain in section 4.5.

4.2 The Savage Father: A Failed Idealised Parental Imago and a Repressed Feminine Identity

“While in India, the fantasy of taking on the sexual attributes of both the parents seem to have a relatively easier access to awareness...as Bose tells us of a middle aged lawyer who took up an active male sexual role treating both of them as females in his unconscious and sometimes a female attitude, especially towards the father” (Kakar, 2008)

A son’s identification with his father, as Kakar (1981) demonstrates takes place only if the father allows emotional access to his son. His personal touch and affection towards the son help the son to idealise his father and grow up. “Identification is a process in which the father is available to his son in a psycho-sexual sense; however, the culturally restrained pattern of restraint between fathers and sons is a regular practice which constitutes a societal norm” (Kakar, 1981, p.131). As explained in

the previous section that object selection leads to idealisation which is one of the innate needs of a child in which the child principally idealises his/her parents by investing or attaching the libido leading to cathexis in the form of admiration, affection, love, etc. But, when children fail to transmute the unconscious process of internalisation, “the idealised parental imago remains primitive and unrealistic” (Kohut, 2009, p.139-140). According to Kohut, the failure to transmute the unconscious process of internalisation is due to the parental lack of empathy during the development.

Consequently, “the individual vacillates between an irrational overestimation of self and irrational feelings of inferiority and relies on others to regulate his self-esteem and give him a sense of value” (McLean, 2007). Individuals seized under the inability to idealise their parents have a debilitating impact on their psyche, but pertinently, it manifests in their outward behaviour as well. For instance, such individuals exhibit “a sense of entitlement and superiority, dismissive of others and often display disdainful or patronising attitudes, but central to their personality are low self-esteem and feelings of inadequacy” (McLean, 2007). A Narrative obtained from the school can elaborate on the concept of the savage father as,

“ek baar ek bache ne mujhe bataya tha...bahut ro raha tha...toh phir maine pucha...bete kya hua hai...to usne bola tha ki raat ko uski neend khul gayi, ek hi kamare ka makaan toh hota hai...aur apne parents ko usne comprising position mein dekh liya...phir kya! uske papa ne uske peeth per belt se pitai kari...usne mujhe deikhaya tha shirt uttar key! pure belton ke nishan hue parhe the uski peeth per...” (A child is beaten with belt by his father after the child saw his father having an intercourse with his mother) (**School In-charge**)

Two arguments are drawn from the first narrative in which a father and his battered son’s relationship is presented. In the first part of the narrative, the psyche organisation of the child who became a voyeur to the sexual act between his parents according to Freud can be seen as inferring and developing an understanding of his parents having a sadistic conception of the sexual act. Freud (1905/2005) stated that:

“...If children of so delicate an age become spectators of the sexual act between grown-ups, for which an occasion is furnished by the conviction of the grown-ups that little children cannot understand anything sexual, they cannot help conceiving the sexual act as a kind of maltreating or overpowering, that is, it impresses them in a sadistic sense. Psychoanalysis teaches us that such an early childhood impression contributes much to the disposition for a later sadistic displacement of the sexual aim. Besides this children also occupy themselves with the problem of what the sexual act consists in or, as they grasp it, of what marriage consists, and seek the solution of the mystery mostly in association to which the functions of urination and defecation give occasion” (p.109).

Freud positioned the child as a completely ignorant, who perceives the sexual act to be that of the father possessing an aggressive impulse, and he assumes that the father beats the mother because he loves her. Freud believed that the sadomasochism originates in childhood itself, which is reinforced through the act of whipping, spanking or beating. The second part of the narrative portrays not only the child's reaction formation (defense mechanism) of the sexual act between his parents but had a detrimental effect on his self-esteem and a sense of humiliation which his ego garnered after he was beaten for being a spectator of the act. The fundamental elements that are drawn from the narrative are pointing towards a theoretical juncture which Jaffe (1983) in his paper in 'Some relations between the negative Oedipus complex and aggression in the male' presented. According to Jaffe (1983) "any element of inversions from the normal sexual aim is rooted in the childhood experience with an authoritarian and overwhelming father, towards whom submission was mixed with insubordination and hostility on account of the father's interference with the child's wishes for sexual pleasure" (p.958).

To reinstate Kohut's examination of lack of idealisation in western societies, Kakar (1981) described the Indian men's psychoanalytic experiences as,

"...When an individual is traumatically let down by one or both parents during the oedipal period of childhood, the developmental process of idealization of the superego-that is, the internalization of the parents' loving, approving aspects that give the psyche its positive goals and ideals-is disrupted and the idealized parental imago remains unaltered in the psyche as a self-object necessary for providing the longed-for narcissistic nourishment. Here, personality disturbance may manifest itself in a compelling need for merger with powerful authority figures or in incoherent mystical feelings divorced from the transcendent experience or tradition of mature religiosity, while in psychosis the reactivation of the archaic parental imago may lead to delusions of the powerful persecutor, the omniscient mind reader or disembodied voices whose commands must be obeyed" (p.129).

In conjunction with Kohut's parental imago, Kakar examines the ambiguous role of the father in Indian childhood. He implicitly advocates that the predominant psychological attributes of Indian men contribute to their narcissistic vulnerabilities (1981). Kakar emphasises that in the unbridling of the intimate relationship, which the child had with his mother, new demands and tensions enter from the fourth or fifth year of a child's life. In this phase, the child is coaxed to leave his maternal cocoon and successfully transcend into a masculine network. In the process, a boy's symbiotic intimacy with his mother faces a subsequent loss. This is due to the reason that as he grows up, it leads to heightened narcissistic vulnerability followed by an unconscious tendency to submit to an idealised omnipotent world of making a living and therefore restoring the lost intimacy and

authority in an individual's life. To examine this, I corroborate the data collected from students with the savage father theory in the following paragraphs.

Case H can be seen as possessing ego-dystonic trends as revealed from his TAT. The everyday experiences, thoughts, impulses, and behaviour of the 'Hero' of his stories derived from the narratives so obtained is seen as constantly negotiating his master-slave relationship with the authority figures, mostly the father who is fantasied as seeking hero's conformity, submission and compulsion for consent. The father in real life is seen as endowed with traits such as stern, distant, hostile and rejecting. He quintessentially began the session with endorsing that being 17 years old; he is living the life of an adult. He started to drink alcohol when his father falsely implicated that by drinking, he will be cured of his stomach-ache. The impact of longing for his father throughout his TAT along with self-analysis which is matched by a constant crisis of identifying himself as a bastard (*Harami*), followed by self-contempt as reflected in card 1 is evident. Case H can be seen to be in a state of delirium. He elaborated this upon developing the dialectics of a good person where he says that "*Jo ghar mein barha bhai theek ho na, to saare bhai theek honge*" (If the elder brother is okay, then younger brothers will also be like him) and condemns that the essence of being good comes from the parents, but his father is an alcoholic. As the conversation unfolds, the extreme fear of his father is projected by him in which he reasserted time and again not to record any of the statement relating to his father because he will be thrown out the house and abandoned by him ("*Ghar se bahar nikal denge*"). His withering attitude towards his father is met when he unfurls the materialistic side of the relationship between them in which he is seen as only an earning member for the family.

This can be seen from the excerpts from the personal interview as follows:

"...Gharwale pata hai kya karte hain...jab parhne ke liye baithunga na, kaam karne ke liye bolenge...kahenge wahan chalaja...wahan chala ja...wahan chalaja, phir mere ko khundak aati hai. Mere papa chalate hain battery rickshaw...jab mera rickshaw chalane ka mann nahin hota to mujhe rickshaw chalane ke liye bhej denge...jab mera parhne ka mann nahin hota tab parhne baitha denge. Isliye main kuch bolta hi nahin..."

(You know what my family does with me...when I sit for studying, they send me out for work...they would tell to go here and there...Then I get very annoyed...My father is a battery rickshaw driver...when I do not feel like going out for work...they insist I should earn and when I do not want to study...they ask me to study...I do not want to say anything to anybody) **Case H.**

He stated:

“...ghar walon par hi vishwas nahin karta... duniya khali isliye hai ki insan ke paas paisa ho to hi bolenge. school mein dost hain to paisa le kar aaunga to hi sath denge...larhai mein bhi aur waise bhi... warna nahin denge... koi bhi ho chahe dost ya ghar wale”.

(I do not trust my family...If you have money people will be interested in you...In school too if you have money they would help you in fights or in anything else...otherwise no body is there for you...be it friends or family) **Case H.**

In projecting his real-self, Case H brings to virtue by acknowledging a critical self through which he admonished himself for all the wrongdoing. He is exceptionally extra-punitive in taking charge of the events that happen at the school or his home and workplace. For instance, he stated that all are bastard (*harami*) in the school, nobody is noble (*sharif*), and if the principal wants to make this school a better school, only then something can be improved. At a deeper level, his quest for becoming noble became apparent in mostly all the stories that enabled him to create a grandiose self and withdraws himself from reality. Most pertinently, there is a reflection of inverted Oedipus arising in his narratives of the relationship between father and son as can be seen through the following excerpts. In the second story, a glimpse can be seen in his describing the mother with whom the relationship is shown as that of negative cathexis in contrast to the father who according to the hero is the only one good in the family (*“Papa hi khali ache hain uske ghar mein...baki sab aise hi hain”*).

In the picture card 3, he projected the father and the son as grotesque figures and used the defense mechanism of rationalisation in depicting the actions of the hero figures in the story. There are two ways of analysing the story. In the first dimension, the hero is left alone with his father and had to face exile from their place of residence as they had started stealing due to their overwhelming destitute conditions. Both hero and his father in the story are ridiculed and abandoned by the society and faced antagonistic repercussions of mother disowning the father and the hero. Here, the hero of the story (fantasised self) is motivated by his real self as he not only labels himself and his father as thieves but intellectualises the act of stealing. The hero is deeply gratified with the father's presence in the story who may be emotionally unavailable to him in real life and omits his mother from the picture. The second dimension of the analysis can be seen in the light of conditional relationships, which depicts his timidness and untrusting attitude towards maternal objects. The underlying theme is that of a son abandoned by his mother and husband abandoned by the wife, due to insufficient monetary resources. Both the father and the son are accepted in society as well as by the mother after they become wealthy. However, perpetually omitting the mother from the story in a psycho-

sexual sense relates to the mother seen as a sexual rival as opposed to a normal Oedipus complex, where the child should have undertaken father as a rival and fantasised having an incestuous relationship with the mother. In the stories narrated by Case H, a pattern in which he has absolutely no feelings of rivalry towards the father rather the underlying need is to be loved by him is evident.

Paradigmatically, a point of departure from Freudian theory of the dead father (explained in the next section) resulted in the new formation of theories, potentially among them is of André Green's 'Dead Mother Complex' which needs to be refurbished in the present research. The theory is centred around the object loss in which Green (2005) dissociates himself from the structural point of view which focusses on castration anxiety only. The psychological loss of the mother takes a pivotal role in Green's study in which there are several people who suffer from the early loss of their mother when the mother is still alive but emotionally unavailable to the child. Green (2005) in his paper, 'The dead mother' argued that the dead mother as a concept refers to:

“an imago which has been constituted in the child's mind, following maternal depression, brutally transforming a living object, which was a source of vitality for the child, into a distant figure, toneless, practically inanimate, deeply impregnating the cathexes of certain patients...and weighing on the destiny of their object-libidinal and narcissistic future. Thus, a [Dead] mother who remains alive but who is, so to speak, psychically dead in the eyes of the young child in her care” (p.142).

According to Kohon (2005), the loss of maternal love leads to decathexis of the object, i.e., it is a defense in which desires can no longer be satisfied and leads to substitution of desire. This decathexis is an act of murder of a loved object psychologically, but in this case, the primary object is not hated. In the case of H, an ambivalent relationship is established with the mother where he said,

“mujhe to khana bhi time se nahin milta” ...main itna vaasta hi nahin rakhta apne gharwalon se... ’...Mummy roz mujhe thappad maarti hai. Mummy mujhe kuch bhi bol deti hai main mummy ki baat ka bura nahin manta.’

(I do not even get food on time...I do not keep much relation with my family...Mother slaps me everyday...Mother says anything to me then I do not mind her saying.)

Through the above narratives of case H, it can be analysed that “the [mother's] devotion to the child is neither total nor absolute” (Green, 2005, p.147). This is a major theoretical concept which in corroboration with the TAT responses of H which places him in the position of depressed in the formative years of his growing up, in which he felt a lack of maternal love. While, on the other

hand, Case H's narratives point towards the distant father who constantly threatens H of abandonment. As Green (2005) put forth that

“withdrawal of mother's love from the infant result's conflict that takes place between mother and infant” and the father more often does not respond to the child's distress...the subject is caught between a dead mother and an inaccessible father, either because the latter is principally preoccupied by the state of the mother, without bringing help to the infant, or because he leaves the mother-child couple to cope with this situation alone” (p.150).

This psychic reality constitutes the central personality configurations in case H. The subjects are not essentially depressive but when a subject presents himself to the analyst, he presents a part of his “personal history in which the analyst can make sense about the childhood depression which is located in his dialogue of whom he makes no mention” (Green, 2005, p. 148). The person who undergoes a dead mother complex as expressed above faces decathexis in which the love for the mother is frozen. Under this operation, there is a withdrawal of cathexis which takes place (pre)consciously and represses the hatred towards the mother. Thus, the instinctual defusion, unbinding and weakening of erotic-libidinal cathexis surfaces in the subject which frees cathexis on the mother. But by withdrawing cathexis from the mother, the subject wants to displace his love onto another object, a substitute object, i.e., as Green (2005, p.156) put it “he declares himself ready to be attached to another object if he appears to be friendly and he feels loved by him”. The subject is reminded and encounters the inability to love because his love is still mortgaged to the dead mother. To put it in simple words, “no one is desirable to the subject or if perchance someone is, it is he or she who is not attracted in return” (Green, 2005, p.156). The subjects prefer solitude and want to be avoided as he has been previously shunned.

This can be seen in the story in card four narrated by H in which he presents the picture of inconsiderate and hostile parents. He projected himself as a married and as atypical boy contra to the masculine image, he projected of himself in other stories. He fantasied himself as an obedient son who adhered to his father's wishes by repressing his love for another girl and married a girl selected by the father as she belonged to a rich family. The most noteworthy sign of dead mother complex is seen as case H stated that the hero is depressed after his marriage, and both the hero and his wife do not have a healthy relationship. The hero is reproached by his father, who figured out that the son has not accepted the girl as his wife. The hero's father condescended him and reminded him of his decision of marrying his son with a rich girl due to their poor economic condition. The intervention of the father propelled case H to reveal that the father is a powerful authority, who even dictated the son to consummate his marriage with his wife. His story also revealed the boy's incapacity to accept the new woman in his life. Once again, marriage and accepting the girl in his

life centrifugally get associated with food when he said that slowly and slowly, they started talking to each other and started eating and sharing their food. The excerpts from the story are as follows:

“...Larhki wala tha na jo...Bohat paise wala tha...Larhke wala to gareeb tha...Aise hi shadi karwa rahe the paise ke laalach mein larhke walaon ne...Shaadi ke baad vo bohat dukhi rehte the, na ek dusre se bolte the...na khana khaane ke liye poochte the... aapas mein nahin poochte the ke khana kha liya ya nahin khaya hoga. Dono aise rehte the jaise jaante hi nahin hoyenge ek dusre ko...To aise hi ek din...unke mummy papa ne bola jaake khana kha lo...to vo khana khane to chale gaye....par vo room mein jaake shaant kharhe hogaye...Mummy papa ne aake dekh liya ke shaant kaise kharhe ho...inhone apni asliyat bata di apne mummy papa ko....dheere dheere kai saal hogaye...dheere dheere dheere dheere ye bolne lag gaye, aapsi mein rehne lag gaye...mil baant ke khaane peene lag gaye” (Case H picture card 4).

Throughout Case H's TAT, a linear pattern of hatred against girls and his sadistic impulses to exterminate them is visible, which reveals the phallic aggression circumscribed by patriarchal thinking. He is ambivalent towards his mother, acts swishy to his father and sadistic to other women. The vantage point is that it is the savage father who the child fails to idealise, and the mother is equivalently distant for the child. This finding also corroborates with “compulsion to repeat the trauma”, as expressed by Van der Kolk (1989), that people who are exposed early to violence or neglect come to expect it as a way of life. They see the chronic helplessness of their mother's and father's alternating outburst of affection and violence, which affects their adult life as well as their relationship with their partners. It can be observable that the urge to “return to the earlier coping mechanisms, such as self-blame, numbing (using emotional withdrawal or drugs or alcohol) and physical violence sets the stage for repetition of the childhood trauma and return of repressed” (Van der Kolk, 1989). This can be seen through the excerpts in which case H spoke about running from his house after being beaten by his father. He said, “...*Mere ghar mein hoti hai larhai mummy papa ki...woh to har kisi ke ghar mein hi hoti rehti hai. Mummy papa ki larhai hoti hai na...to papa ne mereko bhi maarna start kar diya...*” (In my home, mummy papa fights...that happens in every household...Mummy papa fights...so papa started beating me too...). Early violence as normalised in H's everyday experience of domestic violence that happens in the house. Thus, when asked if father also beats his mother, he says,

“Mereko to maara par zyada hi. Main gaaon mein chala gaya tha...”
“(I was beaten but very badly...I went to the village)”

He elaborate upon his relationship with his father and stated,

“...Mere papa kuch bhi kaam nahin karte the, main hi kamake deta tha. Jab paision ki zyada hi tangi parhi ghar mein phir mereko bula liya. Jabhi main gaaon bhaaga...Ek mahine raha tha gaaon mein main.”

(...My father does not even work, I only earn to give him. When there is more shortage of money, then they call me...I ran to village and I stayed their for a month)

The savage father is a core concept of psychic mentalities of many other children on whom the TAT was conducted, which begins with fathers beating the child. What constitutes this beating spree especially explicated in the case of H is that “beating comes about as an attempt to turn the child into something similar to beater himself, just as the father becomes similar to his father” (Berenstein, 2013). This scenario claims that the child is not accepted as other where his father is unanimously trying to transform the child into something that the father wishes. “If the child cries or does not behave like the father wishes, he hits him, with a view of silencing him and suppressing him as an intolerable stimulus, an intolerable other” (Berenstein, 2013, p.152). The child becomes an object who is in a constant search for the father, who is the other, the protective one. The suffering slowly and slowly becomes indomitable for the child, because the child begins to think the father loves me, so he persecutes me (Freud, 1919a) and “He loves me when he punishes me, and I incorporate him because I believe that the bad is good” (Berenstein, p.153, 2013).

This is vividly described by H when he revealed his punitive relation with his father. The excerpts of the interview are:

H: *“Mere papa bohat harami hain mere maamle mein...meri ghalti hai...to mere papa mujhe chorhenge nahin...Pehle mereko koi bhi maarta the...pehle shareef tha, koi bhi maarta tha to main kuch nahin bolta tha. Kuch bhi nahin bolta tha main ghar pe...kuch bhi bahana maar deta tha...Par ab papa ne bol diya hai ke darne ki koi baat nahin hai, tujhe koi kuch bole to mujhe bol diya kar. Maine papa ki baat par vishwas nahin kara...mere kai doston ne bola tha...agar tereko saare kuch bolte hain aur tu apne papa ko bol dega to hamareko hi bol de, phir mereko samajh mein aaya. Koi bhi kuch bolta na ulta seedha...kuch bhi bolta, to main apne papa se bol deta...*

Megha: *Papa daant-te hain jaake...jis se jhagrha hua..usko daant-te hain...maarte hain?*

H: *Maarte bhi hain...mere papa to seedha bolte hain...ab mere larhke ko koi kuch bolta nahin hai...pehle bolta tha. Ab isse koi kuch bolega to ya to main usko jaan se maarke bhag jaunga...ya kuch bhi kar dunga. Gaaon hai mera gaaon mein hi chala jaunga main, mereko koi tension to hai nahin”.*

(My father acts too bastardly in my case...when I am at fault...then my papa would not leave me...earlier if anybody used to hit me...earlier I was noble, anyone hits me then I would not say anything...I would say nothing at home...I would make any excuse. But now papa told me do not be afraid, if anybody says anything...so tell

me. I did not believe my papa...My friends told me...if everyone says anything to you...and you will tell your papa about it...then tell us also. I have understood...if anybody says anything right or wrong...anything so I tell my papa...

Megha: Does your papa scold them...with whom you have fought...does he scold them...beats them?

H: He beats them too...my father straightforwardly tells...now nobody says anything to my son...earlier they used to...Now if anybody says anything to my son then I will kill and take their lives...or I will do something else...I have a village I will go to the village...I do not have any tension.)

The above narratives exemplify the unconscious fantasy of case H to be protected by the ideal father whom he can trust. He also projects this as an implacable need and exposes his deep insecurities of a threatening external environment. This is a pertinent finding in the present study in which CoPD revealed their conception of the mental structure situated around the ideal father. Herzog (2004) stated that the absence of an ideal father in the real-life proliferates an “extreme manifestation of unmodulated aggression, alloyed with a diminished capacity to differentiate and value the ongoing nature of a relationship with a vital and essential other, and accompanied by the necessarily concomitant overvaluation of the self for defensive purposes employed as an antidote to the self-hating aspect of unbridled hatred increasingly cripple both the intrapsychic and the interactive repertoires of the afflicted individual” (p.911).

The ambiguous relationship with the father and the co-presence of superlatives that overestimates fatherly qualities in many narratives from Case H's stories can be deconstructed using Kakar's (1971) exposition on authority patterns and subordinate behaviour. This demonstrates the defense of Identifying with the Aggressor in Anna Freud's terms. Kakar (1971) emphasised that there is both a phylogenetic and ontogenetic aspects of authority. He analysed that in the Indian context, the concept of authority is known to be derived from a familial setting, and this conceptualisation overwhelms people in their adult life as well. Most of the people, according to Kakar, portrays the image of superior as that of a nurturant. Kakar's (1971) paper on the active submission of Indian people to the authority figures, elaborated that “authority figures enforce their authority primarily by providing emotional rewards to and arousing guilt in the subordinate behaviour (p.100). The next section elaborates upon the rationale for children adopting the defense of identifying with the aggressor. It elaborates upon Kakar's Mother enthrallment to suggest that the psychic structure of children revolves around the conflict of developing an autonomous and independent identity of self away from the mother.

4.3 Maternal Entrallment, Father Hunger and The Need for Masculine Self

Myths are the master narratives, the grand-recits of Hindu Indian culture of which individual stories are only variations (Kakar, 2016).

In this section, I analyse the stories of children by positing that there is a dominant narrative of deep-seated hostility of children towards their mothers. There is a panic situated in their narratives and the analysis of children's aversion towards their mothers psychologically by Kohon (2005) reveals that "they are at the edge of the abyss of nothingness, a panic of an empty world and of total abandonment" (p.157). To depict this, I first deconstruct children's internalisation of the authority of their father from Anna Freud's theoretical notions of the defense of 'identifying with the aggressor' (1936). Anna Freud (1936) posited that "the identifying with the aggressor is the defense mechanism to which the ego habitually resorts" (p.168). Freud (1936) used the study by Aichorn, who came across the case of a boy possessed by the habit of making strange faces while in the classroom. Aichorn observed the child who was complained by his teacher to be a deviant and abnormal. He observed that the expressions on the boy's face were a replication of the aggressive face of his teacher. Freud (1936) stated that "the boy identified himself with the teacher's anger and copied his expression as he spoke, though the imitation was not recognised. By impersonating with the aggressor, assuming his attributes or imitating the aggressor, the child transformed into the person threatened into the person who makes the threat" (p.170). This identification is echoed by Freud in '*Beyond the Pleasure Principle*' in which the traumatic childhood experiences which are passive in childhood becomes active through the mechanism of assimilation. This also delineates the process of introjection of some characteristics of the object which the child now identifies with. Freud (1936) stated that in identifying with the aggressor, children in their formative stage of development also "internalise other people's criticisms of their behaviour" (1936, p.177). The child has identified with his/her punisher but in that process "when a child constantly repeats this process of internalisation and introjects the qualities of those responsible for his upbringing, making their characteristics and opinions his own, he is all the time providing material from which the superego may take shape" (Freud, 1936, p.178). Kakar (1971) examined the authority patterns and subordinate behaviour that describes the psychical organisation of individuals who internalise power relations. In the Indian context, the beliefs, attitudes and experiences of children demonstrate that their relationship with mother is dominated by the larger social normative in which the constituent of authority internalised and its vicissitudes in terms of conventionalisation of masculine authority derive from the source of mother entrallment. To elaborate upon this, I begin the section by contextualising Case M's narratives obtained from his TAT. Case M embarked on the session by

projecting himself as an ideal-obedient son who sees the musical instrument in the card one as a source of main support of life at a fantasy level through which he will be able to uprise from his abject poverty. He projected a strong affiliation and identification with his parents. As the session progressed, he attempted to bring the myriad experiences of his everydayness in his stories, for instance, a master-slave dialectics in the card 2 where there is a rustic-village life depicted in the scene. He narrated that his hero identified himself with the farmer who is working in his fields under the dire condition of the floods. He is parsimoniously planning for the future of his children, thinking about admitting them in a private school and fantasising of reaping the benefits of his children's success. However, amid the story, he unpins a galore of his experiences regarding how poor and the oppressed people are treated at the hands of the dominant and the rich class. In the further cards of father-son and mother-son relationship, Case M's conspicuously throws light on the conflictual conventional dyadic relationship between the son's wishes for pleasure and autonomy on one side and on the other side, the parent's imposition of rules and restrictions. The son's wanting autonomy over unrestricted gratification became pivotal in the rest of the cards as well. The most pertinent aspect of the conflictual relationship with his parents is prompted by Kakar (2016) in his psychoanalytic theory on mother-enthralment. According to Kakar (2016), "Maternal Enthralment is the wish to get away from the mother, along with, comprising the dread of separation, the wish to destroy the engulfing mother who also ensures the child's survival and finally, the incestuous desire coexisting with the terror inspired by an overwhelming female sexuality" (p.60). Mother enthralment and the dominant narrative of male psychological development dialectically make the western myth about Indian oedipal complex questionable. In crux, Kakar intends to bring into the focus that an Indian child is constantly torn between a powerful push for the independent and autonomous functioning from the mother and an equally strong pull towards surrender and re-immersion with the mother from which the child has emerged. For instance, in the picture card 4, Case M portrayed the anaclitic relationship in a melancholic voice that the mother is upset with her son as the son committed something wrong. He projects the son phobic of his mother and the emotional anomalies are evident in this card as he depicts his mother as violent, hostile and non-nurturing towards his inner feelings. The mother is shown to be sadistic and controlling as he states the mother threatens the hero she will not give him food. The relationship between the hero and the mother is aversive.

The excerpts are,

"Isme ek Ladka hai aur uski Maa hai, dono udaas kharhe hain...jaise inka kuch chala gaya ho...apni maa se gussa hoga ya iski mummy gussa honghi isse... ek dusre

se gussa hain shayad....kuch baat huwi hogi...kahin Khelne gaya hoga. Maa ne mana kia hoga. ye nahin maana hoga isliye gussa hogaya hoga...iski mummy ne hi kuch kaha hoga...ladka sharminda hai. aisa lag raha hai iski mummy ne mana kiya hoga aur ye tab bhi gaya hoga aur aane ke baad isne mummy se jhooth bola hoga, kehti hain tujhe khelne nahin dungii.tujhe khana nahin dungii isliye ye sharminda hai... Mummy isko maarti hongii...ye sochta hai maare na pyar se bole to main wohi karunga jo mummy bolengi par iski mummy aisa nahin karti hain...school mein to pit-ta nahin hoga...ye kisi ko Marta hoga. Sir ji batate honge iski mummy ko. isiliye mummy gussa hongii. Bolti hain ki discipline mein rakho isko” (Case M, Picture Card 4).

Kakar’s (2016) intriguing arguments based on the “child’s dilemma of leaving vs staying” (p. 61) overwhelms case M’s narratives. Significantly, Kakar’s discussion on the Indian cultural myth is associated with the son who fulfils his mother’s wish of not separating from her and their joint existence. At a deeper level, Kakar (2016) inundates a perception that the father-son relationship embodied in the Indian context is very different from the western notions, where the father is fantasied as terrible avenger. Kakar (2016) concords that an Indian son’s psychical agency to some extent, does not show a presence of a fantasy of parricide, found in Freud’s oedipal myth. Narain’s (1964) study elaborates on ‘Growing up in India’ where he figuratively argued that in the early period of childhood, the mother is the chief agent of socialisation and thus, of punishment and reward. It is in the childhood that a child finds his mother authoritarian and the torch bearer of discipline, with fathers having to do a little with it. The child’s foundation of the super-ego rests with the mother as there is little contact with the father. The father is seen as a remote disciplinary male figure, seen only at the night as he is working the whole day. “Although the father is projected as all-powerful and must be approached with the attitude of complete submission” (Narain, 1964). As a child grows up, the father figure takes over the super-ego role from the mothers, and this attributes that the fathers are the main punishers of the sons and mothers of daughters. There is a need and desire of conscientious obedience on the part of sons and the fathers respectively. The cultural imagination of oedipal as Kakar (2016) encapsulates is that “if there is anger against the father, then it is due to his failure in not fulfilling the little boy’s need for an oedipal alliance, that is, for the father’s firm support, solidarity and emotional availability at a stage of life where the wishes and fears related to maternal enthrallment later banished into the unconscious were at their peak”. The ambitious relationship between the mother and the child is evident in Case D, and is depicted from the following narratives,

“Iski maa ka intekaal ho chuka hai bohat pehle... ye tab se sochta hai ke main pitaji ke saath na rahun [...] Main apne bete ke bina nahin reh sakta...pita ji ke dost bolte hai tum hamara saath chorh do...bole main tumhara saath kaise chorh dun tumhare bina to mera dil hi nahin lagega [...]Pitaji afsos karte hain ke mera beta mujhse

pyar nahin karta...par vo bohat pyar karta tha...aur ab bhi karta hai” (Case D, Card 3)

Case D's projection can be seen rooted in childhood experience with an authoritarian and overwhelming father toward whom submission is mixed with insubordination and hostility. This story encapsulates a lot of conflicts arising out the storyteller's narrative when he starts projecting his self in his father's narration "that the father says I cannot live without my son and to live with his son he has to sacrifice his friendship". These narratives clearly state his deeper needs of symbiotic ties with his father as he is seeking to establish his relationship with the father as an ally. These narratives reinforce that unlike in the West, as Kakar (1981) elaborated that the oedipal conflict is usually resolved as the boy's aggressive stance towards his rival father which by triggering anxiety, in turn, is reduced as the boy proceeds to identify with the father, however, in the Indian culture the oedipal aggression against the father is not very common. Kakar (1981) posits that there is a strong pre-oedipal feminine identification in boys who lack a vivid, partisan father with whom they can identify. "This leads to a boy's likely adoption of a position of 'non-partisan' feminine submission towards all the older men in the family" (Kakar, 1981, p.134). A son takes a passive-receptive stance towards male authority that enables him to become the man in his turn. More so, in a sexualised imagery of the child, his route towards identification with masculinity is laid down with his phallus which seeks masculine potency. Legitimately, this resolution of the oedipal conflict adhering to the submissiveness of the son towards his father and other older male members in the family create a psychological residue in his unconsciousness that has an impact over the child's life and especially in his identity development of an Indian man. This identity succeeds in the further development of passive-receptive attitude towards the authority figures of all kinds. The passive-receptive form of submissiveness in M can thus be seen in the card two again as described earlier at the beginning of the section regarding the master-slave dialectics he opines.

Excerpts:

“...ye kisan ameeron se isiliye darta hoga kyunki yeh gareeb hai aur iske paas abhi kuch bhi nahin hoga...Ameer kahin uski jayedaad na hadap le, inko zameen par laake na chorh dein... sochta hai shanti se aram se kheti karein araam se jiyein...karte hain aur khaate hain... ameer ke paas vo hota hai jisse woh araam se dusron par apni akad dikha sakte hain...gareebon ko aur neechे dabane ki sochte hain...unki bohat pehchan hoti hai kisi se, bade bade logon se...gareebon ko satane ke liye bohat kuch karte hain vo... ameeron ke paas aukaad hai sirf wo hi dikha sakte hain...gareebo ko kaam se kaam rakhna chahiye. ameero ko kuch nahi bolna chahiye” (Case M, Card 2).

It is evident from the narrative of Case M that he has idealised his parents low socio-economic status in a manner where he projects himself as a slave and in order to lead a peaceful life he has to repress his anger against the rich class whom he thinks become rich only by killing poor people "Ameer ban-ne ka tareeka yeh hai ke maar ke hi ameer bana ja sakta hai...gareebon ko maar ke hi ameer bante hain" (To become rich, there is only one way by killing one becomes rich...By killing poor people one becomes rich). In the card 3, on the one hand, his submissiveness towards the

father is seen getting reinforced and on the other hand, is the son's conflictual feeling towards the father who is seen as authoritarian is visible. In the fantasied interaction between a father and a son and the son's wish for autonomy is curtailed by the father where the father's primal demands from the son take centre stage.

“...Beta padhna chahta hai, per pad nahi pa raha hai. jaise school bol rahe honge ki gareebo ko nahi parhayenge. Fees ki wajah se. inke papa khete hai ki makkan tayyar karenge to parhne ke liye paise nahin bachenge...to phir kabhi parha lenge... bacha soch raha hai ke mujhe parhna hai kuch karna hai warna main isme fail ho jaunga, aage kuch karna hai...jo kara hai wo sab kharab ho jayega...isme main fail ho sakta hun...isme meri ek saal ki mehnat kharab ho jayegi. wo chahta hai mere school ki fees bhar do, uske baad makan tayyar kar sakte hain agar padhane ke baad meri naukari lag gayi to acha makkan banayenge, ache se rahenge.”

(Case M, picture card 3)

In this story, case M projects the conflict between autonomy and compliance as his story mitigates sadness and aloofness. His story revolves around the unflinching need for the father to develop empathy towards the son's need, as he states, “The son wants to study, but he is not able to study. As if the school is saying that they will not teach the poor...Because of fees...his papa is saying if we build a house we will not be able to afford studies”. Case M demonstrates a conflictual relationship and son's attitude of non-compliance, but this happens only at a seminal layer as deep down the son identifies with the father. This is visible in some of the cards where projected overt aggression on the mother in the form of matricide (card 5, discussed in the next paragraph). Although, M's hero in card 3 partly disagreed with the father, the memory of which is nuanced from his life situations as he told the researcher that he was studying in a private school, but due to lack of resources and sufficient financial funds, he was transferred to the government school by his father. However, the passive non-compliance of M against his mother does not result in the negotiation of tensions rather an aggressive step of matricide, the reference of which has been made above and can be seen in the following excerpts.

“...Bache school jate the. Teacher marte the...aur iski maa bolti thi ke tu aisa kaam mat kiya kar ke teacher maare tujhko... ye kisko maarta ho ya Copiyan cheen leta hoga...ya kisika bag leke bhaag jata ho...use satata ho,,,chirhata ho... Sir ji thappad marte hain. Roj mummy bolti honghi to sun sun kar bore hogaya tha...apni mummy ko bola hoga ke aisa mat bola karo...mummy ne phir bola diya hoga...to isliye isne apni mummy ka khoon karne ki sochta hoga... Gala dabana shuru kar deta hai mummy ka... phir Ma maarti nahin hai par ghar se nikaal desi hai...kahin rehta hoga dost dost ke yahan apne... School jaana band kar deta hai” **(Case M, Picture card 5).**

At the fundamental level of the psyche, Kakar implicated that “no one is entirely free from ambivalent feelings towards the mother” (Kakar, 1981). This is because, the mother unconsciously demands that the child serves as an object of her unfulfilled desires and wishes, however antithetical they may be to his own. This can be seen through the narratives of K:

*“...Ek larhka rehta hai...K, bhalaswa dairy mein rehta hai. parhne ka bahut dil karta hai, par **ghalat sangat mein parh jata hai**. vo apne doston ke saath bure bure kaam karta hai. Mummy kehti hai chal beta naam katwa dung school se. ab tu kamayega. wo kehta hai mujhe itna parhwa do... ek mauka de do... pehle to parhta rehta tha. phir vo dobara ghalat kaam karne lag jata hai...uski mummy kehti hai ke ab to tu bilkul nahin parhega...mummy parhana nahin chahti hain. Teacher kehta hai tu sahi parh raha hai aise hi parhta reh...tera future barhiya hojayega...vo apne teacher se kehta hai ke meri mummy mujhe parhana nahin chahti... hamare wahan saare buri sangat mein parh gaye hain...to teacher kehta hai ke mummy se baat karwana...phir vo uski mummy se baat karta hai ke aapka beta parhne mein bilkul theek hai to aap usko parhana kyun nahin chahte...to mummy kehti hai ke ye saare din bhar khelta rehta hai...poora din ghar par nahin aata...teacher kehta hai ke yeh to hoshiyar hai isko parhana kyun nahin chahte... to uske mummy kehti hai ke yeh parhai mein to sahi hai par yahan par **gande gande kaam karta hai**...nasha karta hai...na khana khata hai...pata nahin kahan se khata hai kahan se peeta hai...kahan rehta hai poore din... ghar mein aata nahin hai pata nahin kahan rehta hai...ab jahan talak iska dil karta hai parh sakta hai...phir vo parhta rehta hai..aur 12th pass karke sochta hai ke yaar kuch karna hai...to vo engineer ban jata hai...” (Case K, Blank Card).*

At this stage the child may feel confused, helpless and inadequate, frightened by his mother’s overwhelming nearness and yet unable to get away, which according to Kakar is the theme attributing to a bad mother complex in some children in the Indian context who feels betrayed of the patriarchal functions at his home. In this cultural specific theme, one of the defense that arise against the threatening bad mother is the fantasy of matricide. This fantasy is purely born out the need to be masculine as in the psycho-sexual terms to “identify with one’s mother means to sacrifice one’s masculinity to her to escape sexual excitation and the threat it poses to the boy’s fragile ego” (Kakar, 1981, 102). Thus, a conflict exists at an unconscious regarding the puerility in boy’s conviction to disrupt the relationship with the mother where he faces the danger of representing his mother and a constant need to free himself from her domination. Adjunct to this bad mother theme is a syndrome recognised by psychoanalyst Herzog (2001) as ‘Father Hungry’ which propitiates Kakar’s mother enthrallment and objectivise the child’s claim to masculinity. Herzog (2001) advanced his hypothesis that paternal availability and the relationship between the mother and father are crucial components of evolving character structure in children. He suggested that when competent parental authority is absent and the same authority is sanctioned by the mother who is seen as demeaning father’s capacity, there is likely that the child will have a narcissistic

deformation. “The child without a paternal authoritative helper is left alone in regard to his or her aggression” (Herzog, 2004, p.893). He states that “Without a paternal anchor in childhood, the boy is en route to the development of a perverse character structure in which the self is taken as object and subsequently lessens an investment of the self with relational bonds in life” (Herzog, 2004, p.893). This leads to the development of hatred, which modulates their aggressive drives, contemptuous feelings and disregard for others. This will be elucidated in the section on Sado-masochism through the analytic vignettes. The next section deduces the Freudian Oedipus in children and brings into light that psyche of children is thoroughly social in which they resolve the Oedipus complex, yet there is a strong identification with the Father who in children’s narrative is longed for.

4.4 The Oedipal Revisited: The Historical Myth, Biological Body and the Dead Father Complex

This section presents a diametrically different resolution of the unconscious conflict of the Oedipus complex of killing a father to dethrone him and the repression of erotic impulses against the mother. The wilful rivalry and the submission towards the father, the developmental organisation of separation from the mother and the subsequent phase of individuation is discussed in this section. I begin with the excerpts of Case D in which he narrated a story about a son and his mother in the picture card 4. He stated,

“...Ma bete hainge...jab ye hua tha to pita ji ka intekaal ho gaya tha. maa sochti hai ab main kiske sahare jiyungi. to unhone uske (bache) sahare jeena ka socha. jab ye 1-2 saal ka ho gaya to school mein naam likhwaya. jab ye chathi-aathvi mein aa gaya...bada ho gaya, to ghalat logon ke sath rehne lag gaya. iski maa ko nahin pata tha ke ghalat logon ke saath rehta tha. uski maa to sochti thi mera ladka bahut hi pyara hai. uski maa hamesha usko gale se laga kar rakhti thi”(**Case D, Picture card 4**).

The story of Case D may be considered as an oedipal wish to a restricted arena of eliminating the rival father and the son’s wishes to be alone with the mother. The fear of castration is displaced as his friends ask him to come with them rather than staying with his mother. Kristeva’s (2008) paper, ‘A father is beaten to death’ endorsed the idea behind Freud’s Totem and Taboo (forbidden) that the “prohibition of incest, on which human culture is founded, begins with the discovery by the brothers that the father is an animal to be killed”. The most interesting part of this Totem according to Kristeva (2008) is that only the “Taboo has been preserved to be transformed into rules for the exchange of women, into laws, names, language and meaning”. The theme of the killing of the father permeates Freud’s writing in which he oscillated between different types of interpretations (Perelberg, 2015). There are two conflicting positions, the first being “the real event that took place

in the past and was repressed, and the second position is of the event being considered as a myth” (Godelier, 1996, as cited in, Perelberg, 2015). Totem and Taboo unfold the meaning of taboo which according to Freud is “a primeval prohibition forcibly imposed (by some authority) from outside, and directed against the most powerful longings to which human beings are subject. The desire to violate a taboo persists in the unconscious minds of those who obey or have to obey the taboo and thus, develop an ambivalent attitude to what the taboo prohibits” (Freud, 1919a/2001, p.40-41). It is a war against a temptation that arouses and is continually seeking its renunciation. Freud enunciated that this taboo is psychically present across the generations, which lays down the norms of the moral order for the society. This underpinning of Freud’s arguments rests on Charles Darwin’s hypothesis of the social state of the primitive men. Darwin developed an analogy of apes and human beings and deduced that the higher apes, as well as men, formerly lived in comparatively small groups or hordes. As a consequence, jealousy of the oldest and strongest male prevented sexual promiscuity towards women. “This was the earliest state of society in which there is a violent and jealous father who keeps all the females for himself and drives away his sons as they grow up, as Freud stated,

“One day the brothers who had been driven out came together, killed and devoured their father and so made an end of the patriarchal horde. United, they had the courage to do and succeeded in doing what would have been impossible for them individually. (Some cultural advance, perhaps, command over some new weapon, had given them a sense of superior strength.) Cannibal savages as they were, it goes without saying that they devoured their victim as well as killing him. The violent primal father had doubtless been the feared and envied model of each one of the company of brothers: and in the act of devouring him they accomplished their identification with him, and each one of them acquired a portion of his strength (Freud, 1919a/2001, p.164).

The genetic inheritance is emphasised in Freud’s Totem and Taboo which becomes the core of the Freudian theory of phylogenetic inheritance, i.e., “the primal fantasies are re-actualised through individual experience” (Green, 2002, as cited, in Perelberg, 2015). The murder of the primal horde, according to Freud, followed the remorse and guilt on account of the ambiguous relationship the sons shared with the dead father as he was both loved and hated, concurrently. Amid the guilt and the remorse, the anguish captured the brothers. The parody was that each one of the brothers wanted all the women for himself. According to the Freudian myth, this situation was leading towards another patricide which was going to happen to the brother who thought of stepping into the shoes of the dead father. Thus, to prevent their destruction, they instituted the law of incest, denying themselves sexual access to their mothers and sisters (Perelberg, 2015, p.15).

The murderous feelings that any son feels towards his father include not only real case-histories but also myths, culture and an anthropology that gives this fantasy a universal status. The hostility between fathers and son has occupied a very large section of Freud's work. According to Freud (1919a/2001), "it is the fate of all of us perhaps, to direct our first sexual impulse towards our mother and our first hatred and our first murderous wish against our father. King Oedipus, who slew his father Laïus and married his mother Jocasta, merely show the fulfilment of his childhood wishes. But more fortunate than he, we have meanwhile succeeded, in so far as we have not become psychoneurotic, in detaching our sexual impulses from our mothers and in forgetting our jealousy of our fathers" (Freud, as cited in Perelberg, 2015, p.13). The dead father is the father of the law that prohibits all killings. The dead father became more powerful than he had ever been when alive, he acquires a symbolic meaning; the dead father now prohibits violence and incest. Dead Father, becomes the foundational core of the culture. Most pertinently, the man tend to establish a dyadic relationship and eliminate triadic configurations. The following narratives present in a minuscule way, an image of oedipal conflict in the minds of children.

"Ek larhka rehta hai. papa se bohat pyar karta hai. wo apne papa ke liye kuch karna chahta hai kyunki uske papa uske liye kuch nahin kar sakte the kyunki uske papa apahij hote hain."

(Case K, Picture Card 3)

This story portrays case K's latent wish to humiliate the father expressed in the form of a fantasy that the father is handicap which is symbolic of castrated as his father is not a handicap in real life. The impotent castrated father is the reversal of the situation that the storyteller has gone through in his childhood. These fantasies tend to have a "fixed, masochistic shape and express these patients' position of helplessness facing their fathers, unable to mobilise their aggression" (Perelberg, 2015, p.36). In the case of H, there is another aspect to the oedipal complex revealed from his story in the picture card 8. His story begins with projecting a normal triadic relationship with his parents. But it relapses into an extraordinarily muddled and conflicting situation where the family disintegrates. The separation anxiety relating to object loss "*bache maa ko dhoondne lage...maa bachon ko dhundh rahi thi*" (The children were searching for the mother and the mother was searching for the children) invades his story when they accidentally separate from the mother and on reunion they express that, "*phele khane ko bahut nahi milta tha...*" (Earlier they did not get enough food to eat) points towards a lack of oral nurturance. Some oedipal affiliation with mother is reflected in his narrative "*wo sirf maa ke pair choote the*" (they would take the blessings of only Mother). The father is eliminated and is shown to have no remorse against losing his children. The excerpts are,

“Ek jungle tha bohat barha...pati uski wife aur 2 bache jungle mein picnic manane jaate hain. saare bhatak gaye ek dusre ko dhundte dhundte...dono bache bhi ghum hogaye...bache maa ko dhoondne lage...maa bachon ko dhundh rahi thi...patni pati ko, bacho ko dhoondti hai. sab pareshan ho jate hain. bache mandir mein pujari hote hain... bhagwan ke alawa kisi ke pair nahin choote the gaon mein...gaaon wale aake bachon ke pair choote the... vo sab gaon walon ko apni haqeeqat batate hain...ke ye hamari maa hai aur ye pitaji...hum bichad gaye the...phir batate hai ki phele khane ko bahut nahi milta tha... maa bhi wahin rehne lag jati hai...”

(Case H, Picture Card 8)

Oedipus resolution is disguised in the need to overwhelm the powerful. The above narratives provide an image of the Oedipus complex structuring the minds of children at a preconscious level, partly. However, the concrete image of the psychic structures of children shows the internalisation of the father’s powerful authority as venerable to respect. The realistic image of the father is diluted to form a loveable imaginary father in the narratives. Precursory to the identification with the father is the internalisation of the cogent masculine image of the father, i.e., the father is seen as the nurturer and the protector vis-à-vis the son as to be nurtured and be protected. It is thus with the conceptualisation of the father-son dyadic relation, the analysis of other parts of the narratives of children as Kakar (1981) states “tends to foster a reflective adaptation and deliberative acceptance”. The previous sections forayed into the unconscious process of development of idealisation and stated that if a child in the oedipal period of childhood is disappointed by his parents, it results in the traumatic experience of a failed parental imago. In the schema of the child looms the altered parental imago and the psyche ominously longs for the narcissistic nourishment. Consequently, it manifests itself in the form of a personality disturbance engulfed in a compelling need of affiliation with a powerful authority who can provide the necessary deficient narcissistic nourishment. Kakar (1981) posited that

“In a compelling need for merger with powerful authority figures or in incoherent mystical feelings divorced from the transcended experience or tradition of mature religiosity, [the] psychosis reactivate the archaic parental imago [which] lead to delusions of the powerful persecutor, the omniscient mind reader or disembodied voices whose commands must be obeyed” p.131)

To explain the notions of reactivation of archaic parental imago, I use the narratives of children on being nonchalant to the corporal punishment the school offers. The aim of the next section is to present the confluence of defenses such as identification and idealisation of powerful authority under the guise of sublimation of passive-aggressive impulse against the authority through the mechanism of denial and lastly, displacement of the aggression on the “socially marginalised”.

4.5 Moral Masochism: Corporal Punishment as Moral Castigation

“Spare the rods, spoil the child” is a common proverb that signifies the importance of disciplining children from turning into spoiled brats. Unequivocally, this was an everyday practice at the school from which the data was collected. One of the incidents in the school gave me jitters down the spine. The excerpts are: Two boys, one of them wearing a bright red cap and the other one with a spunky haircut wearing coloured pants to the school, were dragged to the principal’s office with their hands cuffed by their sports teacher. The reason was they climbed the wall of the school for being late for the assembly. During our conversation, the principal got up proactively from his desk. The principal now seemed more like a trainer of the zoo with a fit of violent anger. He, in place of a whip, took a long wooden stick hidden behind the door and started lashing the boys one by one. The cuss words used by the principal and the loud cries and tears of the two boys amplified the atmosphere of fear and violence. A congealed message of threat was communicated to the other children to beware of committing any mistake against the school rules and corrigendum. It seemed as if the punishment of hitting and smashing with the stick was not enough for the principal that he started spanking and kicking the buttocks of the victims. The clueless boys were so scared that they were unable to recall the class they study in after the principal repeatedly abused them, leaving them frosted for few minutes which were accompanied by an uncountable slap on their cheeks. In the meantime, I, being a sole witness to the horrible abuse of the children was made to leave the room by that sports teacher. All through my days of data collection, I noticed that the principal vilified, detested and castigated children with a stick in his hands, especially when they came to drink the water from newly installed water taps in front of his office. This is also evident from the narratives of Case D, which expounds the fear and humiliation being instilled in the students by the teachers of which he could not cope with the trauma of corporal punishment.

The Excerpts are:

“D: Dande hi dande maare...thappad hi thappad...phele murga bana diya...phir maara...maine kaha sirji maaro mat, merese bologe murga ban ja to main ban jaunga...phir maara mujhe...

(Hit me with sticks... slapped rigorously... punished me to sit like a rooster... then he hit me... I asked him not to beat me, I requested to punish me to sit like a rooster... he hit me again...)

Megha: *Tumhe yeh school kaisa lagta hai?*

(How do you find this school?)

D: *Pehle acha lagta tha ab acha nahin lagta...*

(I used to like at first but not anymore...)

“Acha nahin lagta tha school mein...koi dost nahin hota tha to main ghar chala jata tha...class walon se main baat nahin karta tha...class mein ache nahin hai koi...dogle hain...ye saath nahin dete na kisi cheez mein Jaise ki koi kaam parh jaye...kisi kaam ke liye bheje to ye chal nahin sakte...matlab ki yahan par jaise

ki...abhi jaise ek sir aaye...unhone naam poocha...to main asli naam bata deta hun...woh keh rahe the ke sir ye ghalat bata raha hai...vo keh rahe the ye ghalat bata raha hai...vo soch rahe the main ghalat bata raha hun...phir maine ghalat bata diya to sab kehte ke sirji jo isne pehle bataya tha wohi sahi hai...maine kaha sirji maine to bataya tha... aapne yakeen hi nahin kara..."

(I did not feel good at the school... did not have any friend so, I would leave to home... I did not speak with class fellows... none are good in the class... they are all bastards... they back away when needed... they do not accompany... I mean... like when Sir comes... and he asks my name... so I gave him my name... but the fellows insist to sir that it is not my name... so sir also thinks I am intentionally giving out wrong name... to play along I also give wrong name, so, they back away and say I was gave my right name the first time... I said sir I told you my real name... but you did not believe me... (D, Student)

Case D's narrative can be deconstructed using Anna Freud's (1936) description of the phenomenon of ego-withdrawal, as she stated

"As a method of avoiding "pain," ego-restriction, like the various forms of denial, does not come under the heading of the psychology of neurosis but is a normal stage in the development of the ego. When the ego is young and plastic, its withdrawal from one field of activity is sometimes compensated for by excellence in another, upon which it concentrates. But, when it has become rigid or has already acquired an intolerance of "pain" and so is obsessively fixated to a method of flight, such withdrawal is punished by impaired development. By abandoning one position after another it becomes one-sided, loses too many interests and can show but a meagre achievement" (Freud, p.160).

The internal processes of withdrawal within children prevailing under the restriction of ego, results in an eruption of objective anxiety, which interrupts their development, according to Freud (1936). Most fundamentally, Freud (1936) stated that in such a situation the child should not be fixated on the activity that caused the anxiety instead the "stress is on unpleasure or pleasure which it produces" (p.159). The phenomenon of ego-withdrawal explains that children's compulsive quality of escaping from traumatic situations and defines their behaviour as phobic. Suffering on the body causes anxiety attacks in children who internalise punishment on their bodies as a way of warding that suffering. The suffering caused due to punishment acts as recourse to fight against the passive aggressive impulse against the authorities at home and the school. The superlatives used by children to define the school teachers are:

1). Case H: "*Sirji mummy papa ke samaan hote hain par unki izzat koi bhi nahin karta aaj ke time mein...*" (Teachers are like mummy-papa...but nobody respects them in today's world). "*Sirji ne bhi maine ghalti kari thi tab maara tha...*" (Sir also when I did something wrong, hit me).

2).Case M: "*Acha ma'am vo hota hai jo araam se discipline mein rahe aur ...woh...jo sirji ki saare baat maane...copy poori rakhe aur jo aage baith-ta hai aur jo akalmand ho*" (ma'am, noble person

is the one who is disciplined, who abides by Sir, has complete notes and who sits in the front row and who is intelligent).

3).Case K: *“Control matlab ke jaise sirji se darte hain bache...ke haan sirji agar hum ghalti karenge to maareng...hamari class mein to saare bache darte hain sirji se...ke hum kuch ghalti karenge to sirji maareng hamein...”* (Control means like how sir is afraid of kids... but if we make a mistake sir will definitely hit us... in my class everyone is afraid of sir... that if we will make a mistake sir will beat us up...)

Through the above narratives, children show a tendency to overestimate the qualities of their school teachers. However, such elaboration indicates repression of hostility and revengeful fantasy possessed by children in their unconscious minds. The repression of aggressive impulse is masked under the need for compliance. The general tendency of children is to develop a fearful submission towards the authority in which any resentment against the teachers is displaced. Along with the ego restriction, children’s ego resort to a second mechanism in which they transcend the hatred of other people towards one’s self. As Freud (1936) exemplified a case of a girl who internalised the hatred of others and stated that “the child tortured herself with self-accusations and feelings of inferiority, and, throughout childhood and adolescence right into adult life, did everything she could to put herself at a disadvantage and injure her interests, always surrendering her own wishes to the demands made on her by others. To all outward appearance, she had become masochistic since adopting this method of defense” (p.78). Through the process of projection, children portrayed the inner self in which they revealed the school’s conviction of them as worthless, coupled with a sense of humiliation. Fanon (1967) reiterated that “Affect is exacerbated, as [the child] is full of rage because he feels small, suffers from an inadequacy in all human communication, and all these factors chain him with an unbearable insularity” (p.35). The inner world is dominated by rage in children with a debilitating sense of inferiority. This is evident from the following narratives:

1). Case H in picture card 2 stated: *“machli pakkad nahin paunga to sochta hai ki logon ke beech mein zaleel ho jaunga. zaleel wo hota hai na jisse logon ke beech mein kuch karna na aaye”*. In picture card 5: *“Sirjee pitayi karke bhejte the use ghar pe ke ja beta tu nahin parh payega. Phir saamne ek larhki baithi thi...english mein baat kar rahi thi, usko english bhi nahin aati thi. Usko na logon ne bohat zaleel kara...bohat taane diye ke tu itna barha hogaya...tu parhta likhta nahin hai kuch bhi nahin karta”*.

2). Case D: In picture card 1, saw musical instrument as a source of achieving success and stated, *“ismein talent hai. ye sochta hai iski job kar sakta hai. ismein harunga nahin”*. In picture card 8, he stated: *“Gufa hai. aurat hai. ache ghar se hoti hai. isme bohat ghamand hai. kissi se baat nahin karti. Kuch ladke harami hain to iska un ladkon se ek baari paala parh jata hai...jaise hi nikalte hai to van mein dal dete hain aur isko leke chorh dete hain. aisi jagah chorh dete hain jahan se ye vapisi hi na aaye.”*

3). Case K in personal interview stated: *“private school mein sahi bache jaate honge...jiske papa ke paas paisa hoga...vo bache jaate honge...humare paas itna kahan hai!”* (Well off kids must be the ones who go to private schools...their fathers must be rich...we do not have money like them!)

The TAT method which involved the creation of fantasy became critical in helping to understand that the psychological manifestations in the children are a direct outgrowth of fantasy. Through the findings elicited from TAT responses, an inner world of children is reflected to be subjugated under the elements of dejection, hurtfulness and isolation, both psychologically and socially. Children as explained in the previous sections fail to transmute their parents and their inner world is under the dominion of (de)cathexis, and as a result, they cannot defend against the impulses and aggressive instincts against other people. The inner world of children is dominated by a preoccupation with a fantasised-ideal and a good-self which addresses the abjection of self metaphorically as self-treason and self-loathing. This abjection is derived from a sense of humiliation, maltreatment and an immense disappointment which is a form of predefined absence in which children have sunk in.

The narratives obtained from CoPD show authority figures as a phobogenic object. In all the four cases, the stimulus of the picture cards generated anxiety in children as they recalled their past in which their bodies were exposed to the traumatic experiences of being punished at the school. For instance, Case M in the ‘Mother-Son’ picture card 5, as explained in the earlier sections, revealed that he felt repulsive when his mother pressurised him to go to the school. He used the defense of withdrawal from going to the school as teachers beat him. When the hero of case M’s story could not strike a deal with his mother, he tried to strangulate her. TAT responses of the four cases are compiled below in the form of a table to demonstrate the internalisation of punishment and their adaptation to the mechanism of punishment as a constituent of the dominant psychic structures of children who are the victims of everyday violence.

Table 3: Internalisation of Punishment

Case H	Case M	Case D	Case K
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Is school mein sirji parhane aate hain...agar is school mein larhkiyan parhane aa gayin na...to school nahin rahega phir yeh...saare haramigardi karne lag jayenge...abhi hi haramigardi karte hain sirji parhate hain to...larhkiyan parhane aayengi to kitni harami - gardiyan karenge...sirji aaye to aise aayein ke maare bohat... tabhi bache sudhenge yahan...principal sirji sirf tab aate hain jab prarthana hoti hain...baki sirji to aise hi ghoomote rehte hain...bachon ko bhi kuch nahin bolte... bas ek hi sir bolte hain...” • Sirji ne bhi maine ghalti kari thi tab maara tha...(Sir also when i did something wrong, hit me). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Ma’am ji ye aate hain aur bhaag jaate hain hamesha...ma’am ji ye sir ji se bhi akad jaate hain. Ma’am yeh jaise aayenge na...aate hi bhaag jayenge aur jaise sirjee ne ek class mein maar diya...ma’am ye bahar jaake na sirji ko maarte hain...isliye yeh sab harami hote hain” • Bacha school jate tha. Teacher marte the...aur iski maa bolti thi ke tu aisa kaam mat kiya kar ke teacher maare tujhko... ye kisko maarta ho ya Copiyan cheen leta hoga...ya kisika bag leke bhaag jata ho...use satata ho...chirhata ho... Sir ji thappad marte hain. • Aisa lag raha hai ke mummy ne bola hoga Bache ko ke school jao. Uska jaane ka mann nahi hai...uske doston ne bola hoga ke aaj main bhi nahin aaunga... socha hoga ke aaj kaam bhi poora nahin hai... Sir ji maareng. uska kaam bhi pura nahin hua hai... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dande hi dande maare...thappad hi thappad...phele murga bana diya...phir maara...maine kaha sirji maaro mat, merese bologe murga ban ja to main ban jaunga...phir maara mujhe... • “Ek chote se sir hain...jo maarte hain ...vo jaante hain mera naam aur ek dusre sir bhi jaante hain mera naam... Naam se kisi ko nahin jaante...bolte hain, “Aey larhka kharha ho..”, phir bolte hain roll no bata apna...principal ke paas bhejunga...ek sir hain unhe mera naam nahin pata...vo bohat maarte the mujhe...kyunki main school se ghar bhaag jata tha...” • “...unke ye jalan hogayi ke ye dusre period mein tha to mere mein kyun nahin raha...to phir agle din bohat maara unhone mujhe... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Control matlab ke jaise sirji se darte hain bache...ke haan sirji agar hum ghalti karenge to maareng...hama ri class mein to saare bache darte hain sirji se...ke hum kuch ghalti karenge to sirji maareng hamein...sirji bolte hain bohat maarunga...to bache ko punishment milti hai.haath kharha karte hain...dande se maarte hain...

Fanon (1967) examined the psychic structure of the phobic and explained that “Phobia is a neurosis characterised by the anxious fear of an object (in the broadest sense of anything outside the individual) or, by extension, of a situation” (p 119). He posited that during analysis, one needs to unravel the phobic object during the infantile structure first. It is the infantile structure that produces phobia in an adult’s life, and that phobia is the latent fear. Using Charles Odier’s study, Fanon (1967) extrapolated that “all anxieties derives from certain subjective insecurity linked to the absence of the mother” (p.119). This further determines “the choice of the phobic object” (Fanon, 1967, p.119). As explicated in section 4.2 that the conception of the mental structure of CoPD is situated around their search for an ideal father which increases rapidly and becomes their implacable need of self-preservation which emerges from a threatening external environment. However, the father occupies a place of the phobic object in their real life, for instance, in card 1, Case K described the central conflict between the child’s wish for pleasure and the parent’s (authoritative father) imposition of rules and restrictions. This is indicated by the storyteller’s conflict between unrestricted gratification and the pressure of adult demands, which he internalises. He stated, “*Jab isko tankha milti hai to iska papa marta hai, paise cheen leta hai. jisse ye sikhta hai wo sahi sikhata hai. papa marte hai ki mazdoori kar beta...tujhe kya milega ye seekhne se...tujhe kya milega seekhke... duniya hasegi jab bekar mein zindagi kharab kar lega*”. To please the phobogenic becomes a fundamental wish for the child with his affects, allowing him to internalise ridiculed, humiliated and painful experiences. The conventional idealisation of authority transcends from one’s home to identifying with the powerful outside their homes. Adorno (1951) demystified that “within the monadological confines of the individual, Freud traced the profound crisis and willingness of an individual to yield unquestioningly to powerful outside”. Freud explicates this conventional idealisation in his theory of group psychology. He re-articulated Le Bon’s assumption of individuals successfully uniting in a group, and stated that “If the individuals in the group are combined into a unity, there must surely be something to unite them, and this bond might be precisely the thing that is characteristic of a group” (Freud, 1921). However, the bond of individuals uniting in a group as Adorno (1951) put it, “in accordance with general psychoanalytic theory, Freud believes that the bond which integrates individuals into a mass is of a libidinal nature”. To submerge into a group becomes a pleasurable experience for the individuals who do not possess a coherent self and find pleasure to lose their sense of identity. For children, it becomes a gratifying experience to allure punishment and the violence ingrained on children slowly transforms into pleasure where they start enduring pleasure from the pain aroused.

One of the key arguments of this chapter from a psychological lens is that corporal punishment evokes sexualisation in children. For instance case H narrative from his personal interview that “*Sirji aaye to aise aayein ke maare bohat... tabhi bache sudhenge yahan...*” (A teacher should come who shall beat a lot...then only children will improve), needs to be seen as evoking pain in pleasure in children. Consequently, conjectures in the conventional definition of corporal punishment should be re-defined and demarcated from other forms of violence which come under the ambit of punishment. Corporal punishment, according to Butt and Hearn (1998), “is not just violence or even punishment to the body, but it is a particular kind of violence and punishment to particular parts of the body”. There is a close relationship between actions against the misdemeanours and the use of violence to the particular parts of the body. There is a ritualisation that is followed every time an action has been done. It does not intend to infer that all corporal punishment leads to ritualisation. However, there is a clear structuring of the corporal punishment that is compatible with the development of ritual and later sexualisation. The idea of corporal punishment and sexualisation can be traced back in the autobiographical account of Jean Jacques Rousseau in his book ‘*Confessions*’ (2012). It was when Rousseau was around eight years; he was sent to a nearby village for schooling. Miss Lambercier the nursemaid of Rousseau was handed the task of disciplining him and his brother. If unruly, the boys were spanked, which Rousseau found “much less terrible than the idea and that the punishment increased his affection for the person who had inflicted it” (Rousseau, 2012). The result of this was a fear encapsulated Rousseau’s mind of his nursemaid; however, it nurtured a fantasy in him of a woman who would treat Rousseau in the same manner like Miss Lambercier’s despotic disciplining of Rousseau. As Rousseau (2012) wrote, “To fall at the feet of an imperious mistress, obey her mandates, or implore pardon, were for me the most exquisite enjoyments, and the more my blood was inflamed by the efforts of a lively imagination the more I acquired the appearance of a whining lover” (p.16). Although the feeling of avoidance of pain and punishment from the wrath of his nursemaid emerged in Rousseau, it did not free him from fantasising and wishing for excitations that he received during the beatings. The central premise that I intend to make is that the physical punishment and the flagellation which Rousseau incorporated in his biographical accounts render him powerless by instilling in him submissiveness to a woman teacher. Musser (2008) reinforced the emergence of masochism in children using Krafft-Ebing study (1980) and stated: “there is an unconscious desire to submit to an authority by being sexually aroused by a power relation which becomes a defining aspect of masochism”. Larry Wolff (1995) grafted his notions that “children should not be spanked, lest they learn to enjoy it too much” (p.211). Freud (1905/2005) subsequently touched upon the matter of beating of children and stated that “An erogenous source of the passive impulse for cruelty

(masochism) is found in the painful irritation of the gluteal region which is familiar to all educators since the confessions of J.J. Rousseau. This has justly caused them to demand that physical punishment, which usually concerns this part of the body be withheld from all the children in which whom the libido might be forced into collateral roads by the later demands of cultural education” (p.100). Freud (1919a) believed that spanking constitutes and surrounds excitement, which is itself a result of the sexual repression of incestuous impulses. The image of the child who is being beaten on the bare buttocks as Freud noted is “a common phenomenon in the free association of psychoanalysis which project the picture of shame and pleasure” (Butt and Hearn, 1998). Being beaten transforms into being loved, consciously. This view was confirmed in the Wolf-man case as the ‘History of an Infantile Neurosis’. The Wolf Man case elicited a child’s dream of seeing white wolves sitting motionless on the branches of the walnut tree outside his window. “This dream was a result of the primal scene, a memory of watching his parents having sex” (Freud, 2008). Freud considered the wolf man’s interesting fantasies about boys being beaten on their penises and about the heir to the throne being shut up in a narrow room and beaten. The wolf man’s masochistic fantasies of being beaten himself led Freud to trace these symptoms back to childhood and associate it with wolf man’s father. “By bringing his naughtiness forward, the child was trying to force punishments and beatings out of his father, and in that way to obtain from him the masochistic sexual satisfaction that he desired” (Freud, 2008). King, Butt and Green in their study (2003) examined that children may or may not pick up on the potential sexual meanings of corporal punishment, whether or not the perpetrator has any sexual intentions or is gaining sexual gratification from administering a spanking or beating and regardless of whether or not they are experiencing any sexual feelings. The children’s naive experiences of touch imputed on the somatic and embodied body may lead them to make a sexual connotation, which shall foster when having their buttocks spanked. Spanking thus should be conferred as a form of a sexualised abuse. Often the boundary between corporal punishment and the love engulfed in violence becomes bleak for children who are learning to treat other people in their life similarly. Jules Glenn (1984) believes that the “human psyche is so complex that it is impossible to tease out individual factors and demonstrate that they alone produce certain psychic configurations”. Therefore, masochism is a condition in which a person consciously or unconsciously seeks pain, as a consequence, consciously or unconsciously pleasurable gets associated with sexual meanings and wishes. Similarly, Fintan Walsh (2010) in his book *Male Trouble: Masculinity and the performance of crisis* described using the Freudian framework that masochism is defined as something of “performance or the carrying out of the phantasies in play typically related to desires of gagged, bound, painfully beaten, whipped, in some way maltreated, forced into unconditional obedience, dirties and debased”. Walsh

(2010) posits the dangers of a man taking up a feminine role in masochism and states that “moral masochism is less explicitly concerned with sexuality and fantasy than the behavioural norm, or the mental suffering” (p.32). To elaborate this further, Freud, as Walsh (2010) put it, typified the role of ego in performing punishment on own’s body and deriving punishment and stated that masochism is “turning of the other cheek, irrespective of one’s relationship to the masochist” (p.32). The voice of the punisher looms inside the mental structure of the masochist who due to inherent demands of assuming morality, introjects the authority of the Punisher as a parental voice or in other words as a harsh punitive superego. Subsequently, by introjection of the voice of a punisher as a harsh superego conscience, the masochist instils guilt alongside in his unconscious that represents a sense of alterity, i.e., a sense of otherness. The moral masochist creates a scenario for which he must be punished by his sadistic conscience or the great parental power of destiny. He is compelled to do what is inexpedient, must act against his interests, must ruin the prospects which open out to him in the real world and must destroy his real existence. In Part VII of ‘*CE*’, Freud (1962) makes a remarkable analysis of an individual and his history of development, in particular, the individual’s aggression and its relationship with civilisation. His basic premise was, how does civilisation render an individual’s desire for aggression innocuous? He explained that “it is introjected, internalised; it is sent back to where it came from that is, it is directed towards his own ego” (Freud, 1962). Once submerged in its own ego, a large portion of which conceitedly forms the conscience. The aggressive impulses are turned around one’s own ego proportionally that an individual’s ego would have liked to demonstrate aggression on the other; an extraneous individual to satisfy its unflinching impulses. Freud stated that “This is known as guilt which expresses itself as a need for punishment. Civilisation, therefore, obtains mastery over the individual’s dangerous desire for aggression by weakening and disarming it and by setting up an agency within him to watch over it, like a garrison in a conquered city” (Freud, 1962, p.61). The image below shows the Case H’s wrist smeared with the blade. A masochistic tendency was revealed when he was asked permission to click a photograph of his wrist. To which, he replied when he would get a blade and smear his wrist again, then probably his photograph might be clicked. He further stated, due to this, there will be blood all-around, and it will make me happy to see him in pain.



Fig.8: Boy’s Wrist Smeared with Scars from the Blade

Freud (1962) further contemplated that the source of this form of guilt in a person emerges from being conscious of an activity in which he has something which he dispels it to be not right. In this guilt purging behaviour, bad may also even connote to an intention of doing something terrible. The capacity to distinguish bad from the good is nomothetic in the TAT stories where children portrayed themselves as *'Harami'* in their real life vis-à-vis their fantasised self in which they deemed themselves to be *'Sharif'*. To transform oneself into a noble person became desirable and enjoyable to children's plastic ego. Consequential to children's defining themselves as *'Harami'* is an extra-punitive side as Freud (1962) argued that "there is an extraneous influence at work, and it is this that decides what is to be called good or bad. Since a person's feelings would not have led him along this path, he must have had a motive for submitting to this extraneous influence. Such a motive is easily discovered in his helplessness and his dependence on other people, and it can best be designated as fear loss of love". The state of mind of children reveals that the extraneous influence of parents on their personality. For instance Case H stated in his personal interview that "*ache ban-ne ke liye mummy papa bhi ache hone chahiye...hai na? mere papa to daaru peete hain*". Vicariously, the actions of their fathers at home lead them to internalise the authority at the school, as Freud explained the internalisation process of authority, he elaborated upon the close-knit relationship between the conscience and guilt. It is through the internalisation of authority that the superego is developed. In the psychical apparatus, the superego acts as omnipotent to children who with their bad conscience, feel the need to be punished by the teachers. In the process, they begin to self-torment and self-sabotage themselves. Freud (1962) posited that "The superego torments the sinful ego with the same feelings of anxiety and is on the watch for opportunities if getting it punished by the external world". The feeling of anxiety alludes to the ego's fear of harsh treatment, and as a result, it fears the harsh treatments that comprised the very fear and anxiety. It is evident from the narratives of children that they fear the extraneous authority at home and the school so much, so that it penetrates deep inside them in the form of fear. The following narratives can substantiate guilt in children in which they used the verb "*ghalti*" to describe it.

1). Case K in picture card 10: "*Ek larhka hai usse ghalat kaam hojata haito vo jail mein pakrha jata hai...jail mein kisi andheri jagah mein jaake baith ke soch raha hai, maine aisa kyun kiya.mere haath se ghalti se khoon hogaya...*"

2) Case M in picture card 2: "*ladka sharminda hai. aisa lag raha hai iski mummy ne mana kiya hoga aur ye tab bhi gaya hoga aur aane ke baad isne mummy se jhooth bola hoga*". **Card 10:**

“Aisa lag raha hai ke mummy ne bola hoga Bache ko ke school jao. Uska jaane ka mann nahi hai...uske doston ne bola hoga ke aaj main bhi nahin aaunga... socha hoga ke aaj kaam bhi poora nahin hai... Sir ji maareng. Uska kaam bhi pura nahin hua hai”.

3). Case H in picture card 10: *“Lohe ki pipe mein baitha hai... ye ek bohat barha chor hai...Chori karta tha... chori kar li... pehle bohat gareeb tha chori kar karke bohat ameer ho gaya...bohat paisa aa gaya uske paas...police ne pakad liya usko...usko saza hogayi... to usko death ki saza suna di”.*

The above narratives elaborate upon the fear of punishment from the internalised authority, which points towards the externalisation of the superego conscience. The narratives expose the threat overwhelming the children with harsh punishments from the teachers, but most pertinently it shows the loss of being protected by the stronger person whose superiority they have internalised. Conclusively, Freud (1962) posited that “there are two origins of the sense of guilt; one arising from fear of authority and the other, arising from fear of the super-ego. The first insists upon a renunciation of instinctual satisfaction and the second presses for punishment since the continuance of the forbidden wishes cannot be concealed from the super-ego. The renunciation of instinct was the result of fear of external authority; one renounces to not to lose its love”. The self-inflicted unpleasure dispossessed in one’s body, thus relates to the psyche formed as an interpersonal socialisation dialectic resulting in an internalisation of the proscriptions and prescriptions of authority, parental and societal (Morris, 2006, p.97). Through *CE*, Freud explained the desexualised cathexis in which the individual invests himself/herself in the powerful authority. Morris (2006) explained that

“Motivated by ambivalently loving and hating it, by identifying with its protective power, and forced by its punishment to obey its proscriptive and prescriptive demands, the immature ego introjects parental and cultural authority. It is internalised as a psychic superego substructure determining behaviour aimed at instinctual gratification. Through psychic mechanisms of repression and identification, the conflict with prohibitive social authority is resolved. Libidinal objects are replaced with displaced substitutes and desexualised cultural aims. Culturally inculcated ideals are cathected as substitute liberal objects” (p.97).

Thus, the concept of masochism proliferating in the psyche of children becomes essential in understanding their wish to be persecuted by a higher authority. However, a masochist is the twin side of sadism. In other words, sadism, i.e., algolagnia, “is the aggressive component of the sexual impulse”, according to Freud (1905/2005). It is readily demonstrated in the actions or attitudes towards the sexual object in the form of maltreatment of the object. Freud (1905/2005) noted that

“masochism is nothing but a continuation of the sadism turning against one’s own person in which the later at first takes the place of sexual object” (p.47). It is a pain and the cruelty that is accentuated which forces the aggressive component of the libido to get exposed to the sexual object. As described in the earlier sections that children who are witnesses to the sexual activities between their parents from a young age derive the meaning of the activity that it is a form of gratifying pleasure to oneself by giving pain to the other. “The pain emanating from sexual relations as pleasure” becomes a foreground for the sadistic psyche of children to become pervasive. This is noted in narratives that elaborate on the peculiarities of women as sexual objects exposed to a threatening environment by the subjects which are remnant of their aggressive impulse against the object. For instance, in TAT stories, the heroes of the story are loathed by the sexual aim which vanquishes their libido, but the restrictions of the sexual aim are followed by the force of the sexual impulse to project itself on the sexual aim. Children can be seen as infringing the societal order by either committing a female homicide or implicitly kidnapping the girl in a van and abandoning her to a place from where she cannot come back. For instance, see case D and his story from the picture card 8. He nuanced an opinion that there is a rich girl who loathes and dismisses the poor boys. But he is fearful of her rich status as he contemplates that if he acts out of repulsion, it might be that he will have to face a dire outcome. However, vengeance against the girl made him kill her. Thus, in the Freudian terminology, “the cases present a certain diminution in the striving for the normal sexual aim” (Freud, 1905/2005, p.42). Thus, in the present chapter fear is concluded as masochism where one seeks pleasure in punishment from an external superego authority, and violence is seen as an act of sadism in which the sexual impulses and aggression is projected on the sexual aim.

4.6 Conclusion of this Chapter

The socio-historical factors that contribute to the construction of certain ‘personality traits’ cannot be neglected to let the biological and static characteristics alone take centre stage in delineating various personality structures found in the children. “A psychological inquiry cannot afford to be dubious, especially when the labelling of live human beings, independent of their specific qualities have a consequential impact over the decisions accruing to their life and death” (Adorno, 1905/2005b). The Freudian typologies in unmasking the unconscious of these children help directly to come face to face with the rift between the society and psychology, the brunt of which individuals as subjects have faced ever since the evolution of psychoanalysis. The Freudian insights play a pivotal role, as Pathak (1983) stated that “it is of utmost importance to remember that human actions cannot be properly understood unless man's unconscious is explored”. The psychoanalytic theory is very different from the caricatures painted of it by psychologists and revisionist as Parker

et al., (1995, p.19) condemns the academe of this blunder. From his perspective, the psychoanalytic tradition emphasises on the self as something constructed rather than essentially pre-given thing. The roots of personality are not wired in the biology rather are located in the way the family environment and the surrounding culture produce and co-produce the different forms of subjectivity. The present research has delved into the parameters of psychoanalytic perspectives of the Freudian framework and elaborated upon the role of unconsciousness in the children. *'In a general introduction to psychoanalysis'* (1920), Freud explicated that psychoanalysis is learned first of all by 'a study of one's self, through the study of one's own personality'. It is not the ordinary self-observation through which one grasps a hint of one's personality, rather as Freud puts it "there is a whole series of very common and universally known psychic phenomena, which after some instruction in the technique of psychoanalysis, one can make the subject matter of analysis in one's self" (Freud, 1920, p.21). By becoming one's own analysands, "one can obtain the 'desired' conviction of the reality occurrences which psychoanalysis described and of the correctness of its fundamental conception" (Freud, 1920, p.22). Freud conveyed that when we analyse ourselves, we come across certain dispositions in the reality testing, which gives us insight into what is desired from us for the sake of common good. In short, "psychoanalysis hopes to reveal the common basis from which, constant correlation of bodily and psychic disturbances become comprehensible" (Freud, 1920, p. 24). While, many condemn Freud for giving the anatomical-binomial thesis of normalcy, in reality, he bypassed the traditional analogies in which there exist only two categories sane and insane in viewing an individual. In doing so, he leaps the traditional theories, but now the categorisations are compared with an absolute. "One is not sane or insane, rather more or less sane, according to the relative position on the continuum of this psychological organisation" (Ipperciel, 1998). Freud conflated his idea of normalcy with culturally determined objectivity and saw it through conventional, social and normative appraisal of an individual from better to worse (Freud, 1920, p. 40). Theoretically speaking, such a line of thinking is pointing towards the popular imagination and representations of what is normal and what is assumed to have gone awry when people do not act normally (Parker et al., 1995, p.10). Freud's psychodynamic theory of personality assumes there is an interaction between nature (innate instincts) and environment (parental influence) in which instinctual drives, unconscious processes, early childhood influences and parental behaviour influences an individual's personality during adulthood. By situating personality historically is to say that we had times when we were locating personality inside the brains of a man called Phineas Gage (1848) who survived a dynamite explosion that blasted an iron rod through the frontal lobes of his brains which drastically changed his personality (Mills, 2015). To quote Mills (2015) further, since then Personality has been understood as something made up of various number of traits

(Allport, 1937; Eysenck, 1847/1998) or types (Jung and Baynes 1921); as something located in genes, biochemicals, and parts of the brain that show up in psychosexual stages linked to early childhood experience through Freud (1933). Concomitant to such a premise, Adorno seeks to question how society reaches repressively into all psychology in the form of censorship and superego (Adorno, 1967). How is repression of the inner world concomitant to the repression of the external world? This study seeks to delve deeper into the psychical attributes that shape the social destiny of these children in the social world. The thematic apperception test conducted on the poverty-ridden oppressed children convey the idea that their “idea of personal happiness is replaced by threat and violence and their existence in the school and society together is not only endangered rather pointing towards the latent death wish?” (Adorno, 2005b). Chapter IV Part II seeks to deconstruct the objective conditions that transform the subjective conditions for survival in CoPD. Pragmatically, through the narratives obtained from the children, the next chapter attempts to juxtapose the interlinkages between Freud and Social Darwinism.

CHAPTER 4

Part II

Dystopia and the End of Innocence

4.7 Dehumanisation in a Sick Society: A Socio-Cultural Pathology?

This chapter offers an insight into an analogy developed by Adorno in his book called the *'Aesthetic Theory'* (1984), which posits the question that "What does the gaze of an animal say to a human?". Adorno noted that "there is nothing so expressive as the eyes of animals especially apes, which seem objectively to mourn that they are not human" (Adorno, 1984, p.258). Hansen (2008) demystified this analogy by stating that "Staring into the eyes of animals, us humans inevitably find something which is not quite us, but which seemingly longs to be us: an animal who desires to have a hand instead of paw, language instead of grunt, skin instead of fur". It is not really the longing of the animal but an urge of humans who are looking for a similitude between a human and an animal. It is this analogy that is proposed in the psychological researches on poverty, the praxis of the school which admits the poor children and the everyday lived life of the CoPD. The subjects on whom the TAT was conducted are: Case H, a battery rickshaw driver, Case M, working at an eatery shop, Case K, originally belonging to a nomadic community popular for *'Bandar ka khel/natak'*, settled as construction worker, and Case D, working as a mechanic after and before the school. An attempt has been made in this chapter to delineate a co-presence of an omnipresent 'other', symbolic of a non-deprived and non-poor in the minds of the CoPD. The aggrandised social experience of the omnipresent 'other' represents the spell of late capitalism influenced modern societies. The experiences of the non-deprived and non-poor in Adorno's terms are the only genuine experiences. As a consequence, these experiences become an overwhelming form of the society's objective apparatus which dissolve the complete subjectivity of the poor child through the very notions of objectivity. The objectivity of the society "is misleadingly measured through the non-controversial aspect of things, the unquestioned impressions and the facade made up of classified data" (Adorno, 2005b, p.69). This objective lens is manifested in the psyche of the children, and is seen through the physical appearance of the child, his profession, family income, census, and other national surveys. The objectifying living standards of the children rob them of their subjectivity through the process of commodification, which renders them as an absolute object or material for analysis and judgement in the society. The CoPD, are often, seen as non-subjective throughout the tradition of psychological researches, where their culture and everyday experiences penetrate a deficit hypothesis⁴ (Cole and Bruner, 1971).

⁴ The most prevalent view of the source of ethnic and social class differences in intellectual performance is what might be summed up under the label "the deficit hypothesis.

This chapter argues that the capitalist economic systems are predominantly characterised by a form of objectivity, a Lukács edict, which means that society shapes our interaction with the environment by shaping our inner and outer life. This gives a commodity character and lays the principle of exchange, embedding every aspect of life in which ideological positions take on the appearance of objective truth within society. “Adorno contended that late capitalism has reduced human beings to fungible, commensurable values, expunging what makes them particular or unique” (Cook, 2004, p.11). With his remarkable oeuvre, Adorno illuminated upon the fundamental questions: “What is the relationship between power and rationality? Can there ever be a kind of thinking which does not live off the suffering of others, or which does not suppress or conceal the injustice which it lives off? Can we imagine a world in which one’s joy does not depend upon another’s woe?” (Javris, 1998, p.1-2). Adorno in his paper, ‘Subject and Object’ (2005b), manifested the notions of subjectivity by emphasising on the material ground of the constitution of a modern subject which leads to identity-thinking, which in turn curtails heterogeneity and reinforces domination by turning individuals into a commodity for exchange in the market. In the present chapter, the subjective experiences of the children are delved upon through the original dichotomy of subject-object relation. The chapter is divided into three parts: Part A examines the dialectics of self and the fusion of Freudian psyche with Marxism, Part B juxtaposes reification with the fetishisation of the body and consciousness, and Part C discusses the meaning of fear and violence as a manifestation of self-preservation.

Part A

4.8 Dialectics of Self: The Fusion of Freudian Psyche with Marxism

4.8.1 The Nostalgia of Being a Subject

Historically, in the primordial relations of the primitive societies, the subject and object were akin to each other and enjoyed a relationship of particular to particular and the original state of mimesis (Gedi, 2004). It is pertinent to deconstruct the three terms; the subject, the object and mimesis; to see their construction in an idealised chaotic world. As Molt (2002), using the work of Habermas stated that ‘Object’ means everything and anything that can be said to exist, and the ‘Subject’ means the ability to relate in an objectifying attitude to such entities and to appropriate them theoretically or practically. For Adorno, “the idea of a subject is based on the model of the living individual” (Molt, 2002). Mimesis refers to the biological process in which some animals and plants defend themselves by fading into the background through mimesis of their environment, i.e., by

imitating the features of more dangerous creatures (Connell, 1998). In Adorno's theory, mimesis is a way of conceiving a non-dominating relationship with otherness and is understood as the assimilation of the self in the other (Verdeja, 2009). Adorno, in his book 'ND' (1973) stated that mimesis means to adopt something mimetic in its own conduct, without abandoning itself. The earlier societies represented a healthy amalgamation and a balance between the subjects as the agent, not the constituent of the object, and its fellow object which got distorted once the subject gained self-consciousness and began seeing the object as its other (Gedi, 2004). The dissociation between the object and the subject caused alienation between the two, and between the immediacy and likeness, which was replaced by conceptualisation and estrangement. Adorno posited that in the formation of an identity of a subject who comes closer to being a subterfuge; incite an unflinching need for domination infused with manipulation of the object which leads to its alienation. Gedi (2004) stated that,

“To know the object which cannot be known except through consciousness in order to manipulate it became a crucial turning point in the subject's relation to the object. Since the evolution of the new kind of object which is endowed with consciousness led to creation of society which replaced the uncultivated nature, the human urge for domination was now extended to the newly created arena, where the subject came to treat the former fellow subjects as estranged objects.”

The transition phase, marked by the subject's self-identity formed through alienation from the moment the conscious subject ceased to be another object and chose to become absorbed in nature, as Gedi (2004) suggests, leads to relinquishing its self-identity in its upsurge to take control of nature. Adorno contended that the dichotomised relationship between the subject and an object in contemporary society is constrained. As a result, the interaction between individuals with their environment and with each other is also constrained by society. According to Adorno's theory of social totality, a society does not give the possibility of complete experience to humans, where the subject and the object interact with coercion and dominating intentions. These distorted experiences are internalised as the rules of exchange, which shape the general consciousness of individuals (O'Connor, 2013). This is generic of the narratives so obtained from the TAT conducted in children and is explained in the sections below.

4.8.2 The Desire to be the Other: Identity Thinking and the Exchange Principle

“The ruling class effectively secures for slaves their existence within slavery in order to ensure its own” (Adorno, as cited in, Cook, 2014, p.97)

The desire to the other can be seen in CoPD from a purely Marxist prognosis of the society. Adorno examined how the lives of individuals are invaded, subordinated and distorted by the exchange principle. He critically argued that the capital is now monopolised, centralised and concentrated in a few hands, which gives an economical shape to the society. Cook (2004, p.25) posited that “while capital appears to act as if it is an institution, it becomes an expression of the whole society”. This monopolised whole usurps the particular (individuals), which starts reflecting on human relations as well. “There is a fetish character of commodities which reflect on human relations as well, as if they were relations between things in a socially totalitarian aspect of capital” (Adorno, as cited in, Cook, 2004, p.25). The most pernicious effect of the commodification of relationship under the domination of the exchange principle, as Adorno (2005) argued is such that human behaviours and activity of the individuals are termed as mere objects of administration for monopoly. Humans are now traded for salary or wages under the exchange principle only to be subordinated. The residue of commodification is elucidated by Adorno in his paper on ‘Society’ that a “Society remains class struggle...the profit comes first. Humanity fashioned into a vast network of consumers, the human beings who have the needs, have been socially performed beyond anything...behind the reduction of men to agents and bearers of exchange value lies the domination of men over men” (Adorno & Jameson, 1969, p.148-149). The underlying principle of the exchange dominated society can be seen in the case studies of students which are explained as follows.

Case 1: H

Case H in the previous chapter is described as possessing masochistic tendencies coupled with sadistic superego. At a superficial level, the examination of TAT stories narrated by H revealed about a person who indulges in fantasy actively. While his verbatim exhibited a dysphoric quality, marked in relation to a lack of genuine object related contact with family members and his immediate environment, he used the defense mechanism of denial, rationalisation, projection and most pertinently, splitting, in which he sees the world and social relations at extreme poles. Mental rigidity is adumbrated, in which he tried to convince the hero of the stories that he should repeat the trauma he has himself undergone at the hands of his parents to his fantasised children, especially daughters. Lack of material resources propelled the hero of his stories to commit homicide, as he projected himself mostly as a murderer or a thief. This can be illuminated through the following excerpts:

Card 5:

“...Ye iske pitaji hain...ye larhki ke pitaji hain...aur inki larhki thi na ek 11-11.5 saal ki thi, harkatein hi pelti rehti thi... kabhi kisi ko maarna...kabhi kisiko maarna, log hai na uske pitaji ke paas aake taane dete rehte the...Uske pitaji ne socha ab main isko maar hi dunga...phir log taane nahin denge...isse chutkara hi paa lunga. Ek din usne larhki ko maar diya.”

Card 10

“ye ek bohat barha chor hai...chori karta tha... chori kar li... pehle bohat gareeb tha chori kar karke bohat ameer ho gaya...bohat paisa aa gaya uske paas... sab se zyada ameer ban jaun aise sochta tha...ek din raja ke ghar mein chori kar li... raja ne pakkad liya bhaagte hue...raja ne talwar nikalke maari chor ko...uske to lagi nahin...chor ke paas jo chakoo tha vo phenk ke maar diya...raja ke lag gaya...raja ki death hojati hai...”

Through the TAT story presented above, case H was able to project unconscious guilt he possessed within himself. This guilt is first seen when he fantasised himself as a homicidal perpetrator, and secondly when he projected the reality in which he has committed the actual crime. He rationalised his actions, especially when he narrated how he stabbed one of the teachers at the school. When I interrogated him regarding his reaction after visualising the blood and pain of others, he responded very coldly and almost unfettered by the entire episode. The Excerpts are:

H: *“...ek sirji ke chakoo maine maara tha...Kaam karke leke aata tha...to kaam jo main leke aata tha vo check bhi karta tha... lekin vo bohat maarta tha...ek din maine kaam to saara kara lekin beech mein saare akshar ghalat ghalat likh diye...aur sirji ne saara check kar diya...principal ke saamne chala gaya main...ke sir ye kaam ghalat hai ya sahi hai...sirji ne bola ke ghalat hai...to principal ne sirji ko naukri se nikaal diya...phir dusre sir parhane lag gaye the...phir mere doston ne un sir ko pakad ke chakoo maar diya tha...”*

Megha: *Kisiko maar bhi sakte ho tum jaan se? ya dar nahin lagta? Abhi to kaha ke oopar wale se dar lagta hai*

H: *Unse to har koi darta hai...*

Megha: *Phir tum kaise kisiki jaan le sakte ho?*

H: *Ab koi tumhare bare mein ghalat sochta hai...kaam karke leke jaoge to maareng...saare bachon ko class se bahar nikalke bohat maara tha mereko...is chakkar mein maara tha chaaku...sirji ke liye sahi rasta yehi tha...chaaku marna...ek sir ne ek bache ko mara tha...us bache ka haath fat gaya tha...to vo bola ke main report karunga...ye wale principal ne usi ko maara...naam kaat diya uska...”*

(See translation in chapter 3)

Porcerelli et al., (2001) noted the most pertinent personality code of such perpetrators is that “in these individuals, there is a lack of empathy coupled with predatory object relationships”. Case H expressed an excessive amount of aggressive fantasy, which is an archetype for an impulsive and antisocial type of personality. On one hand, the aggression and hostility towards the female

characters are overt; on other, he uses the defence mechanism of repression and sublimation of aggression towards the male characters in the story. It depicts his conventional idealisation of authority figures, especially men, and his projecting himself into submissive roles. A strong underlying aggressive impulse towards the world is evident in his stories. There are strong attempts made by him to understand these feelings, and somehow own responsibility for understanding his reasons behind such hostility. In such a type of analysis, the evaluation of the subject from conventional standards completely ignores, and to some extent, denies the dialectics of the subject. It fails to see that “Behaviour is attributed to innate tendencies within the individuals, over which he has no control” (Adorno et al., 1950). Psychoanalytic research views the object relations and states that the limited investment in object relations is attributable to an individual’s limited capacity to form affectionate bonds with others, which has been internalised due to the result of an early experience with an aggressive or sadistic parental object (Meloy, 1997). Further, it can be argued that “the attachments may then be directed at non-human and hard objects, such as weapons from which there is no threat of rejection and into which grandiose self-representation can be projected” (Meloy, 1997, p.78). In the Case of H, the non-human hard object is represented as ‘*chakoo/Batanchi*’ (knife). The biological basis of emotional disinvestment and lack of genuine object relations, according to Meloy (1997) is related to the neurohypophyseal peptide oxytocin hormone which is associated with the induction of maternal behaviour, grooming, male reproductive behaviour and species-typical patterns of social affiliation. He rooted that the absence of anxiety and attachment in the chronic cortical, and the underarousals are apparent in psychopathy. “Pathogenic basis of psychopathology provides a wide gamut of evidence to support that a defect or dysfunction in the central nervous systems negates the possibility of attachment patterns being established throughout childhood” (Meloy, 1997, p.78). Taking this point of view into consideration, the problem of understanding the subjectivity of a suffering subject goes unrecognised. Pathology defined from a purely psychoanalytic framework situates itself in the ideals of a sane society. Fromm (1955) discussed that the idea of a sane society assumes a universal criterion for mental health, where pathology is defined only in terms of individual’s lack of adjustment to a certain way of life in a society in contrast to the principles of normalcy. Adorno (2005b) stated that the “individual is not merely the biological basis, but a reflection of the social processes; his consciousness of himself as something in-itself is the illusion needed to raise his level of performance” (p.147-148). On a societal level, to survive individuals must constantly adapt to an inherently unpredictable, unstable, and often volatile economy (Cook, 2011). This creates a web of spells around them, as they are reduced to a commodity in the fetishised world from which they cannot escape. Adorno (2005) elucidated that “alienating an individual from himself, denouncing

his autonomy with his unity, psycho-analysis subjugates him totally to the mechanism of rationalisation and adaptation. The ego's unflinching criticism gives way to the demand that the ego of the other capitulates" (p.64). In the process, the self is rendered non-existent and is always treated as an object and material for analysis (Adorno, 2005). In *'Black Skin and White Masks'*, Fanon (1967, p.128) affirmed that "for the black man, there is only one destiny. And it is white". Similarly, for a CoPD, seen from a deficit lens has only one destiny, and it is to attain 'normalcy' in a reified society. Fanon (1967) stated that 'The analysis, I am undertaking is psychological', and Freud insisted that the individual factor should be taken into account through psychoanalysis. However, beyond the "phylogenetic theory and ontogeny", Fanon (1967, p. 4) propagated the science behind sociogeny. According to Fanon (1967), Man is what brings society into being. Thus, a man's alienation is not an individual question. Fanon (1967) posited that "it is the outcome of a double process: primarily economic and subsequently, the internalisation or, better, the epidermalisation of inferiority" (p.xiii). The internalisation of society in an individual's psyche can be reflected in Case H. As career came easy upon H, being the eldest among his siblings he did not have much choice but to accept the need of the hour and financially support his family. He was very young (7th standard) when he started driving his battery driven rickshaw. Propelled by his family to take up a career in his early teens, was a condition, stating that in order to continue his studies, he must start earning ("*Unhone mere se bola tha apne pairon par kharha hojayega na kamaane khaane ke liye jab parhne lag jaiyo*", first said to me stand on your feet, when you start earning then you can study). He fervently said that he earns up to INR 600 to 700 in a day, with which he can fulfil his needs such as buying an illegally stolen phone, etc. Case H in his stories narrated an expunged part of his 'self' which he thinks is not liked by everyone and most importantly, even by himself. With a set of pejoratives, he indicated that the hero wants to be liked by everyone, and this musical instrument will allow him to become "*acha insan*" (a good person). "*Acha insan*" for him, is a predefined category of individuals who concentrate on their own work ("*apne kaam mein dhyaan de khaali bas*"). "*Main to hun hi nahin acha*" (I am not good), he again reaffirmed with a slightly low voice, "*Jo bure karm na kare...wo hota hai acha insan...ache karam*", he said further, "*har kisi ki nazron mein ache banke raho...kisiko ulta seedha mat bolo...pyar se bolo*" (Those who do not do bad deed...they are good people...Good deeds...one should become good in the eyes of others...do not say anything wrong to anybody...talk politely). With the quest of determining the dialectics of "*Acha insan*" which he first deduced from "*ache karam*", he finally relegated the responsibility of "*Acha insan*" on the shoulder of parents, when he announced with an obtuse voice, that he is not a good human because of his parents. He qualms that, "*Main to shareef aadmi ban-na chaahtha hun*" (I want to become a noble man) but, "*...Gharwalon ki wajah se nahin ban paunga*"

(I will not be able to become because of my family). *“Mere papa bohat harami hain”* (My father is a bastard). Soon after revealing his inner feelings, Case H began to flinch a little with his narrative on requesting me not to record anything regarding his parents, and said, *“agar papa ko pata chal gaya na, to mujhe ghar se nikaal denge...”* (if my father comes to know, he will throw me out of the house). The underlying theme behind the detailed description of H’s everyday life is an assertion that “our relationship to parents is beginning to undergo a sad, shadowy transformation. Through their economic impotence, they have lost their awesomeness” (Adorno, 2005, p.22). “It is the economic impotence of the father and reification, which explains the distortion in object cathexis or idealisation of parents” (Cook, 1995). Case H resuscitated Adorno’s contention regarding the changing nature of families in the modern exchange driven societies by bringing into the picture the exchange relationship that H shares with the world. He stated that,

“Mere papa to daaru peete rehte hain...Mere papa kuch bhi kaam nahin karte the, main hi kamake deta tha. Jab paison ki zyada hi tangi parhi ghar mein phir mereko bula liya gaon se.”(My father drinks alcohol, my father does not do any work, I only earn and give him. When there is shortage of money at home they called me from village...[after he ran from his home when his father started beating him])

Further he stated that,

“Vishwas nahin karta kisi par...ghar walon par hi vishwas nahin karta... duniya khali isliye hai ki insan ke paas paisa ho to hi bolenge. school mein dost hain to paisa le kar aaunga to hi sath denge...larhai mein bhi aur waise bhi... warna nahin denge... koi bhi ho chahe dost ya ghar wale”. (...I do not trust any one...I do not trust my family...world is if a person has money then only they will talk...in school friends are there only when I get money they will support me...in fights and otherwise also...otherwise they will not...nobody will whether friends or family)

The relationship with the father and the failed object-cathexis, as Cook (1995) argued, is primarily forfeited from the demeanour the father had privileged in the earlier society. The father, who once commanded respect and obedience from his children, no longer remains an authority figure. “The children neither internalise their value nor measure their strength against them through rebellion or resistance” (Cook, 1995). The economic conditions have severely impaired the autonomy of the family. “The individuals measure their own self-worth and the worth of others in terms of the value of the goods they possess and the places they occupy within the economic system; their possessions and occupations serve as social markers that position them within groups and distinguish them from other agents” (Cook, 2004, p. 45). In a nutshell, it is the economic changes in the society that profoundly and adversely affects the structure of the family. As Cook (1996) stated that “the economic power which parents once wielded in the high liberal era commanded respect from their

children” (p.7). It can be contended that it is the ‘culture industry’ which elaborately works on the psychological level by reinforcing narcissism. The culture industry as a term emphasises that “the customer is not the king, as the culture industry would have us believe, not its subject but its objects” (Javris, 1998, p.72). Akin to the products of the culture industry, the individual subjects have ego-weaknesses and a consequent unwillingness to think for oneself. The real problem in a fatherless society, as Cook (2004) predominantly argued that the forces of opposition within it, have become paralysed. In capitalist societies, the individual becomes a kaput possessing narcissistic tendency. Most pertinently, in such a scenario, there is an emergence of paranoid tendencies which can be deduced from Adorno’s paper ‘Sociology and Psychology’ (1968). He stated that the paranoid tendencies are widespread, proliferating and are supported owing to the rise in investment in ego-libido. Adorno (1968) states,

“Where the ego fails to develop its intrinsic potential for self-differentiation, it will regress, especially towards what Freud called ego-libido, to which it is most closely related, or will at least mingle its conscious functions with unconscious ones” (Adorno, 1968, p.87).

Critically, it can be argued that the inability to form a healthy relationship leads to social isolation, which can be primarily seen through the exchange principle described above. The manifestation of the exchange model of society prevalent today bring into commotion the regressive narcissistic tendencies, which only exacerbates the widening social isolation of individuals in society. Adorno metaphorically brought into picture the tremors into the Freudian topology of the unconscious of an individual by masking it into a Marxist paradigm. He identified the socio-economic roots of narcissism that weakens the ego’s autonomy to decide for itself in the spirit of enlightenment. “This social narcissism impedes the spontaneous relationship between people in today’s societies” (Cook, 2004, p.27). It is the culture industry which starts to prey not only on the individual’s ego but largely his instincts and desires, particularly emotions. The crucial aspect of the culture industry as Adorno posits is as follows,

“Today anyone who fails to comply with the economic rules will seldom go under straight way. But the fate of *déclassé* looms on the horizon. Ahead lies the road to an asocial, criminal existence: the refusal to play the game arouses suspicions and exposes offenders to the vengeance of society even though they may not be going hungry and sleeping under the bridge” (Adorno, 1967, p.71).

The narratives obtained from children echoes that an individual who fails to comply with the economic demands of the society is shovelled down in the drain of the society, and incarcerated in their own powerlessness. Consequently, thwarted beings are left on the road to lose their livelihoods and social status. The whole impetus of this thesis is to provide an idiographic account of the TAT

subjects. For this, an attempt is made to bring out heterogeneity present among the four cases. However, a visible nomothetic pattern of exchange relations in the Case of M, D and K is evident.

Case 2: M

According to Adorno, the subject does not come into contact with the world as something foreign, but rather, both reflects it and upholds it internally (Marder, 2006). A glimpse and a sluggish shadow of the estranged conditions of the society can be seen in the narratives of M. Case M innocuously recounted his childhood experiences of his name getting struck off from the school as he threw a big stone at the principal's head out of revulsion on getting beaten by him. Ancillary to his action, he stated that he did not know he is not supposed to hit the authority. Although the instinct of revolt came naturally to him, as the time passed, he has maturely learnt the ego's defenses against the energies of the id. His narrative points towards the idea that he learnt quite early about the society he resides, where "normal is true and deviant are false" (Adorno, 2005b). The underlying psychical manifestation imputed by M since his childhood suggests that to be accepted, he has to renounce his instincts and accommodate himself to the reality principle (Adorno, 1968). Case M stated that he could not act as his friends, even if he wished. His friends are eve-teasers, and as he contentiously informed about his friend, 'Bhains', he added to his narratives that "*uski aadat hai larhkiyon ko cherhne ki...uski tarah main nahin ban sakta...bas karna chahta hun kar nahin pata Ma'am...*" (He is a habitual eve-teaser...I cannot become like him...I want to do, but I cannot do it, Ma'am). He further adduced, that he also cannot become like one of his teachers who eats tobacco, and stating that,

"Ma'am unki tarah karne ki kabhi kabhar soch lete hain vo bhi nahin kar pata main... Ma'am in sab mein main na sabse peeche hun...bohat peeche...ye sab...karne ki sochta hun par...kabhi kar nahin pata". (Ma'am to do like him, I think some times...that also I am not able to do...Ma'am in all this I am way behind others...very behind...all this...I think about doing...but [I am] unable to do) .

M's conflation with a philosophy of the society is reflected in Adorno's theorisation of unravelling the satisfaction of needs that have been commodified. Adorno stated that "conformity to socially approved models of behaviour now appears more rational than solidarity" (Adorno as cited in Cook, 2014, p.25). With this pervasiveness, M actively began to negate his subjectivity actuated by basic instincts in the interest of his survival. He stated that "*Ma'am ji yahan par saare hi harami hain*" (Ma'am, here everyone is a bastard). A dialectical approach was incorporated to deconstruct M's understanding of Bastard and he stated that "*ye aate hain aur bhaag jaate hain hamesha...ma'am ji ye sir ji se bhi akad jaate hain ma'am ye bahar jaake na sirji ko maarte hain...isliye yeh sab harami hote hain*" (Ma'am, they come to school and run every-time [from school]...ma'am they even act

arrogantly with sir...they beat teachers outside school...that's why they are all bastard). He further revealed his opinions on the characteristics of good people and stated "*Acha ma'am vo hota hai jo araam se discipline mein rahe aur ...woh...jo sirji ki saare baat maane...copy poori rakhe aur jo aage baith-ta hai aur jo akalmand ho*" (good, Ma'am, is that [person] who remains in the discipline...keeps his notes complete and the one who sits in the front...and who is intelligent). Indulging into his proclivity for obedience, he stated that "*discipline mujhe acha lagta hai*" (I like to remain in the discipline). According to M, discipline invariably means to keep a vigilant eye on the students, which shows his proclivity for corporal punishment and compliance towards the school authorities. He stated that

"Bache yahan ke maante nahin hain yahan par sirji isliye strict hote hain. Yahan par kuch nahin ho sakta...ya to naam kaat dein tc leke bhaga dein ya to tabhi theek hoga ye school". (Children here do not agree...that's why teachers are strict here...nothing can be done here...either they strike the name or give TC [and] send them back...then this school will improve).

Case M, is seen as capriciously negating himself because he failed to comply with the set of characteristics he defined for a good boy. According to him, he sits at the last bench, breaks free from the school, wanders around, brings a knife for self-protection (see card 5), hits other children, and abuses a lot. The excerpts from card 5 can be looked into:

"Bacha school jate tha. Teacher marte the. ye kisko maarta ho ya Copiyan cheen leta hoga...ya kisika bag leke bhaag jata ho...use satata ho...chirhata ho..."

Subsequently, he enlarged upon his relationship with parents in card three and card four. He mentions that his father was melancholic, and his narrative thereon falls into the frailties of the exchange principle and instrumental relationships in the family. Although, in the previous chapter a broader description of the father-son relationship in psychoanalytic terms has been provided and discussed from the point of conflict of 'Compliance vs. Autonomy' pivotal to the inability to form a dyadic relationship between a father and a son; it can be deciphered from Adorno's notions that a child of the present modern society fails to emulate or negotiate with the father figure, as "in an antagonistic society the relation between generations too is one of competition, behind which stands naked power" (Adorno, 2005, p.22). Such notions are reiterated by Horkheimer (1972), who correlated class structure with families, and examined that among the sons and daughters of bourgeois families, the fulfilment of all wishes, in reality, depends on the money possessed and their position in society. He stated that,

“The power of the father over related or unrelated members of the home, workshop, or manorial estate had always been based on the intrinsic necessity of the direct form of dependence for the life process of society. With the disappearance of this essential factor, the respect of family members for the head of the house, their attachment to the family as a whole, and their loyalty to its symbols dwindled away” (Horkheimer, 1949, p.361).

Subsequently, Case M’s relation with his mother is hampered under the exchange principle. Horkheimer (1949) stated that the individual “has become social atoms, into which the bourgeois revolutions...have pulverised society. In this era of mass society, man is alone. His name-which once linked him to a place, a past, a destiny-has been turned into a mark of identification, a mere label; his individuality into a set of qualifications”. It becomes vivid in card 5, in which Case M used the defense of acting out and denial, and the hero strangled his mother in a rage arising from M’s crisis of finding autonomy from the domination of his mother. He rationalised his Matricidal instincts and reasoned that the mother always beats him up and wants him to act like a good boy, which he fails to comply with the characteristics of a good boy. M demonstrated his instinctual nature as coercive and aggressive. He significantly placed more critical thought towards having a rational control over himself and his inner nature in the form of renunciation of death instincts. His fragile nature of social bonds is evident and he tries to seek compulsory identification with the power of the collective. This is called an unbridgeable chasm in the interpersonal relationships where ‘reification’ and ‘narcissism’ takes over the individual by a mere instantiation of collectives who seek renunciation of individuality and look for semblance. Social alienation arises because “interpersonal relations are secured by nothing more than abstract exchange relations and frail narcissistic affiliations” (Cook, 2014, p.100). Individuals are significantly pestered to identify themselves as functionary workers or consumers in modern societies and are led to believe that acquisition of instincts can solely be gained from the commodified channels. It is likely that due to the resultant pseudo-individuality and individuals develop pathological social bonds. These bonds reinforce isolation. This is the beginning and an end of individuation. The narratives of M get condensed into the identity-thinking as Adorno stated that:

“what something comes under, what it exemplifies or represents and what, accordingly, it is not itself. The more relentlessly our identitarian thinking besets its object, the farther will it take us from the identity of the object”. (Adorno, 1973, p.149)

The concept of identity according to Adorno (1973, p.142) refers to “the unity of personal consciousness: that an ‘I’ remains the same in all experience, it soon became an out-product of universality in thought”. It is considered to be legally the same in all rational beings, and epistemologically it meant the subject and object coincide irrespective of the media: A=A. An

example of identity thinking in the generic terms of Adorno is that of “a barter principle, the reduction of human labour to the abstract universal concept of average working hours is the principle of identification” (Adorno, 1973, p.146). This type of thinking is an evasion of contradictions and subsumption of society as ruled by equivalence. Hauke Brunkhorst “defined the concept of identity thinking as: the subsuming of single events or objects under general concepts; metaphysics or idealism; and instrumental reason, which is used to dominate the object and the world” (Kim, 2004, p.468). Adorno clarified that “identitarian thinking says what something comes under, what it exemplifies or represents, and what, accordingly, it is not itself” (Adorno, 1973, p.149). An example of identity-thinking can be seen in the excerpts of M who says that given a chance, he would like to become like his class monitor, ‘Ganesh’ because he is a good boy:

“Ma’am apne kaam se kaam rakhta hai... na khelne aata hai lunch mein...vo class ka monitor hai Ma’am aage hi rehta hai aur kabhi nahin bhaagta vo...vo roz aata hai... Ma’am uske kaprhe bhi ekdum saaf rehte hain Ma’am...” (Ma’am [he] keeps to himself...he does not come out to play...he is the monitor of the class...he always stays in front and never runs away...he comes everyday...Ma’am his clothes are also neat...)

Primarily, there is a predominance of the universal exchange principle, which is based on the surface of homogenising and levelling effects of needs, behaviours, thoughts, and interpersonal relationships (Cook, 2011, p.101). This can be further explicated through Case D, which is as follows:

Case 3: D

Case D stated that he does not have any friends and dislikes coming to school. Earlier none of the teachers used to beat him, but every now and then he gets it from his teachers. He said, “...*Dande hi dande maare...thappad hi thappad...pehle murga bana diya...phir maara...maine kaha sirji maaro mat, merese bologe murga ban ja to main ban jaunga...phir maara mujhe*” (Hit by sticks after sticks...slaps after slaps. First asked me to sit in the position of a rooster...then hit me...I told sir donot hit me...he told me to become a ‘rooster’ which I told I will become...then again he hit me). As a consequence, he now uses the defence of ego-withdrawal, which helps him seek resilience from painful situations. The school and his home are dreadful places. At home, he locks up his father, who gets very abusive after consuming alcohol, which is followed by the routine practice of domestic violence on his mother. To dwell upon his unconscious in a better way, specific questions were asked. The excerpts are:

Megha: *Tumhe apne papa pasand hain?* (Do you like your father?)

D: *Papa mummy dono pasand hain...*(I like both my father mother)
Megha: *Tum apne papa ki tarah banna chahoge?* (Do you want to become like your father?)
D: *Nahin.* (No.)
Megha:*Kyun?* (Why)
D: *Papa sahi nahin hain...* (Father has unpleasant character)
Megha:*Kyun? Papa sahi nahin hain matlab?* (Why? What do you mean father is not good?)
D: *Matlab ki vo drink karte hain...gaaliyaan bakte hain...bas...mummy ko gaali dete hain... larhai karte hain mummy se...isliye papa ke jaisa nahin banna...*(Meaning that he drinks. [He] blurts out abuses...[he] just...abuses mother.[he] fights with mother...that's why I do not want to become like my father)
Megha: *Mummy ko gaali dete hain...tumhe pasand nahin aata?* ([He] abuses your mother ...so you do not like)
D: *Nahin...*(No)
Megha: *Tum kabhi shaadi karoge to tum karoge vo sab jo tumhare papa karte hain?* (If you get married then will you do whatever your father does?)
D: *Nahin main yeh sab nahin karunga...*(No. I will not do)
Megha: *Sach mein?* (Is it for real?)
D: *Gaali vaali nahin dunga main...*(I will not abuse).

The dyadic relationship D and his father shared come to be represented as distant and least fulfilling. In his TAT stories, he weaves an alternative picture of his relationship with his father. Although his responses are mixed, they are structured around the need for a nurturing and loving father in the stories. There are themes which point towards his explication of an authoritative behaviour towards his father. Stories on the desire for the father's submission towards the son are suggestive of his need for power and domination. The need to overwhelm his father and to subordinate his authoritative position is dominant in the case D, and in a story narrated by him, he eliminated the father as though he is a rival. He feels abased of his economic condition, as revealed in the picture card 10 and in the blank card, where he shows a dissociative identity from his real self. The lived life is altered, and the parents are completely eliminated from the stories. There is a positive cathexis with another woman who acts as a pseudo-mother belonging to a wealthy class who eventually adopts him. The excerpts are:

Card 10:

“Andhera hai...ek larhka baitha hua hai...udaas hai...vo isliye udaas hai ki uska koi nahin hai...to vo budiya kaise bhi karke saari jayadad apne naam karwa deti hai...phir unki mummy kehti hain ke isi ke saath raha karo aur kisi ke saath mat ghooma karo.”

There is a stream of thought that D captures through this card. The ruptured thought processes elucidate many themes that are woven together:

- 1). The boy in the story is socially isolated because of his low social status, and he is an orphan.
- 2). His friends abandon him, i.e., his immediate environment, and he faces discrimination. He projects himself as being depressed/lonely in the story.
- 3). He is shown working at a tea stall which presents his current situation of work in real life too.
- 4). He is adopted by a rich woman, which represents his fantasy and grandiosity, at a seminal layer.
- 5). He achieves social and economic status through the rich woman, who adopted him.
- 6). He starts studying in the same reputed school where his friends were studying and becomes a topper of that school. Again it showcases grandiosity coupled with the desire to study in a better school.
- 7). His self-esteem increases as he attains success. Due to success, he gains social acceptability.
- 8). He becomes the principal of that school. This refers to him seeking a respectful societal position and dominance over others. This shows his need for achievement is very high.

Case D's story of desire embroiled in fantasy resonates Adorno's (2005, p.26) affirmation about an individual that "he who stands aloof runs the risk of believing himself better than others and misusing his critique of society as an ideology for his private interest." Adorno stated that while in the process, the individual forms an existence of his/her's own, the existence so formed is a frail image of true existence. In '*Minima Moralia*' (2005), Adorno warns the individual of living a substitute form of true life. He writes that:

"While he gropingly forms his own life in the frail image of true existence, he should never forget its frailty, nor how little the image is a substitute for true life. Against such awareness, however, pulls the momentum of the bourgeois within him. The detached observer is as much entangled as the active participant; the only advantage of the former is insight into his entanglement, and the infinitesimal freedom that lies in knowledge as such".
(Adorno, 2005, p. 26)

This is also evident in the story narrated in the blank card.

Blank card:

"Ek ladka hai. 15 saal ka hai. police wala banna chahta hai. uske parents bhi support karte hain. uske school ke samne acha school hai. wo dekhta hai. vo sochta hai ke kaash main is school mein parh sakta hota...vo kehata hai ke mujhe apna school acha nahin lagta hai ...mujhe is school mein parhna hai...uska test liya jata hai... wo 7th mein hain. 12th ka pad leta hai. usme bohat dimaag hota hai par gharwale support nahin karte hain. poore school mein first aata tha...jab vo

principal bana to usne wo rule ko hata diya...likha ke isme khali wohi bache parhenge jo parhna chahteh hain...vo nahin jo sirf ghoomna chahte hain...

The story begins with a dissociative identity and a desire to study in the school of economically affluent children. His dereliction towards his school is quite evident, as he stated overtly that he does not like his school. He fantasised himself as possessing prolific intelligence. As a student of the 7th grade, he passed an examination intended for a 12th grade. He reflected a self-fulfilling prophecy and a desire which stands no possibility of getting fulfilled in real life. He attained a very high social position and embraced his fantasy self as different from real life. According to Adorno (2005, p.27), “the subjugation of life to the process of production imposes as a humiliation on everyone something of the isolation and solitude that we are tempted to regard as resulting from our own superior choice. It is as old a component of bourgeois ideology that each individual, in his particular interest, considers himself better than all others, as that he values the others, as the community of all customers, more highly than himself.” The superior choices which D has imposed on himself are one of the causes of his alienation from the society in which he desires his participation, and in his present society where he fails to fit in as he considers it beneath him. Adorno (2005) brought forward the pretentious societal thinking with pessimism into the discourse of modernity, when he satirically stated that there is no way out of this entanglement as the society expects you to conduct yourself modestly by instilling shame of still having air to breathe, although in reality, your existence is atrocious. This is evident in the last case, as well.

Case 4: K

Case K, who is the son of a daily wage labourer, depicted the conflictual relationship between the father and son using the picture card 1 in which he used the musical instrument as a point of reference. He projected his father as overtly critical and threatening. Feeling bereft, the hero stated that his father told him “*kaam kar, Faltu mein fizool mein kyun laga hua hai*” (“Start working, uselessly, unnecessarily why are you after it). In a melancholic voice, he expressed that when the hero gets his salary, his father snatches it from the son and beats him, saying, “*papa marte hain, ki mazdoori kar beta. tujhe kya milega ye seekhne se tujhe kya milega seekhke. duniya hasegi jab bekar mein zindagi kharab kar lega.*” (Son, start working as a labourer, what will you get after learning this? Society will laugh at you when you spoil your life). The musical instrument is seen as causing frustration in his personal ambition. Throughout his stories, the vulnerabilities in his economical condition, and the conditionalities and constraints in his relationship with his parents is evident. The ineptitude to attain something in life is followed by sadness. In card 2, he narrated the story of a boy who is trying to catch fish from the pond and continuously thinks that his family must

be eagerly waiting for him for lunch. He becomes sad due to his incompetence to catch fish and returns later with two fishes, only to realise that the family has eaten the food without him. In card 5 and card 10, this becomes pertinently clear, when he narrates a story of a boy who has murdered due to unavailability of sufficient funds at home.

Card 5:

“Raaste mein larhki ja rahi hoti hai ...Mumtaz.vo sochta hain aaj koi aayega to paise cheen lunga. larhki aati hai...larhka ekdum se uska haath pakarhke bolta hai paise de de nahin to main mar dunga. Larhki use apne phone paise sab de deti hai...phir bhi larhka uska gala ghot ke mar deta hai iski maa beemar hoti hai to vo uski dawai leke aata hai...mujhe iske ilaaj k liye bohat saare paise chahiye the”.

Card 10:

“Ek larhka hai usse ghalat kaam hojata hai to vo jail mein pakrha jata hai...vo kehta hai mere saath aisa hogaya...main to kuch banne aaya tha...mujhe dhokhe se phansa diya... mere haath se ghalti se khoon hogaya”.

Even though there is unbridled guilt of committing homicide for supporting the economic needs of his family, and the fact that he detests these acts purportedly, psychologically, he has subsumed remorse, suffering and rejection. This is clear from a story in which he narrated his own life story in the blank card. The narratives depict the conflictual relationship of case K with his mother, who is adamant about getting K dropped out of school. Case K uses the defense of denial in which he acts as a narcissistic buffer, who in a fantasised world seems to overachieve in academics vis-à-vis to the failure that overwhelms his real self. The major premise is that ‘it is the exchange principle that weakens the bonds within the families’. These are the bonds of a subject’s fruitful identification with his parents whom he/she idealises while growing up, also known as object-cathexis. In the previous chapter, this was discussed under the section of ‘failed parental imago’ from purely a psychoanalytic literature.

Adorno's critical theory states that families in late capitalist society delineate a significant factor in children’s increasing regressive narcissism and investment in ego-libido. In the case of CoPD, the limited identification available to them is because of the economic impotence of the father, who is seen as mutilated by his low purchasing power in society. The children develop relations which are instrumental in nature as they are seen from the default lens of exchange principle. While the economic desire of the family mediates their place in the family, there is reification and subsequent commodification of the relationships. All exchange relationships evoke a willingness of the other in

them, an other who is economically more privileged, who has a dominant stature and falls into the category of socially acceptable people. Unconsciously, an other has already taken place in them, that persistently asks the children to sabotage their identity and become that other. In the stories, all the four case studies discussed here brings us into the larger discourse of dissociative identity. At a fantasy level, they wish to annihilate their family and gain social status, and most importantly, they desire for obtaining respect in society. Humiliation faced by the children is vividly disclosed. The humiliation is psychical, which takes the shape of economic impotence, and the desire to be someone else. The identity thinking and the desire to the other is the desire of disposing of the particular in favour of universal, the glimpse of which can be seen in the next section.

4.7.2 Identity Thinking: “*Acha ban-na chahta hun*”

Adorno’s notion on the spell of reification is posited in his book the ‘*ND*’. He stated that “human beings, individual subjects, are under a spell now as ever. The spell is the subjective form of the world spirit, the internal reinforcement of its primacy over the external process of life. Men become that which negates them, that with which they cannot cope...while the nominalist principle simulates individualisation for them, they act as a collective” (Adorno, 1973, p.344) Adorno’s edict of the spell brings forth the dehumanising face of the society that preys on demolishing individualism in the name of collectivity and sameness. Cook (2004) quoted “Hegel to elaborate that all individuals have succumbed to exchange relations: what they are for themselves, what they think they are, is secondary” (p.45). Heteronormity is suppressed and vilified under the homogeneity. The all-pervasive spell which seeks duplication becomes even more threatening when “the individual adopts the subjective spell” which dreadfully serves the antagonistic conditions destroying the subjects’ potential to change it (Adorno, 1973, p.344). The things are the way they are, is the schema of that mass culture. This mass culture relies on the tool of positivism which slowly makes its way back in the enlightenment thought and gets legitimised in the society with its dictum that the existing conditions are unchangeable and permanent (Cook, 2004, p.104). These conditions look unassailable, backed by an opinion of the collective that it is in the best practice to accept the present condition and conform to it. Adorno contended this type of mankind and compared it with “bent figures chained to each other who are no longer able to raise their heads under the burden of what is” (Adorno, 1973). As a result, the subject venerates its mirror image and disregards any dissimilarity as his concept of freedom itself comes under that spell. This is called reified consciousness, which has a totalising effect. According to Adorno (1973), overwhelmed by reified consciousness, “men lose their identity as the restless prey of the collective mischief”. This is symptomatic of the culture industry, which facilitates the establishment of the false identity of the

general and the particular. It is the culture industry as Adorno and Horkheimer (2016) posit that “impresses the same stamp on everything which tenderly seeks enthusiastic obedience to its system”. The culture industry works at deep psychological terrains as it requires millions of people to participate in it, which inevitably necessitates identical needs in innumerable places. The underlying principle is the satisfaction which is contingent upon the desire of identical goods across a large number of people. The result of this is “the circle of manipulation and retroactive need in which the unity of the system grows ever stronger” (Adorno, & Horkheimer, 2016). Critically, the self under these conditions is falsely represented as natural or absolute. Reification in Adornian terms refers to “the suppression of heterogeneity in the name of identity” (Cook, 2004, p.40). The concept of reification can only be understood through the lens of identity thinking, which can be seen through the narratives obtained from the interaction with the children. The primacy over becoming a good person (*Acha*) is seen dialectically, and its glimpse can be seen in the previous section as well. The need for becoming a good person delves deeper into the unconscious personality structure of the children's mind and is seen as broadly getting situated in the concept of ‘man’ (explicitly used in conjunction with the gender of the subject) the society has established or prefers. While the real self of the children can be seen possessing the traits of a bad man (*Harami*), it is their fantasied self, which falls into the category of a good man. Some of the experts throughout the data collected can be seen through taking card one as a protocol, as shown below:

Card 1:

‘H’ in card 1 links the musical instrument with an opportunity of becoming a popular singer that will enable him to be liked by others. He puts emphasis on becoming a good person and his underlying desire is linked with social acceptability “*log mujhe pasand karne lag jayein...jisse main acha insan ban jaun...vo yeh chahta hai*”

‘M’ brings an alternative reality into the picture and sees the musical instrument as a source of life. He wants to achieve higher social status with an emphasis on becoming a good person. Here ‘good person’ signifies an economically better off condition “*acha ban na chahta hai taaki mummy papa ko aur ache ghar mein rakh sake.*”

‘D’ places emphasis on becoming a good person and most importantly sees music as alleviation to the higher social ladder. He finds self-worth in this card as he says he won’t fail in this, implicitly relating failure to the failure faced in school “*ye ladka hai. Sangeet gata hai. ye acha ban-na chahta hoga*”.

Although ‘K’ does not bring the dialectical concept of a good person in his narrative, he refutes the profession of a labourer which his father is trying to impose on him. Here again, the musical instrument is seen as creating contradictions in his thought process, which causes his unconscious structure to give rise to this desire of becoming a person of higher stature. A similar pattern can be seen in the conceptualisation ‘*Sharif*’ (Noble) in contrast to ‘*Harami*’ (Bastard). Throughout this discourse, being ‘*Sharif*’ as a concept transforms into a fetishised body and corporeality, which is a unison of physicality and materiality. In Adorno’s terms, it is a form of a love-hate relationship with the body. Adorno and Horkheimer enunciated that “the body is scorned and rejected as something inferior, enslaved, and at the same time is desired as forbidden, reified, estranged” (2016, p.193). Further, this body is treated as an object or a thing that can be owned in a culture that is quintessentially run by power and command as an object or a thing. This is how a body is conditioned by power through the need for personal physical prowess (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2016). This can be seen through this excerpt from H’s narrative:

Card 3:

“Ek gaon mein rehte the. Gaon mein bura bura bolte the log... kabhi koi kuch bolta tha kabhi koi kuch bolta tha... pareshan rehte the. koi kaam bhi nahin tha is wajah se pareshan rehte the. khane peene ke liye dukhi rehte the...isne chori karni bhi shuru kar di thi....par ek na ek din chor ki chori pakrhi to jaati hi hai... Kheti bhi nahi the. khane ko bhi kuch nahi tha. Kaam bhi nahi tha...aise hi rehte the. Dheere-dheere sharif banne ki koshish kari. sharif ban gaye theek thak, phir gaon mein dost ban gaye bohat saare. Gaon mein rehte the, logon ka pyar dekhte the, koi beti maa se pyar se bolti thi ye dekhte the doosro ko dekh kar acha banne ki चाहत hui”.

(Case H)

Thus, becoming a noble person gets reified with the class structure. To sum up the arguments from this section, I would like to quote Nietzsche as cited in an article by Dews (1986) where he talks about a leaf which is never quite like another, so it is certain as Nietzsche states that the concept leaf is constructed by an arbitrary dropping of individual difference and through a forgetting of what differentiates the leaf. To quote him,

“the idea that there is something in nature besides leaves which would be “leaf”, that is to say an original form, according to which all leaves are woven, drawn, circumscribed, coloured, curled, painted, but by clumsy hands, so that no example emerges correctly and reliably as a true copy of the original form . The overlooking of the individual gives us the form, whereas nature knows no forms and no concepts, and also no species, but only an X, which is inaccessible and indefinable to us” (Nietzsche, as cited in, Dews, 1986, p.28).

The proposition I am offering using Adorno (2005) is that identity is the pathos of self, which is confined in its own isolation. Potentially the damage and isolation begin when one does not fit into the universality of characteristics of a good person as internalised by the students. The damage is encrusted socially and psychologically when they are maladjusted to the prevailing norms. The particular is unable to subsume in the universal. Uniqueness in a person which is the nonidentity as O'Connor (2013) puts it, is lost to the social generalisations that inform daily politics (about class, gender, race, religion, etc.). Thus, nonidentity becomes an experience of being obligated to live within the constraints of the social totality, which is thus experienced as negativity (Adorno as cited in O'Connor, 2013). Adorno sees identity and its counterpart from the Hegelian form of the dialectic conditions. Hegelian dialectic assumes that the contradictory moments of identity and non-identity can be reconciled in a higher moment of identity. This is a violence done to the nonidentity as Adorno claimed that “what is needed is the preservation of non-identity, of the moment of resistance to all identitarian resolutions which mean the end of reflective thought” (Verdeja, 2009). “It is non-identity that disrupts any sense of primordial identity, thereby open up dynamics of difference, dissent and contradiction that are foundational for any society” (Gandesha and Hartle, 2017). However, in today’s contentious society, as Morgan (2014) put it that, “an experience of being able to rest in non-fulfilment, in a non-identity with the desire for an absolute reconciliation, which can then open up a space for a different idea of reconciliation, one that would not be about annexing that which is other but about a non-dominating relationship with objectivity is a myth” (p.124).

Part B

4.9 Reification and Fetishisation of Body and Consciousness: ‘The subject is commodified’

(not food, clothing, and shelter rather good food, expensive clothing, and well equipped house is the basic demand)

“Ameer log hote to kuch bhi nahin hain...lekin vo acha khaate hain...acha pehente hain...to acha lagta hai. Ameer ghar ka larhka hai na hamare jaise kaprhe pehnega na tab bhi theek lagega. Hum ameer larhkon ke kaprhe pehen lenge na jab bhi ghareeb hi lagenge...Shakal ke oopar baat hoti hai na..woh khaate peete rehte hain aur hum itna khaate peete nahin hain. Unko khana bhi nahin mile ghar par to bahir hotel se kha lenge aur hamein nahin mila to aise hi so jayenge...vo to hotel se mangwa lenge, paisa bohat hota hai. Aameeron ki jeb mein hamesha paise parhe rehte hain. Hamare paaas to hain thorhe dinon ke baad nahin hain. Khaali 10 rupaye leke aata hun”.

(Case H)

The above narratives of case H reflect the larger discourse and a collective opinion that the body of CoPD is an ideological reflection of oppression practised on people who are counted as inferior. The body of CoPD is exploited, and their body acts as an oppressed body, which splits from the cultural transformation of emancipation and is deemed as bad. There is a dialectics behind the notions of the body in the popular imaginary of children. As in the narratives, there is obscene malice for the [one's own] body on the one hand and sublime desirability for the body of non-poor and non-deprived on the other. The body of CoPD always needs social sanction and is cultivated with a social objective. It is conferred upon as an ego's defense and an embodiment of exclusion and marginality.

The emphasis of this section is that when the desires of the material world transfigure into needs evasively under the culture industry, the body (impulse) takes the shape of corporeality (embodiment). The body of CoPD gets defined as a form of corporeality which emanates from the reified society. Corporeality is quintessentially the metaphor of the body. The body of CoPD is seen as a thing that differentiates them from the others and makes them appear unique, but at the same time is also conceived as a ground for inter-subjectivity to precipitate. Adorno's intellectual theory defined the body or a subject as the one who has a non-hierarchical side of interpersonal relations, be it between subject and object or between the individuals. However, with reifications induced in society, the whole spectrum of the body as explicated using children's narratives gets embodied as a damaged self. The body gets associated with materiality (dialectical materialism) and as a result, deflects the notions of the absolute or pure subject. In a most repulsive manner, the body which is seen to be sensuously filled with physical and social needs, using Adorno and Horkheimer's theory (2016), has become a site of history of oppression, suffering, pain and injustice experienced (Lee, 2016). The body becomes a standpoint from which dissolution of hope becomes berserk in the hands of society. This section argues that the body (impulse) and mind (cognition) are the means of generating discourses about consciousness. Body as a site of oppression is further deduced using Adorno's notions of opinions in a delusional society. He contemplated that while opinions are meant to be value-neutral, however, it gets associated with prejudice and value-judgement. As a consequence, under the realm of opinion, healthy becomes a normal opinion and an opinion which is eccentric and bizarre becomes unhealthy or abnormal. In the process, the normal opinion is perceived as the public or common opinion and often seen as a 'true opinion' backed by the collective. The most intriguing part of the public opinion is that society monopolises the information and colours it, according to its interest (Adorno, 2005b). Delusion occurs, when individually

observed characteristics are aggregated into a social phenomenon which deceives an individual. The subjective moment of opinion reduces to an objective social reality, wherein the masses conform to making it an ideology. This ideology manipulates consciousness at the expense of objective reality (Adorno, 2005b). Once an opinion has been formed which is far from being altered, it shapes experiences.

Thus, this section deals with body, mind and consciousness by explaining the possibilities of human experiences which are distorted in contemporary society through the mechanism of reification. Under the conditions of modernity, the subject has become reified or thing-i-fied as O'Connor (2013) elucidated that the experience so obtained from reification is not a genuine experience in which the subject adopts an instrumental relationship with the world. Adorno stated that "the need to lend a voice to suffering is the condition of all truth and the truth content of Utopia is precisely this ability to give suffering a voice" (Adorno, quoted in Lee, 2014). This section aims to examine the link between suffering, the repressed body and the voices from the school. The body in Adornian theoretical premise emerges as a site for a utopia only when it is free from reification. It is through reification that individuals become an accomplice and a source of their own subjugation and sabotage their self by internalising the external forms of oppression and domination vindicated on them. Reification is not just a mental or cognitively experienced process, it comes into the body and experienced through the body, with its moment back and forth between the mind and the body.

This section using Adorno's theory refrains from being characterised as a dualist, functionalist or a reductionist when dealing with the relationship between mind and the body. It is based on two premises; firstly, all mental things are modified physical impulses (Adorno as cited in Hulatt, 2015). Secondly, the subject seeks to break the spell of reification; by reifying itself and thus, it prepares to complete the fate which befell it (Adorno, 1981). "To turn oneself into stone becomes a way of by being turned into stone by someone" (Laing, 2010, p.51). An environment of reification is one in which objects are given, fixed and with limited identities. This, according to Adorno, allows them to be simply manipulated and instrumentalised by the subject (O'Connor, 2013, p.56), and can be explicated through the narratives of M, as described below:

"Acha ban na chahta hai taaki mummy papa ko aur ache ghar mein rakh sake. maths mein halka sa kamjor hai. baki saw mein theek hoga. Isko gareebi se problem hai, jaise main chahta hun mere mummy papa aur ache kapde pehne aur achi cheezein khayein, ache se rahein" (**The Case M, Picture Card 1**).

"ye kisan ameeron se isiliye darta hoga kyunki yeh gareeb hai aur iske paas abhi kuch bhi nahin hoga...gareebon ko aur neeche dabane ki sochte hain...unki bohat

pehchan hoti hai kisi se, bade bade logon se...gareebon ko satane ke liye bohat kuch karte hain vo... ameeron ke paas aukaad hai sirf wo hi dikha sakte hain...” (The Case M, Picture Card 2)

This is explained further in sections 4.9.1 and 4.9.2, which elaborately discuss the intertwining process of reification of consciousness and the body of CoPD.

4.9.1 School and the Reified Consciousness

“Sir Ji mummy-papa ke samaan hote hain...Teachers humein ghalti pe marte hain”

(Case H, Personal Interview)

Reified consciousness belongs to a subject confronted with an apparently objective social world (Benzer, 2011, p.47). According to Adorno, a reified consciousness cannot experience anything autonomously for what it is, owing to stiff reductive categorisations considered as naturally valid and congruent with reality (Benzer, 2011, p.47). A reified consciousness is aligned with the dominant relations of productions in which thinking is imbued with the whole of society (Benzer, 2011, p.47). Adorno (2005) attempted to remove the veil above our consciousness by stating that, “in a world that has been thoroughly permeated by the structures of the social order, a world that so overpowers every individual that scarcely any option remains but to accept it on its own terms, such naiveté reproduces itself incessantly and disastrously.” Thus, the inability to question the dominant social order’s intellectual forms fosters precisely its perpetuation and solidification: ‘he who leaves the world, in which one is looking for one’s spot, as it is, confirms it as the true being’ (Adorno, 2005, as cited in, Benzer, 2011). In crux, a reified consciousness is what limits human participation by idolising the concepts. Schooling and education at present are based on the concept of false utopian notions, which means that it is socially conditioned and socially shaped, which assumes false needs to be true. The concept of human need is a social category which takes the shape of primordial needs thoughtfully developed and universalised amongst us (Benzer, 2011). One of the primordial needs is education. While education is considered as enlightenment which frees us from self-incurred tutelage of immaturity and responsibility (Adorno and Becker, 1999), the structure on which education rests had nothing to do with individual ability and intelligence. However, it has been exposed to a powerful mechanism with knowledge spreading to the widest range of fields, it has evidently become so castrated and sterilised by these controls (Adorno and Becker, 1999). The whole process then starts becoming a fetish that gets associated with a romantic belief of looking for a genius vis-a-vis its opposite unintelligent. What we harness in today’s education system is a natural predisposition which concedes with history as a residue of heredity rather than seeing it as an ability (in relation to speech, to articulateness, etc.) to pre-eminently act as a function of social conditions which makes the children unfree (Adorno and Becker, 1999). This freedom is so tangled

up with unfreedom that it is not merely inhibited by unfreedom but has actually become a condition as absolute and normative. What subterfuges education is that it is now filled with the concept of authority or conformity which generates hideosities against the concept of beauty, i.e., abnormalcy against normalcy. This can be seen vividly from the interviews of teachers and students. An excerpt of an interview of teacher co-ordinator can be seen in the light of social conditioning. The conversation between the teacher coordinator and me began by explanation regarding my thesis on how education is like a lotus in mud phenomena, and that children with poverty and disadvantage have very fewer chances of making it to higher education because schooling does not give them an opportunity to excel and so on. ‘He’ abruptly told me, it is not like that and said there is a McDonalds nearby. He went to that place and sat himself on the chair. He suddenly felt somebody touching his feet out of respect and the moment he saw he could not recognise the person. The other person greeted him and told him he was one of his students from the school. He has now become a cleaner at McDonalds and the teacher was very impressed by the cleaner’s outfit and the little English he spoke. With this, the teacher was trying to refute by justifying that children excel if they want to, and schooling plays an intrinsic role in it. With a heavy emphasis on intelligence, the teacher attributed that the students are studying because the government is giving them minority funds and parents are interested in the money. He stated,

“Yahan to sirf failures hi milenge. In mein dimag hi nahin hai. Kuch likhna nahin aata. Hindi bhi nahin aati” (Here you will get only failures...they do not have a brain...they do not know how to write...they do not even know English).

Every time a teacher walks into a class, he carries with himself a wooden stick. Between the corridors, in aisles, below the desk, in the playground, near the water-cooler and everywhere pervaded a fear of the stick and children running amok, away from being hit or spanked by the teacher with that stick. Most children were opinionated that getting beaten by teachers and getting severely punished is good for them, i.e., for their improvement as case M stated, *“ghalti pe marte hain”* (“you are punished at your mistake”). The children internalised the punishment as a marker for any wrongdoing, *“Ghalti”*. For them, *Ghalti* alluded to not completing homework on time, wandering around when the class is going on, unable to answer teachers when asked questions, etc. The reifications established in the minds of the children showed that they are punished severely because of their fault, and *“ghalti pe marna chahiye”* (They should be punished physically if they are at fault, Case M) became a norm for children. The teachers do not hesitate from hurling abuses on the children, for eg., *“Maderchodh, Bhenchodh, Kaun baap ki aulad hai?”* (Mother-fucker, sister-fucker, son of a bastard). It is the same abuses which if planted on each other could land the students and their fellow mates into a war with one another. On the one side, is their conformity and

inaction to the abuses given to them by the authority but, on the other hand these abuses created a humongous scuffle amongst the students who now called upon each other's gang members to face the brunt. The ceasefire amongst the students, happens only at the intervention of the teachers, who are only familiar with the tool of corporal punishment as the only solution. Every day, one or the other child got bloodied and was seen in the dingy room with an emergency first-aid-box.



Figure 13: Two Boys injured in the fight with other students in school

At a first glance, it would seem that the children are habituated to punishment and that they possessed no fear of the stick, due to their own violent streak against other children. While, their instincts towards harming others physically came from the principle of self-preservation and mimesis, but adapting to the stick comes from the Freudian understanding of ego assimilation and reality testing that demands instinctual renunciation. “The conformity becomes an ideal and internalisation of repression is an ideal” (Adorno, 1968, p.84). By emphasising on the Freudian thesis, Adorno accepted that “the ego seeks to bring the influence of the external world to bear upon the Id...to substitute the reality principle for the pleasure principle” (Benzer, 2011, p.33). However, “the ego reacts to social reality, checks the individual’s instinctual life and controls the individual’s social adaptation” (Benzer, 2011, p.33). The survival of the individual became contingent upon relinquishing their individuality which acted as an unconscious force in order to lead social integration and successful adoption of social roles.

4.9.2 Reification of a Good School: A Good School Produces Good Children

In the narrativisation of stories by the students, there looms a tendency to develop a grandiose self-image in which they imagined studying in a good school. A good school is “where you pay the fees” as stated by Case K (*Jahan paise de kar parhte hain*). The excerpts of children further elaborate upon the reification of a good school:

Excerpt 1

Megha: *Acha mujhe ek cheez poochni hai ke acha insan banne ke liye...school ka kya yogdan hota hai? Hota hai? (I want to ask you what is the role of school in becoming a good person?)*

H: *Sabse pehle to acha school hona chahiye...(First of all the school should be good).*

Megha: *Acha school kya hota hai? (What is a good school?)*

H: *Saare sirji parhane lag jayein to school bhi acha ho jayega...sirji bolte hain uniform mein aao... kaprhe pehen ke aao...joota pehen ke aao...khud to kuch bhi pehen ke aa jate hain...sirji dress pehen ke aayenge to hi bache bhi dress pehen ke aayenge[...].aadhe bache jaise parhne wale hain...jaise main parhne wala hun aur koi khel raha hoga to mera bhi mann khelne ka kar jayega...aur saare bache parhne wale hoyenge to jin bachon ko parhna nahin ayega vo bhi parhna seekh jayega...*

(If all the teachers start teaching, then the school will also be good...sir tells us to come in the uniform...wear clothes and come...wear shoes and come...they wear anything and come to the school...if sir will wear uniform then only students will wear uniform[...]. If half of the students wants to study...for instance if I want to study and somebody is playing...then I will also feel like playing...and if all the students want to study then the children who do not know how to study...they will also start studying).(Case H)

Excerpt 2:

“... ek school hai... acha school hai... bahut saare bache padte hain...aur unme se ek bacha aisa hai...aata to roz hai school mein... par sochta hai humein to kya karna hai. Humein to redhi lagani hai. dost kehte hain chorh na. apne ko kya karna hai... nasha karne jata ho...pure school ko bigaad diya hai. Yahan par to saare bache bigde hue hain par private school mein to sudhre hue honge...poori vardi mein aate hain...i-card bhi hota hai...kaam bhi poora karte hain chahe ghar ka ho ya bahar ka ho...ghoomne bhi nahin jaate... teachers ko bhi ulta bolte hain. phele to allowed nahi tha, per ab mar sakte hain teachers. khelte bhi nahi, sirf t.v. dekhte hai phir so jate hain. [...] Per yahan sir ji sirf aate hain maarte hain, bhaunkte hain aur chale jate hain...” (Case M, Blank Card)

In both the excerpts, a unified thinking can be seen emerging predominantly that a good school has good children; it alleviates those bad children from their bad habits. The narratives of the other children also pointed towards interlink between poverty and education, especially as seen in the picture card 2 of the TAT. The students identified with the farmer as their main hero, who is downtrodden but, hardworking. This is evident from Case M's excerpts, as he stated that,

“ye kisan apne khet jotne ke liye ja raha hai...Barish aayegi to paise aayega...jhoppad pati ko patthar ka makkan bana sakta hai. ho sakta hai ki inke bache bhi ache kaam karenge...acha khana khayenge[...].bete ko padhane ko

sochenge ache school mein. bade bade school mein jayenge, sab kuch bade bade school sikhate hain. jaise is school mein izzat nahi karte waise bade school to karte hoyenge aur apne maa baap ko baitha ke khilayega” (Case M, Picture Card 2).

The children entrapped in the discourse of a good school, envisioned themselves as studying in a private school which shall bring fortune to their present situation and shall uplift them from the state of abject poverty. The voices of the parents loom in the minds of children, as they possessed melancholia. The parents propelled the hero figure to study harder and constantly warn them to not become like one's own parents. It is a private school which is reified in the minds of the children. According to O'Connor (2013), “the essence of the problem of reification is that it does not allow us to see our world-comprising subjects and objects-as a socio-historical development”. Instead, it takes the world to be made up of limited things whose interactions seemingly follow a purely natural/given course. The children are devoid of a genuine experience of the world, but what comes to them, is wrapped in a form of social conditionalities which is withering their experience. O'Connor (2013) stated that the experience is very important for analysis, as because the way we define the experience, we directly come face to face with the positions that propel us to see the preconceptions, of how the world is divided and the ways in which those divided parts interact. The most intriguing part of understanding the experience of the CoPD is that their preconception of the world is socially influenced, through which I was able to gain access to their socio-culturally and historically reified world. They are reduced to the object, which can be easily manipulated by the teachers, who are the subjects. For instance, the mind of children from the beginning of their life at school is manipulated, stating that they lack a substantial capital in society to achieve anything big in life. They are trapped in their own social positions in which the school petrified, solidified and reified them as having no semblance with the society they desired to participate. As Benzer (2011) put it that, “the world is reproduced with such contention that it is even harder to recognise that the status quo which has been historically produced, is maintained and could be changed by collective human action”. The society as being transformable is very bleak for these students, as the transformation appears to have limited success. It can be said that “the individuals do not carry out activities which reproduce them socially rather they are forced to do so objectively” (Benzer, 2011). “Whereas praxis promises to lead people out of their self-isolation, praxis itself has always been isolated” (Adorno, 2005, p. 624). As a consequence, the subject is thrown back upon itself, divided from its other by an abyss is supposedly incapable of action (Adorno, 2005). The CoPD in the process of self-externalising towards what differs from them became a prototype of individuals paralysed into inaction. To summarise using Adorno's frame of reference, it is pertinent to state that, “Where experience is blocked or altogether absent, praxis is damaged and therefore, longed for, distorted, and desperately overvalued” (Adorno, 2005, p.626). The school as a practice reifies

children by extracting their weaknesses and their psychic apparatus is filled with the suffering of which they are not aware.

Part C

4.10 Self-preservation: Fear of Violence and the Fear leading to Violence

The rubric under which I discuss the fear and violence in this section largely falls under the theme of human coldness that entitles suffering on select population. This section, thus, begins with positing a series of questions: How does fear invade and inveigle the mind of the children to the extent that even in the absence of teacher (the perpetrator), the pain becomes starkly unbearable? Is it embodiment or is it idealisation of the authority that coerces the children to reify the fear in the form of punishment, suffering and the pain? Most pertinently, this section seeks to juxtapose pain, aroused due to violence on oneself, as well as with violence committed on others. In both the scenarios, fear of violence, the fear leading to violence and the feeling of condoning is explained. Along with these questions, this section puts across a major question, that is, what is the source of our unrelenting chill toward others as well as toward ourselves? (Huhn, 2016). Fear and violence by very nature are to alter and to transform oneself in relation to the other. Fear in Adorno's understanding of society is inevitably measured in relation to suffering. The suffering, which I am referring to, is the subjectivity which is left in the person who has experienced physical suffering. This suffering confines the body as a mere projection of the terror affected in the form of fear. To understand the meaning of suffering, it is inevitable to refer to Freud's three types of suffering, which are: "1). Decline and decay of the body; being betrayed by our own body 2). It is suffering from natural disasters 3). The suffering that originates in our relations with other human beings" (Huhn, 2016). It does not intend to portray suffering as being caused by malicious intent of other human beings. Instead, it means that suffering is an attribute of disappointments caused by other people. This indicates that "what we most fear is one-another" (Huhn, 2016). Human relations avenge fear rather than create hope in the lives of people. Historically, there was a fear of nature that governed our thinking, which has now with the passage of revolutions, transposed into the fear of one another with the emergence of modern societies. The curious configuration of suffering in a subject interlopes fear along with self-preservation. This nexus of three: suffering, fear and self-preservation, pervades the mimetic expressions in human beings to become cold towards the external nature and towards each other. A person who possesses fear, due to the disappointments occasioned by others, develops self-preservation alongside as an assertion. This development of self-preservation snuggles into the subjects as and when their vulnerabilities are at its best and

enlarged. This forms a defense mechanism for coping with the hazards of the world and acts as a compensation for their relative safety. Huhn (2016) stated that, “our fearful comportment towards suffering becomes a strategy that makes suffering look exaggerated and all-pervasive”. This means that the fear calls forth terror, which invade individuals so deeply, that it becomes an orientation, a way of life. By corroborating the understanding of fear with the TAT responses and the interview, a close analogy is formed between fear and embodiment of fear arising from the body. For instance, Case H stated that “*sirji aaye to aise aayein ke maare bohat... tabhi bache sudhenge yahan*” (such teacher should come who beat a lot). Similarly, Case M stated that “*Bacha school jate tha. Teacher marte the*” (a child goes to the school, teachers used to beat). Such narratives point out that the fear arises naturally as a situation of embodiment, i.e., fear as embodiment has occurred on the part of the body. According to Huhn (2016), the body and even its sufferings are not the sources of fear, rather the product of our relationship to how we imagine the fate of the body. “Fear occurs not within life and its bodily vessels, but only in our strategic, ideational relationship to life” (Huhn, 2016). To idealise means to exalt according to the psychoanalytic literature, i.e., it means to think of oneself or others as conforming to the ultimate standards of perfection. The narratives of the children clearly delineate this idealised fear as mitigated in the stories. Case M stated that as he has not completed his homework, his teacher is going to punish him. In many other instances, he narrated that he gets punished in the school, because he troubles other students, snatches their notebooks, abuses, etc. Although the fear penetrates deep inside the mind of Case M along with the other students, yet they idealise it as a source of their rectification and see the oppressor as the nurturer: “*ghalti pe marte hain*” (beaten only on their mistakes). The superlatives used by Case M to describe teachers are, “*chilate hain*” (they shout), “*bhaunkte hai* (they bark), “*dande marte hain*” (they beat us with stick), “*murga banate hain*” (head between the legs punishment), etc. These superlatives reinstate their cultural environment and an everyday life at school. Through Case K’s narratives the social dimension of domination in children can be elaborated upon. The socially acceptable form of domination contradicts with the notions of autonomy, freedom and the emancipation when case K stated that children should be in control of teachers. As I enquired further from him regarding his understanding of control, he stated,

“Control matlab ke jaise sirji se darte hain bache...ke haan sirji agar hum ghalti karenge to maareng...hamari class mein to saare bache darte hain sirji se...ke hum kuch ghalti karenge to sirji maareng hamein...”

(Control means like children are afraid of sir...that if we commit any mistake then they will beat us...in our class everyone is scared of sir ...that if we commit any crime then they will beat us)

(Excerpt from the interview with Case K).

It is the fear of authority which has overwhelmed the self of the children and the sensation of which can be seen as very personal. As Rath (2002) stated that, due to this experience, the individual leaves its particularity behind. The innocent victims of corporal punishment at school are positioned in classrooms as mere objects of domination. According to Adorno, fear is a product of reason, the very capacity that owes its existence to the goal of banishing fear (Huhn, 2016). The school became a pre-requisite for the children to change their fate through education. However, the school itself became a parody of self-preservation. The children critically developed a natural orientation of self-preservation alongside the violent emulations by the teachers at school. "Self-preservation is less an expression of life and more the expression of the ideology of life" (Huhn, 2016). Self-preservation means self-seclusion, a struggle between the ego and the outside world, where the goal is rationality in which the external power-relations are internalised. This can be inferred from Adorno and Horkheimer's (2016) enlightenment dialectics that it was enlightenment that was meant to eradicate fear; the same enlightenment replaced the fear of nature with fear of domination which is conjured in the existence of a self. Fear becomes an absolute necessity for domination to exist. This absoluteness is reflected in school when the teachers used physical force as a reaction or a response to the children's everyday life at school in an attempt to conjure their existing self. The attempt of disseminating fear in the children is to mould them into an object and a by-product of a government school, which will enable them to enter into the existing master-slave dialectical workforce. The paradox of domination is that "the domination is anchored in the hearts of the dominated" (Benjamin, 1977). It echoes an idea of internalisation of the sacrifice required so diligently in the children's formulation of an image about the pristine world. The whole attempt of domination is based on the principle of misrecognition, in which the subject starts to condescend itself and wants to be oppressed, yet feels liberated in being overpowered by the dominant. It starts to annihilate its individual qualities by understanding its inferior status in the construction of the whole (Adorno, 1973). "The basis of ego development is always self-preservation, a reaction to the external world" (Benjamin, 1977). It is a social requirement for surviving in the world which exterminates and eliminates. Self-preservation gets wielded into self-interest that promises social membership and sociability, which elicits their survival in society. "Being socially powerless, the opposition of individual's reason to authority signified his aloneness in the world, leaving him no alternative but to adapt himself" (Benjamin, 1977). However, this endangers the subject's autonomy, because it becomes an object of contemplation in the world, and this external view allows the subject to internalise its alienation. This is endorsed by Adorno, as he states that

"A man's domination over himself, which grounds his selfhood, is almost always the destruction of the subject in whose service it is undertaken; for the substance which is

dominated, suppressed, and dissolved by the virtue of self-preservation in none other than that very life as functions of which the achievements of self-preservation find their sole definition and determination: it is, in fact, what is to be preserved” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2016, p.54).

The enlightenment aligned itself with knowledge, which is to ensure an individual’s mastery over nature; however, it ended up being a tool of domination and self-preservation. It does not liberate individuals from the repressive shackles of self-preservation (Masquelier, 2014, p.30). It promotes a continuous tension between the individuals and their environment, where freedom is understood as having a negative form. This is due to the reason that the children formed an opinion that schools will emancipate them from their abject poverty. Instead, the school reified them and manipulated the ideals of education. The subjective reason behind the survival imperatives is that even satisfying a need in this totalitarian form of capitalism means that the needs itself is determined by domination and thus, the satisfaction of those needs is nearly impossible. With a primal emphasis of the renunciation of desires, instincts, and the society, which is formed on the introversion of sacrifice, the living people who renounce give away more of their life than what is given back to them, more than the life they preserve (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2016). In this form of guile, the society penetrates, this gets melted in the psyche of people, becomes part of their character. With the ineffable ego and its weakness becoming more oblivious, the subject is always throttled and sabotaged with a compulsory identity, which makes the identitarian dimension of the self ultimately false (Hammer, 2006). The alien character of superego discussed in parlance with other section upholds the internalisation of social coercion. Thus, self-preservation, which is both fear and violence, can be seen in the image of life-sustenance. They are not the reverse images of pleasure and pain; rather, they are unified and experienced wholly in children. Self-preservation is the rationalised form or the administered form of fear (Huhn, 2016). This is explored in the next subsection, where I will be discussing fear as comportment to assimilate oneself with the oppressor and relapse oneself to be dominated.

4.10.1 Subjectivity of a Suffering Subject

“The Stick and the Internalisation of Fear: Social Adjustment and Annihilation of self”

Case H’s narrative drawn from part 2 of the picture card 4 can be seen in the light of defense of ‘reversal of affect’. The narratives point towards the sublimation of passive aggression against the authority figure. H’s character is unfathomably described as a child who has recurrently failed to pass his exams, yet he is a character of words. This story revolves around this double entendre in

him, where on the one hand he worships his parents, and on the other hand, he is projected as a complete failure. The excerpts are:

“To unka larhka hua...usko achi shiksha dete the...achi baatein batate the...achi achi baatein...unhe lagta tha barha hokey yeh waise hi banega. Har kisi ki izzat karta tha... Dheere dheere woh parhne lag gaya unhone uska admission karwa diya. Woh jata tha class teacher ke pair choota tha...par usko parhna nahin aata tha...Hum kisi ke liye karenge aur parhai mein dhyan nahin denge to kisi ki tarah parhai thorhi na hamara saath degi...usko to parhna parhega jabhi aayegi”.

(Case H, picture card 4, story 2)

Case H in the picture card 4, plunged into a fantasy, in which the hero is able to pass his exams as the teachers evaluated him on the basis of his good character, and stated that this evaluation stands alone till a point, after that his good character and behaviour cannot help him surpass the examinations.

“Dheere dheere sirjee usko pass to kar dete the uska achapana dekhke ke vo acha larhka hai...koi aib nahin hai kuch bhi n karta...sirjee is chakkar mein to pass kar dete the. Phir barha hogaya...uska interview ka woh aaya tha...post wagherah usne woh bhi bhara tha...usme bhi sirjee ne usko acha khasa dekhke usko pass kar diya.”

(Case H, picture card 4)

This process of successfully passing the exams continued, but when he critically evaluated himself against the societal norms of intelligence, i.e., to speak fluent English, he astutely found himself incompetent. Case H projected his inner world of how he is abhorred by others, because of his inability to speak the language of the dominant, i.e., English. Similarly, other instances in the narratives of H support these arguments, (for instance, see picture card 2), where he has used the word “zaleel”; “Tanne diye” (Humiliated, slammed) for himself.

“Phir ek din job ki uski woh aayi thi...woh aati hai na jahan par interview ke liye jaate hain...wahan par woh gaya tha. Phir saamne ek larhki baithi thi...english mein baat kar rahi thi, usko english bhi nahin aati thi...usko hindi bhi bolni nahin aati thi. Usko na logon ne bohat zaleel kara...bohat taane diye ke tu itna barha hogaya...tu parhta likhta nahin hai kuch bhi nahin karta” **(Case H, picture card 2).**

The story from the picture card 2 explicated the complexities inherent within the education system of our country and explored the inner world of a child, who is always on edge and is walking through the door which leads to a dark hole. It speaks about a child who has been tormented throughout his life at school and has been reified as an unintelligent boy. In this picture card, H revealed that the onus of passing and failing is on the child’s ability. Case H

has been ridiculed by everyone around. However, he still retains faith in his teachers, whom he thought will drain him of his inabilities and make him intelligent. He is often belittled at the hands of his teachers, who told the hero of the story, “*tu nahin parh payega*” (You will not be able to study). In these narratives, abnegation is compiled with suffering, punishment and reification, as Case H narrated that his teachers sent the hero back by hitting him and ridiculed him by saying that why do you come back when you consecutively fail all the time. The narratives as stated by Case H are,

“Phir dobara usne class mein admission karwa liya...2-3 baari fail hogaya...usko sirjee baar baar maarke bhaga deta tha...ke tu fail hojata hai phir bhi aa jata hai. Sirjee pitayi karke bhejte the use ghar pe ke ja beta tu nahin parh payega...phir woh pass holiya. Acha khaasa parhne lag gaya likhne lag gaya. Dheere dheere doctor ban gaya woh...logon ka ilaaj-wilaaj karne lag gaya” (Case H, in Picture Card).

To break the spell of reification, he smoothly entered into grandiosity in which a spark left in him to study hard and break free from his current socio-economic condition by assimilating into the society of others is evident. These narratives amply make it clear that the mechanism of fear is encapsulated in Case H. He used the superlatives to describe himself such as “*sirji ne maar kar bhaaga diya, itna barha hogaya...tu parhta likhta nahin hai kuch bhi nahin karta*”, etc. In the ‘self’ of case H, the ideology of schooling, focussed on the assimilation of good children and disintegration of bad children (where good and bad are normative of intelligence) is deeply ingrained. Case H as a subjective sufferer became an ontological entity for all those children whose future is akin to that of ‘H’, i.e., the children who are also at the threshold of becoming non-existent in the school. This alludes to Adorno’s underlying notion of a subjective sufferer which has been described by Marder (2006). He essayed that according to Adorno (2005), “the image of suffering lingers in the living man that reduces him to his body which still preserves a trace of vanished life” (Marder, 2006). However, Marder (2006) stoically exerted that even this preservation of the trace of life puts another pressure on the living dead who face the difference between what could be and what is; as the subject always feels the heavy burden of the un-lived life; and mourns unfulfilled promises and desires, unrealised dreams and expectations. In short, Marder stated that reification makes a person dead, yet it does not dissolve life completely. There are traces of life within the ‘dead’. However, life preserved is again conflictual in nature because it possesses life not yet lived, and those dreams cannot be achieved. Thus, fear takes the shape of a fear of being disgruntled by others. “Fear constitutes a more crucial subjective motive of objective rationality. It is mediated” (Adorno, 1968, p.71). Fear subjugates the subject to the prevailing social order in which the objective reality outlives the subject and his or her appropriation of reality. Fear can be understood again from the point of view of instrumental reason, which seeks to bring forth only that face of the ego, which is

adjusted to the reality principle. The well-adjusted ego seeks the outlining of individual affect with more emphasis on internalisation and preservation of the existing societal order, as it causes the human subject to succumbing to the universal or the general. This refers to the process in which the general is the rule or a normative, and any idiosyncrasies are rendered particular and unnatural, arousing a penetrating effect of disgust (Turpin, 2015). As the “society reaches repressively into all psychology in the form of censorship and superego, there is a progressive integration of society with the psychological residues; between the social experience and the instinctual sphere” (Adorno, 1968, p.79). This is evident from case M’s narratives, which substantiate the fear as one’s inability to being part of the collective. The excerpts are stated below,

Case M in Picture Card 3:

“Beta padhna chahta hai, per pad nahi pa raha hai. jaise school bol rahe honge ki gareebo ko nahi parhayenge. Fees ki wajah se. inke papa khete hai ki makkan tayyar karenge to parhne ke liye paise nahin bachenge... aage kuch karna hai...jo kara hai wo sab kharab ho jayega... isme main fail ho sakta hun”.

Case M in Picture Card 10:

“Aisa lag raha hai ke mummy ne bola hoga Bache ko ke school jao. Uska jaane ka mann nahi hai...uske doston ne bola hoga ke aaj main bhi nahin aaunga... socha hoga ke aaj kaam bhi poora nahin hai... Sir ji maareng. uska kaam bhi pura nahin hua hai...”

Through the above-stated narratives, it can be stated that the psychic is extracted from the social dialectic and cannot be seen as an abstract concept. An extra-psychic framework of Adorno explains the relationship between punishment and the internalisation of fear. It also addresses the impact of the culture industry on individual psychology as conditioned by social, political and economic factors (Cook, 1995). It is through social psychology that one can understand the decisive social forces at work in the innermost mechanisms of an individual (Cook, 1996). Adorno explicates, “people are incapable of recognising themselves in society and society in themselves because they are alienated from each other and the totality” (Adorno, 1968). These narratives provide an understanding that the individual psyche is deeply rooted in society. Cook stated that when we conceptually integrate psychology and sociology, it marks the process of internalisation of Freud with Marx. A direct connection between the instinctual sphere and social experience is an amalgamation of the Freudian outer layer of the ego which has been allotted the task of testing reality with societal’s adaptation norms (Adorno, 1968). Thus, the concept of ego is dialectical; it is both psychic and extra-psychic. Adorno (1968) stated that,

“As the co-ordinator of all psychic impulses and the principle which constitutes individual identity in the first place, the ego also falls within the province of psychology. But the ‘reality-testing’ ego not merely borders on the non-psychological, outer world to which it adjusts, but constitutes itself through objective moments beyond the immanence of the psyche, through the adequacy of its judgments to states of affairs. Although itself psychic in origin it is supposed to arrest the play of inner forces and check it against reality: this is one of the chief criteria for determining its ‘health’. The concept of the ego is dialectical, both psychic and extrapsychic, a quantum of libido and the representative of outside reality” (Adorno, 1968, p.86).

Fear of the stick can be understood as a social determinant that shapes the minds of children. As Horkheimer elucidated that external social repression is concomitant with the internal repression of impulses (Adorno et al., 1950). “In order to achieve internalisation of social control, the subject achieves his own social adjustment only by taking pleasure in obedience and subordination” (Adorno et al., 1950, p.759). The resulting hatred against any authority in life is transformed as a reaction formation into respect. The aggressiveness is absorbed and turned into masochism, while, as Adorno et al., (1950) stated that another part is left over as sadism, which seeks an outlet in those with whom the subject does not identify himself, such as the out-group that comprises mostly of women or socially and economically high-class people.

4.10.2 Violence in Schools: Mimesis, Death Drive and Identification with the Aggressor

This section seeks to provide an answer to the question, ‘How do survival imperatives define or deny a person’s existence in society?’ Exploitation and alienation become a hidden face working under the psychological apparatus. Being alive itself is imperative that redefines why a particular section of people use violence to protect themselves. Violence in the present chapter can be re-defined under the ambit of self-preservation, which is a means to safeguard oneself from the predatory society by turning oneself into a predator. “It is a normative and completely rational moment” (Cook, 2006). According to Adorno, “self-preservation is instinctual in character where this instinct motivates the emergence and development of reason itself” (Cook, 2006). Adorno reiterated that self-preservation could be seen as a psychological force in which all things mental gets refurbished and modified as a physical impulse. The self-preservation aims to diminish what it pretends to preserve, i.e., the ‘self’. Enfeebling oneself, the people who are subjugated and suppressed under the hat of capitalism, culture industry, and commodification, are continually trying to adapt their self to the socially approved models of behaviour that offers them hope of a better life scenario. “It is thus conformity to the status quo appears to be the only option available” (Cook, 2006). Thus, it is the violence which gets infused with fear, the fear of being cast out and being annihilated from the social community. This section critically views violence from the lens of

'Thanatos' and deliberates an attempt to see how the sensuous forces of life are transformed into death and destruction (Gandesha, 2018). To do so, I will be incorporating Adorno's notion of Mimesis. It is through mimesis that the self is formed which shapes the behaviour and attitudes of individuals. "*In Eclipse of Reason*", Horkheimer (2004) delineated mimesis from Freud's thesis on primary processes and secondary processes. Freud discussed that in the development of infants, one has to repress the primary processes. To successfully grow into an adult, the child has to repress its pleasure-seeking instinctual nature for the sake of adjusting to reality. This is endorsed by Adorno and Horkheimer (2016), that as the self matures, the earliest forms of mimetic behaviour are gradually repressed and converted into the rational adult mind, and the mind starts functioning on reality testing and self-preservation (Mitchell, 2014). As a social-psychological tool, mimesis represses the organic nature of the human mind and entwines itself with the needs of the adult world.

All throughout this chapter, there is an emerging underlying theme which suggests that individuals are not free to decide for themselves. This is again rebooted with the mimesis of primary processes to mature into an adult successfully. Mimesis imitates the environment, but false projection makes the environment akin to itself (Connell, 1998). Adorno's mimesis still believes in a non-dominating relationship with others. However, the actions of others, natural events, or the social environment, impels this relationship to turn into unequal and forgotten by the instrumental reason (Connell, 1998). Thus, the childlike potentials get lost somewhere, which sacrifices the innocence as mimesis is resurrected in the world of domination. Transcending the theoretical juncture in Adorno's notion of mimesis to school education, it is apparent that the outlets of primary processes in children are channelised to direct them to be socially adaptable to their new environment. As such children are asked to renounce their aggression and other habits that are against the culture of schooling. However, in this mimesis, the teachers themselves adapt a distorted image of a perpetrator rather than a nurturer. They project violence and hatred against the students and seek their conformity. Mimesis thus becomes a false projection and transcends into substitute mimesis (Connell, 1998). Spanking and disseminating the fear of the stick becomes a tool to suppress, but through this tool, the child psychologically starts to identify with the aggressive behaviour of the teacher as second nature, i.e., they start to internalise that punishment is good for them. Aggression and hatred naturally get dispositioned in the children, as if this is the objective way of behaving in society. However, that which needs to be repressed, i.e., the tabooed desires constantly seeks an expression (Connell, 1998). This is also expressed in Freud's '*CE*', as explained in the previous chapter. In this line of thought Horkheimer (2004, p.79) writes that

“if the final renunciation of the mimetic impulse does not promise to lead to the fulfilment of man’s potentialities, this impulse will always lie in wait, ready to break out as a destructive force. That is, if there is no other norm than the status quo, if all the hope of happiness that reason can offer is that it preserves the existing as it is and even increases that pressure, the mimetic impulse is never really overcome. Men revert to it in a regressive and distorted form”.

The desires which return to the repressed are seen in the narratives of children on rape, drugs, homicide, and theft. Even, if the children fall prey to the tendencies which speak highly of their uncivilised behaviour, there is constant tension prevalent in them to transgress from the behaviour that does not make them part of the collective. Connell (1998) stated that the modern subject, according to Adorno still yearns to overcome their desires, which do not meet the (industrial and political) elite, who endanger their capacity for labour in the unrestrained pursuit of gratification through sex, drugs and criminal violence, which has overpowered children and their innocence. According to Adorno (1994),

“The greatest impression on the infant is made not by the meaning of the words but by the expression, the voice, the movements of the parents. The soul of learning is imitation. The child’s faculty of imitating the expressions of adults is exceedingly subtle. He observes the most noticeable and subtle shades of their gestures. Thus it happens that inclinations, skills, anxieties which have long lost their real meaning leave their mark on the faces and behaviour of later generations” (Adorno, 1994, p.209).

The astute form of violence projected by children gets juxtaposed with the problem of ‘identifying with the aggressor’. Violence becomes an existential problem for the children as Gandesha (2018) stated that there is an enormous pressure on the individual to assimilate with the powerful. Adorno expressed his indignation by saying that “in his [individual’s] hopeless struggle with the power of society, the individual seeks to avert his destruction by identifying with that power, than rationalising the change of direction as authentic individual fulfilment. Identification with the aggressor does not preserve the individual, however” (Witkin, 2013, p.73). There is a dialectical relationship between social relations and the violence attributed to the self and others. The exchange principle acting as a mediator between the two makes violence imbued in social relations the second nature in Lukács’ terms. Adorno quintessentially provided an image of this saturated relationship of an individual repressed under the mechanism of power and stated that,

“I cannot resist telling you that my eyes were opened to the dubious nature of this concept of positivity only in emigration, where people found themselves under pressure from the society around them and had to adapt to very extreme circumstances. In order to succeed in this process of adaptation, in order to do justice to what they were forced to do, you would

hear them say, by way of encouragement-and you could see the effort it cost them to identify with the aggressor-“Yes, so-and-so is really very positive” (Adorno, 2008, p. 17).

The mimetic impulse of aggression is a mimetic regression. In a mimetic regression, there arises a regressive form of social identity and a quest to establishing solidarity with a larger group (Marder, 2006). Adorno’s analytical explication of aggression getting normalised in society is explained through Freudian re-appropriation of group psychology. Adorno stated that “a group leader attract a following by substituting themselves for the narcissistic superego” (Cook, 2004, p.43). The heterogeneity of a group becomes homogeneous. The mental superstructure whose development in individuals is so dissimilar is removed and the unconscious foundations, which are similar in everyone, stand exposed to view. As a result, for the children who are analysed in this study, a group represents a gang of boys who are inevitably located in their vicinity, such as murderers, eve-teasers, criminals, etc., and the children form a mimetic relationship with that kind of group and their contestations with the society. Many narratives corroborate with these findings such as, Case H stated that “*mere bhai ne bola hua hai...koi bhi ulta seedha bole to maar de...baad mein compromise hojayega...do bande meri taraf se aagaye...do uski taraf se aa gaye...matter solve kar diya...*” (my brother has told...if anybody says anything terrible then you hit them...later compromise can be done...two people will come from my side and two will come from their side...matter will be solved). Thus, due to object de(cathexis), the inability to idealise the parents, and society’s reification of children as criminals, thieves, etc., as described in the previous sections, the children start to conventionally idealise an authority outside their home. The externalisation of the superego is an attempt to associate oneself with the power which propels children to identify with an aggressor such as their fathers who they detest, teachers who punish them, or a leader of a local gang. Adorno et al., (1950) deduced the functioning of the superego and stated that “the essential features of this structure is that there is a lack of integration between the moral agencies by which the subject lives and the rest of his personality” (p.234). Further,

“the conscience or superego is incompletely integrated with the self or ego, the ego here being conceived of as embracing the various self-controlling and self-expressing functions of the individual. It is the ego that governs the relations between self and outer world, and between self and deeper layers of the personality; the ego undertakes to regulate impulses in a way that will permit gratification without inviting too much punishment by the superego, and it seeks in general to carry out the activities of the individual in accordance with the demands of reality. It is a function of the ego to make peace with conscience, to create a larger synthesis within which conscience, emotional impulses, and self operate in relative harmony. When this synthesis is not achieved, the superego has somewhat the role of a foreign body within the personality, and it exhibits those rigid, automatic, and unstable aspects” (Adorno et al., 1950, p.234).

The weakening of ego to unsuccessfully internalise the superego's authority is apparent in the stories. It is this ego weakness that makes the children seek an agency outside themselves, and in this process, they overemphasised on the lack of moral authority of their parents. Concomitant to the moral agency within oneself is a power complex whose manifestations are evident in the narratives. It is this principle that dominates the world-view of children in the school. In many stories, cases projected an overt form of aggression on the disenfranchised, weak and the marginalised people. These narratives bring forth a usual attitude and second order reifications behind the unjust behaviour towards the women in their households and the society they foster. For instance, the hero of case H committed female homicide (see picture card-4 Story 2, card 5), Case M through his story committed Matricide (see picture card 5), Case D displayed vengeance against females who did not show compliance to him and he projected reversal of affect (see picture card 5 and card 8), and Case K committed female homicide (in picture card 5). This is elaborately discussed in chapter V under the heading "Violence as matricide and phallogentrism: situating the minds between prohibition and radicalisation".

4.11 Conclusion of this Chapter

This chapter began by exploring abjection as dystopia from the lens of critical theorists such as Adorno and Horkheimer. In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to analyse the TAT stories from a psychoanalytic conceptualisation of object-relations, infantile sexuality, savage father and mother enthrallment. There is an objective apparatus of the society which considers the experiences of the economically privileged as the only genuine experiences available in society. This chapter grounds itself in the Adornian notions of the reified consciousness in which the experiences of the children become a false projection of the society dominated by the norms of exchange principle. The children's experiences of everyday life evidently show that they are traded for wages and become a commodity for exchange in their families. The flip side of de(cathexis) in this chapter takes into consideration the economic impotence of the parental authority, which results in limited bonding with their parents. In a commodified world, the relationship with the others, especially with the family is also commodified, as profits are calculated first. Most pertinently, this chapter posits that the relationship with the self is fetishised in which society and the rules of exchange are embodied and take the shape of corporeality. The concept of mimesis and culture industry in the narratives of children suggests that there is a rise in ego libido. The manifestation of narcissism becomes an opulent form of limited investment in others, and a regressive narcissistic tendency emerges in the socially isolated individuals. The chapter by delving into identity thinking provides an understanding that reification is a dehumanising face of the society, which confers similarity to

dissimilarity, equalises everything unequal, and suppresses heteronormity under the paradigm of homogeneity. The children have commented vividly on an omnipresent other, i.e., an economically privileged individual, with whom they have formed an uncanny relationship and a master-slave dialectics. This is also transposed in the relationship between the children and their teachers who act as a dictator and a scribe. The evidence of fear proliferating in the minds of children due to receiving punishment by their teachers explain the reification which the children developed by justifying that: “*ghalti pe marte hain, ghalti pe marna chahiye*” (Case M).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

A Gentle Anarchy and A Cultural Narcissism: The Doom of the Subject

5.1 A Brief Overview of this Chapter

This chapter attempts to delineate the major factors contributing to a regressive culture of narcissism and investment in ego-libido through the narratives obtained from children of poverty and deprivation. The previous chapters have provided an insight about the lives of children studying in a government afternoon school situated at the outskirts of Delhi. The present study establishes that for these children to develop an autonomous self not threatened by otherness remains contested. Chapter 4, Part I and II have collectively provided empirical evidences that any whereabouts of an autonomous individual seem gross, as autonomy is threatened by the reality principle. The reality principle seeks to accommodate and renunciate different instincts by subjugating the subject under the mechanism of rationalisation and adaptation (Adorno, 2005). My study has emphasised that individual autonomy works in dialectically inverse relation with social conformity, thus implying that children as individuals are left with no choice but to conform to the models of Identity thinking⁵, as discussed under section 4.8.2 in chapter 4 part II. This study has addressed in a diverse manner that identity thinking is the megalomania of the society that upholds assimilation as a priority by equalising everything that are unequal. As Bauman (1991) stated that in the presence of an identity, there is co-presence of otherness. To quote him,

“In dichotomies crucial for the practice and the vision of social order the differentiating power hides as a rule behind one of the members of the opposition. The second member is but the other of the first, the opposite (degraded, suppressed, exiled) side of the first and its creation. Thus abnormality is the other of the norm...woman the other of man, stranger the other of the native, enemy the other of friend, ‘them’ the other of ‘us’. Both sides depend on each other, but the dependence is not symmetrical. The second side depends on the first for its contrived and enforced isolation. The first depends on the second for its self-assertion” (Bauman, 1991, p.14).

A reified consciousness prevails in the mind of the children which prevents them from having genuine experience of schooling. This reification consists of society’s ascribed binaries under which the identities of a good person (*Acha insan*) vis-à-vis a bad person (*Harami*) proliferates. For instance, the case M said, “*ma’am ji yahan par saare hi harami hain*” (Ma’am here everyone is a bastard). The case H said, “*Class mein agar 10 bache bhi hain na parhne wale, baki bache unko*

⁵Identity Thinking: Describes the process of categorical thought in modern society, by which everything becomes an example of an abstract, and thus nothing individual in its actual specific uniqueness is allowed to exist.

parhne nahin dete. Jo bache kahenge main parh raha hun, uski copy phaad denge...copy cheen lenge us wale larhke ki yeh hota hai. Yahan sahi bache to 100 mein se 10 hi hoyenge...baaki saare harami hain...” (in a class if there are 10 children who study, rest of the children would not let them study...those children who say that I am studying...they will tear their copy...they will snatch the copy of that boy...here good children will be only 10 out of 100...rest all are bastard).

The notion of *Sharif* (Noble) in contrast to *Harami* (Bastard) in the narratives of children becomes a reference point for describing a fetishised body, which is a form of corporeality. For instance, Case H in card 1, while giving a description of a good boy commented that *“iske shakal se ye lag raha hai ye pura sharif hai...aur ye kuch banna chahta hai. Apne hisab se baal bhi kaatwa rakhe hain. simple kapde pehne hain”* (looking at the face of the boy it seems he is a noble person...and he wants to become something...the boy has got a sober hairstyle, wears simple clothes). Ironically, in his personal interviews, Case H revealed that he used to live like a decent boy and stated, *“Pehle shareefon ki tarah hi rehta tha, baal bilkul shareefon ki tarah...[...] principal bhi harami hai yeh wala...mere se bol raha tha kal apne baal katwa ke aiyo...baal mere kharab hain koi? Thorha baal barhe hain to use bhi kya hota hai...saare isi hisab se baal kaat-te hain”* (This principal is a bastard...he was telling me get your hair cut and come to school tomorrow...is my hair bad? Slightly they are long, so what? People here get this type of haircut only). Using the narratives of case H, this study posits that a fetishised body is a unison of desire for physicality and materiality. Body is seen as sensuous (replete with drives) and a commodity for exchange. In the previous chapter, it has been analysed that there is a love and hate relationship that the deprived children establish with their body. The narratives outline that the body of the poor children is scorned and rejected by the children who ascribe it as something inferior or enslaved. However, the body of the non-deprived and non poor is described as desired, forbidden, reified, and estranged. A personal-physical prowess is associated with the fetishised body of the non-poor as seen in the narrative below:

“Ameer log hote to kuch bhi nahin hain...lekin vo acha khaate hain...acha pehente hain...to acha lagta hai” (Rich people are nothing...but they eat well...dress well...it looks good) *“Ameer ghar ka larhka hai na hamare jaise kaprhe pehnega na tab bhi theek lagega. Hum ameer larhkon ke kaprhe pehen lenge na jab bhi ghareeb hi lagenge...Shakal ke oopar baat hoti hai na...woh khaate peete rehte hain aur hum itna khaate peete nahin hain. Unko khana bhi nahin mile ghar par to bahir hotel se kha lenge...”* (The Case H in Personal Interview).

This study has examined the children's relationship with body which Lee (2016) defined it as a site of oppression, suffering, pain and injustice. This is evident from M's story as depicted in the picture card 1, where he stated,

“Acha ban na chahta hai taaki mummy papa ko aur ache ghar mein rakh sake. maths mein halka sa kamjor hai. baki sak mein theek hoga. Isko gareebi se problem hai, jaise main chahta hun mere mummy papa aur ache kapde pehne aur achi cheezein khayein, ache se rahein”. (The Case M, Picture Card 1)

Also, in the picture card 2, where case M explicated his relationship with economically privileged people and narrated a story of a farmer who is scared of the rich people because they possess a desire to ruin the lives of poor people. The excerpts are:

“ye kisan ameroon se isiliye darta hoga kyunki yeh gareeb hai aur iske paas abhi kuch bhi nahin hoga...gareebon ko aur neeche dabane ki sochte hain...unki bohat pehchan hoti hai kisi se, bade bade logon se...gareebon ko satane ke liye bohat kuch karte hain vo... ameroon ke paas aukaad hai sirf wo hi dikha sakte hain...” (Case M, Picture Card 2)

Most pertinent to the analysis of reified consciousness in the children is the mechanism of moral masochism, which is related to “an unconscious imagery that is gagged, bound, painfully beaten, whipped, in some way maltreated, forced into unconditional obedience and debased” (Walsh, 2010). Moral masochism is the ego's demand for punishment by an introjected paternal voice or an external authority of the super-ego as is evident from the narratives of the children seeking warning for any evil thoughts or misdemeanour. The internalisation of external forms of domination is visible from the teacher's extensive use of a wooden stick to implant fear amongst the students as described in the previous chapter. The internalisation of punishment becomes a part of reified consciousness in the minds of children as case M concomitantly stated, “*ghalti pe marte hain*” (“you are punished for your mistake”); “*ghalti pe marna chahiye*” (They should be punished physically if they are at fault). There is also an extra-punitive side to internalisation of punishment, as revealed by Case H, who stated, “*Principal aa gayein hain na naye...agar yeh banana chaahein to acha school ban jayega*” (Principal has come...if he wants to make this school a good place...it will become).

The findings of this study reveal that reified consciousness present in the children is a form of coldness and strangeness that the children experience from teachers and the schooling praxis. The teachers call the children with cuss words such as “*Haramzada*”, “*Maderchodh*” or “*Behanchodh*” (despicable man, motherfucker or sisterfucker). Adopting Adorno's theory, this explains that the

teachers are contented with reproducing society's congealed opinions (Adorno, 2005). The larger praxis of the schooling, de facto, treats children through rationalisation of the control over the [children] subjects by repressing [their] instincts, a major premise undertaken by Adorno and Horkheimer (2016) in explaining the condition of subject in the present society.

The findings of this study are discussed in the light of Adorno and Horkheimer's (2016) explication that the mastery over anything including nature "practically involves the annihilation of the subject in whose service that mastery is maintained" (p.43). This chapter posits that reified consciousness can be understood through the practices of schooling which concomitantly, "perpetrates totalisation and violence by espousing uniformity over difference and otherness" (Johnson, 2002, p.21). For instance, teachers often comment about the population of students studying in the school (refer to Chapter 3)

"...Yahan to muslim parhte rain, waise to yeh minority hain, per yahan majority hain"; 'Ye bachhe jhuggi se aaye hain, galiyan dete hain, ye to failures hain, in mein dimag hi nahin hai. Kuch likhna nahin aata. Hindi bhi nahin aati."

(...Muslim study in this school...even though they are minority, but here they are majority. These children come from the slums, they hurl abuses, they are failures, they do not have a brain. They do not know how to write. They do not know even Hindi.)

Through the narratives obtained for this study, it is apparent that the school reifies the otherness of CoPD and fetishises the difference. Further, the school maps out a trajectory of developing an identity of these children by corresponding their individuality with violence, criminality, brutality, unintelligence, etc. It psychologically overwhelms the children with the identity of a "subject-in process who are always in a state of contesting the laws, either with the force of violence, aggressivity, possessing death drive, or with this side of this force: pleasure" (Kristeva & Guberman, 1996, p.26). For instance Case H revealed that he along with his friend stabbed a teacher, thus suggesting the hovering world of *Thanatos* or the death drive that exists in the wretched poverty. Case H also revealed a prohibition in the narrative on girls, by stating that, "*Is school mein sirji parhane aate hain...agar is school mein larhkiyan parhane aa gayin na...to school nahin rahega phir yeh...saare haramigardi karne lag jayenge...*" (in this school, male teachers come to teach us...if girl-teachers come to teach us...then school shall not remain a school...all will turn into bastard).

The correctness of behaviour predominantly takes a central stage in the education and schooling of the CoPD through the practice of punitive sanctions, which is depicted through the narratives obtained. It points towards the externalising of superego, i.e., establishing of moral conscience through an external authority rather than the original process of internalising the superego through idealisation of family structure. The present chapter briefly discusses that in the postmodernist world,⁶ it is no longer possible to conceive the agency for establishing moral standards as monological, i.e., there cannot be any centralised agency for instilling morality in students. There is pluralism of authority or complete absence of authority for negotiating rules, demanding punishments, commanding actions, and later transforming itself by institutionalising self-constraints, self-monitoring, self-evaluation, and other self-excruciating exercises on the subject as an agent (Bauman, 2003). The chapter reflects on Adorno's theorisation of the "superego authority which is no longer mediated through an ego ideal, but rather takes on a more autonomous/anonymous character" (Hedrick, 2016, p.183).

It further enquires about Adorno's culture industry, Freud's moral masochism, and Kristeva's failure of paternal function to express the extra familial domination, which according to Cook (1996) has become "a surrogate parent for the children in the modern societies" (p.54). For this reason, the present chapter summaries the main findings of this study and provides an overview using Hansen and Tuvel's (2017) analysis of how CoPD as subjects and their "psyche are deprived of supportive social relations and deep inner experiences" (p.1). My study on Abjection as Alterity, Fear, and Violence is guided by two major research questions, which include:

RQ1: What constitutes psychological alienation in the most interior and intimate space in a child from poor and deprived home studying in a Government school in Delhi?

RQ2: When and how the external world of exclusion enters into this child's internal world?

This chapter seeks to discuss the research questions under three themes, which are:

- 1). Object as alterity: situating the other within oneself,
- 2). Fear as loss of intimate revolt and search for an imaginary father,
- 3). Violence as matricide and phallogentrism: situating the minds between prohibition and radicalisation.

⁶ "Postmodernism is Kristeva's work is defined as a confrontation with the diverse, the other, the foreigner, both in others and especially in the self" (Whelan, 2006).

The present chapter concludes by arguing that the self of children as the modern subjects is gradually becoming emptier and weaker. Today, self-consciousness no longer means anything but reflection of the ego as an embarrassment as one realises that one is nothing (Adorno, as cited, in Hedrick, 2016). Conclusively, children as seen in this study are not just subjects, rather are solidified as the subjects of postmodernity, i.e., they are located at the historical moment of crisis. The children have a sense of barrenness or their inner equilibrium is ruptured, which is depicted by Kristeva et al., (1996), as the internal and external impact on the subject that persuasively forms the permanent crisis of modernity.

5.2 The Abject Overrides the Subject: Some Reflection on the Main Findings of this Study

The key argument of the thesis is idealisation, object-cathexis, and identification with the object. The first part of the analysis delineates that Freud and Kristeva, argue about the fact that the onset of abjection is attributable to the primary relationship with parents and the child's ability to idealise their parents or not impacts the formation of the subject. However, the second part of the analysis attempts to see idealisation and object cathexis from the Adornoian theory, where he explicated that the idealisation of parents, especially of their father, is problematic, because of the economic impotence of their father and reification, which can explain the object-cathexis and loosening of emotional ties. At the surface level, the children of poverty are seen as having limited cathexis with their parents psychoanalytically, but at a deeper level, the economic exchange principle mediates the mind of children psychologically. Hence, it can argued that narcissism or self-love is symptomatic of individuals living in the modern society having social roots. Similarly, the Adorno's notion of enlightenment, culture industry, self-preservation, mimesis, and identification with the aggressor is used to understand the transcendence of self-abjection into social abjection, where society plays a mediating role; and self as the other and self as a stranger is seen as a dialectically reified category.

To further elaborate, it can be stated that cathexis is a Freudian terminology which means an investment of libido in an object of love. "In the stage of infancy, parents are the most powerful and most influential suppliers of cathexis" (Toman, 1960). In the Oedipus resolution, the boy successfully idealises his father and the girl idealises her mother. However, in case of non-fulfilment of desires, it results in deprivation of desires, which is known as decathexis or counter-cathexis. Moreover, it refers to unlearning of conditions under which the given desire can no longer be satisfied. The ego of a person helps in substituting the conditions vital for satisfaction of desires.

One of the things observed very frequently in the narratives of children is the insufficiency of food. In many picture cards (See Case H: card 2, card 3 and card 4 story 1&2; Case M: card 2, card 4, card 6 and blank card; Case D: card 3, card 6, card 7 and card 10; and Case K: card 2, card 4, card 6 and blank card), they have referred to food, and associated obtaining of food with a sense of humiliation, especially in picture 2 where the family card is shown as a stimulus, as they stated,

1. *“machli pakkadne ke liye gaya tha, machli pakkad nahi paya, logon ne zaleel kiya ki tujhse ye bhi nahin hota”* (I had gone to catch a fish...I could not catch a fish...people humiliated me...that you can not even do this). (Case H, picture card 2)

2. *“mummy se jhooth bola hoga, kehti hain .tujhe khana nahin dunga isliye ye sharminda hai...”* (Case M, picture card 4)

3. *“Ye machli pakarhta hai. isse sham ho jati hai. ek bhi machli nahin aati. udaas ho jata hai. sochta hai ke main kya karun... sab ghar pe bhukhe baithe hain”* (Case K, Picture card 2).

This is symptomatic of oral aggression, thereby suggesting that their oral needs are not fulfilled, which explains their reliance on tobacco (*Beej*), drugs or liquor (*Nasha*). This is apparent in children's narratives which shows that they are completely debauched and enticed by tobacco, which they justify by saying that, *“isse neend nahin aati, isse cancer nahin hota”* (this does not make me sleep, this does not cause cancer, the case H). Decathexis can also be explained through their immunisation to substance abuse, i.e., drug abuse, liquor, and tobacco. From the narratives, I further observed the contingent relationships that these children shared with their parents, as according to most of them, they have been levied with the burden that, *“parhna hai to kaam bhi karna parega”* (if you want to study, you will have to work, Case H in personal interview). This perspective of their parents explains their position at home; they are seen only as an earning member of the family, for instance case K stated papa *“khete hain kaam kar beta, isse kya milega”* (in picture card 2). The narrative of a student can hereby summarise the notions of decathexis and abjection,

“Main to shareef aadmi ban-na chaahtha hun. Ban to jaaunga main...khaali apne gharwaalon ke jaisa nahin ban paunga. Ameer ghar ka larhke hai na hamare jaise kaprhe pehnega na tab bhi theek lagega. Hum ameer larhkon ke kaprhe pehen lenge na jab bhi ghareeb hi lagenge...kyunki shakal se upar bhi kuch hota hai...wo log acha khate hain...acha pehente hain...” (I want become noble person.I can become...but I can not become like my family...boys of rich families if wear our clothes, yet will look good...if we wear clothes of rich boys...then also we will look poor...because there is something beyond the face...they get to eat well...they wear nice clothes)

(Case H's narrative from the interview)

The above narrative shows the beginning of the process of repression or counter-cathexis that develops if a person is constantly deprived of his desires. The deprivation ultimately results in an eruption of panic or anxiety that leads the person to collapse. It is through the mechanism of repression in a person's psychological world that creates a void in his or her inner self. So upon failing to become their counterparts, the children resort to become a substitute of their counterpart through imitating. In their yearning to become like the desired object (elite children), they start emulating. For instance, all the children have a particular kind of hairstyle and even coloured their hair. Therefore, one's own body becomes part of the outer world that can be controlled by others and the outer world.

Furthermore, there is subjugation coupled with a sense of humiliation in these children. It is observed in the interviews that children often felt a need for a powerful authority to punish or humiliate them. They see punishment as nurturance because of their inability to idealise the conventional authority of their parents. This has been explained in the present study through the notions of savage father and Kakar's mother enthrallment. The children see "Corporal Punishment as 'Moral' Castigations". For instance case K in the personal interview stated that "*hamari class mein to saare bache darte hain sirji se...ke hum kuch ghalti karenge*" (In our class in our class children are scared that teachers will punish the, if we commit any mistake). Corporal punishment in this study is explained as not just violence or even punishment to the body, rather it is a particular kind of violence and punishment to particular parts of the body. Therefore, one can observe moral masochism in these children, i.e., there is an unconscious guilt and a need for punishment. Self-torment and self-sabotage is closely linked with Freud's perspective on the unconscious need for punishment and the underlying unconscious sense of guilt. The sadistic-punitive superego prevails in the mind of children who wants to be punished for their repressed desires or sins committed by them. This is evident from narratives like,

1. "*Is school mein sirji parhane aate hain...agar is school mein larhkiyan parhane aa gayin na...to school nahin rahega phir yeh...saare haramigardi karne lag jayenge...*" (in this school, male teachers come to teach us...if girl-teachers come to teach us...then school shall not remain a school...all will turn into bastard)
(Case H)
2. "*Teacher aise ho jo maare bahut!*"... (Teacher should be such who beats a lot).
(Case H)

3. “*Bache yahan ke maante nahin hain yahan par sirji isliye strict hote hain. Yahan par kuch nahin ho sakta...ya to naam kaat dein tc leke bhaga dein ya to tabhi theek hoga ye school...*” (Boys here do not listen to the teachers here...teachers hence become strict...here nothing can be done...either they should strike the name off or they should make the children run away after giving TC, then only in this school something will happen) (Class M).

From the above findings of this study, three themes emerging from the present study on ‘The Abjected Self: A Psychoanalytic Study on Fear and Violence in Schools in Delhi’ are discussed below.

5.3. Abject as Alterity: Situating the Other within Oneself

‘I am Nobody’

“Odysseus’ encounter with Polyphemus illustrates this attempt at self-preservation. While drinking the wine Odysseus had given him, the Cyclops asked Odysseus for his name. Odysseus responded by naming himself Nobody, meaning both someone and no one. Whereas Polyphemus represents the selfless state of nature, the more self-prepossessing Odysseus ultimately affirms his own identity only by denying it. The escape from nature does succeed, then, but only at the cost of self-denial: the denial of nature in the subject. Odysseus ‘acknowledges his name to himself by disavowing himself as “Nobody;” he saves his life by making himself disappear”.

(Cook, 2001, p.3)

Meaning: These children are the new Odysseus, who knows to preserve them only by hiding their true identity from the world. However, they do not know that the cost of self-denial will lead to an alterity within oneself and an irrecoverable self.

The general disposition found in the CoPD in this study is the rhetoric of *Sharif* (a good man) and *Harami* (a bad man), the convulsion between superego and id; identity and alterity. A part of children’s psyche is foregrounded on the Freudian concept of *unheimlich* or uncanniness. Uncanny is “something which should have remained hidden but has become known, which was once familiar but had become alienated through repression” (Freud, 1919b). In the narratives, uncanniness is the observed within children through their display of grandiosity in unrealistic schemes, exaggerated self-regard, constant demands for attention, inordinate idealisation of a certain hero figures, and intense envy of others as described by Abrams (1993). A grandiose self is an alter ego that helps the children in outliving their real selves through stories, such as case H to whom the hero who was very poor and failed at the school, but became a famous doctor after a revelation at the well, and in the future, he treats his poor patients without any fees. He projects himself as an acclaimed doctor who speaks fluent English. The case D focussed on the story where the hero was abandoned as a

child and was later adopted by a rich lady who loved him unconditionally. Initially, the hero's friends isolated him for his poor status. However, after acquiring wealth from the rich lady (not by individual efforts), the hero attains a higher social status and also becomes the Principal of the school, which projects on a grandeur or admirable self in an alter reality. Grandiosity is further highlighted through his starting a school for the poor. The narratives delve deeper into the psyche of the children, which leads to a recognition that they are Kristeva's foreigner⁷ as they are conscious of their difference from the legitimate members of the society (the non-deprived and non-poor). The [children] subject seek to break the spell of reification (such as in case of H, teachers infallible notions on H's incapability of a successful future after the repeated failures) by preparing to complete the fate which befell it (Adorno, 1981). Reification of self gets associated with the embodiment or internalisation of the master-slave relation, a phenomenological affirmation of the Self and Other, Mastery and Servitude according to Fanon (1967, p.xxiii). The grandiose self is aware of the marginalised-disparaged status in the society but attempts to challenge it by fantasising the impossible acquisition of an audacious political power as narrated by the children, for instance,

“ye kisan ameeron se isiliye darta hoga kyunki yeh gareeb hai aur iske paas abhi kuch bhi nahin hoga...Ameer kahin uski jayedaad na hadap le, inko zameen par laake na chorh dein... sochta hai shanti se aram se kheti karein araam se jiyein...Ameer ban-ne ka tareeka yeh hai ke maar ke hi ameer bana ja sakta hai...jaise gareeb to har ek mehnat karta hai. aur ameer to sirf rishwat khaate hain...gareebon ko maar ke hi ameer bante hain. vo larhke isko kuch nahin kehte ke ye ameer hai iska hum kya karenge...ye to hamein aur ulta phanswa dega...to vo isko kuch nahin kehte hain...” (M's story in picture card 2).

In the story depicted above, Case M presents an instinct of self-preservation as well as a transgressive character in the story. He dramatises his clash with the people from the privileged community which is a clash of sentiments, desires, and a natural impulse to control and dominate those who dominate the marginalised in the material sphere. Lutz, (2009) argued that the desire for domination is associated with the oppressive economic and social structures that tend to fix human behaviour and identity in predetermined structures (p.58). 'Case M' repudiates his subordinate status by stating *“Ameer ban-ne ka tareeka yeh hai ke maar ke hi ameer bana ja sakta hai...”* (the tactic to become rich is only by killing). His psyche presents a deeper layer of fragmentation and impoverishment, which is representative of unfulfilled needs, oppression, and lack of enthusiasm in everyday life. This is evident from the narrative where he created an imagery of the rich as brutal

⁷ Foreigner is a metaphor for an enemy in the primitive societies and has disappeared in the modern society. As an enemy to the most savage human groups, foreigner was to be destroyed. The otherness is now solidified into constructs.

and violent, i.e., “*gareebon ko maar ke hi ameer bante hain; ye kisan ameeron se isiliye darta hoga kyunki yeh gareeb hai aur iske paas abhi kuch bhi nahin hoga...*” (by killing poor, only one becomes rich; this farmer is scared of rich because he is poor and he does not have anything). At a surface layer, M reveals an ego-dystonic trend and uses the defense of splitting to display the binaries of *Sharif* or *Harami* (Good person or despicable man) as well as *Ameer* or *Garib* (Rich or poor) that operates psychologically at the fantasy level. At a deeper level, the ego dystonic operations in the psyche is manufactured by the society, which produces easily manipulated weak narcissistic ego’s fashioned by the culture-industry for anxious consumption (Cook, 2014, p.49). In Chapter 4 part II, I discussed about Adorno’s views on the formation of an identity of a subject in the modern times who comes closer to being a subterfuge. The subject stands for satisfying an unflinching need for domination infused with manipulation of the object that leads to its alienation.

A nomothetic trend that emerges from the dominant discourse in this study is that the general consciousness of the children in the school is generic, as they desire to become the ‘other’. It is evident from the grand narratives that “all human cultures articulate, situate themselves by categorising the world. Such a predictive act necessarily involves a distinction between that which is allowed into the sphere of culture, and that which is excluded; the circumscription of cultural identity proceeds by silhouetting it against a contrastive background of Otherness” (Corbey and Leerssen, 1991, p.vi). Identity (both collective and individual) is tied to exclusions of alterity, wherein every ‘us’ excludes ‘them’ (Bauman and Gingrich, 2005, p.18). Alterity in the children can be

“characterised as a person's otherness that precedes any attributes. As Levinas puts it, alterity is pre-existent to human nature and it is not contingent. That means that otherness is not dependent on what may happen to us, nor is it determined by what we do or have, but rather by what we are. We are all absolute Others to the others, as Levinas stresses: ‘An individual is other to the other. A formal alterity: one is not the other, whatever its content. Each is other to other’” (Pérez-Samaniego et al., 2016, p.987).

Alterity-the desire for the other-is the pernicious effect of the commodification of relationship under the domination of exchange principle as discussed in the section 4.8.2. Therefore, humans are traded for salary or wages under the exchange principle only to be subordinated. For instance, case H reveals the contingent relationship with his father who told him, “*parhna hai to kaam bhi karna parega*” (if you want to study, you will also have to earn also). Such a narrative posits that the society is a form of a class struggle where the profit is first calculated. From psychoanalytical perspective, it can be pointed out that limited investment in object relations is attributed to limited formation of affectual bonds with others. However, in the previous chapter, this study has

established that “individual is not merely the biological basis, but the reflection of the social processes; his consciousness of himself as something in-itself is the illusion needed to raise his level of performance” (Adorno, 2005, 147-148). “For surviving, the individuals must adapt to an inherently unpredictable, unstable, and often volatile economy” (Cook, 2014, p.98). According to Adorno, culture industry is a symptomatology of establishing false identity of general as well in particular. Adorno and Horkheimer (2016) defined culture industry that impresses the same stamp on everything that tenderly seeks enthusiastic obedience to its system. Culture industry works at deeper psychological terrains as it requires that millions of people to participate, which inevitably requires identical needs in innumerable places. The underlying principle is satisfaction that is contingent on the desire of identical good across large number of people. Reification in Adornian terms refers to “the suppression of heterogeneity in the name of identity” (Cook, 2004, p.40). The concept of reification can only be understood through the lens of identity thinking, which can be seen through the narratives obtained from the interaction with the children. The need for becoming a good person delves deeper into the unconscious personality structure of mind of the children’s, which is broadly situated in the concept of ‘man’ (used specifically in conjunction with the gender of the subject) as established or preferred by the society. While the real self of the children can be seen to possess the traits of a bad man (*Harami*), their fantasied self is considered under the category of a good man.

Excerpts from the picture card 1

1. “*Log mujhe pasand karne lag jayein...jisse main acha insan ban jaun...vo yeh chahta hai.*” (People shall start liking me...due to this I will become a good person...he wants this) (**The Case H**)

2. “*Acha ban na chahta hai taaki mummy papa ko aur ache ghar mein rakh sake.*” (He wants to become good so that he can provide better home to his mother and father) (**The Case M**)

3. “*ye ladka hai. Sangeet gata hai. ye acha ban-na chahta hoga*”. (He is a boy...he sings...he wants to become a good person) (**The Case D**)

Most pertinently, an unconscious need of these children to become the ‘Other’ can be seen to derive from a harsh superego conscience as discussed by Freud (1962) in the last section VIII of the book ‘*CE*’. An unconscious guilt and a need for punishment pervade the minds of the people. The civilisation employs tools to destroy the aggressive instinct or destructive instinct that is hereditary in human, and this instinct is a stamp of the animal world. The aggressiveness in an attempt to make

it harmless is introjected and internalised; it is redirected towards one's own ego (Freud, 1962). The tension between the harsh super-ego and the ego is called the sense of guilt and it expresses itself as a need for punishment (Freud, 1962) which has been discussed in the previous section as Moral Masochism. By employing repression, suppression, and sublimation, the teachers try to avert the cruel aggressiveness in the children, which is instilled in the form of guilt in the children.

This is evident from Case M's narratives from his personal interview in which he stated that his name was cut off from the school as he threw a big stone at the principal's head out of repulsion for getting punished by him. Ancillary to his action, he stated that he did not know he is not supposed to hit the authority. Consequently, he uses his ego's defenses against his Id, which is evident from his narratives in which he says he fails to imitate his friends who are a habitual eve teasers. The society's congealed opinions are imputed in the narratives of Case M as well as Case H, who both internalised punishment as "*Ghalti pe marte hai; ghalti pe marna chahiye*" and "*Teacher aise ho jo mare bahut*", respectively. Case H's narrative from an interview becomes pertinent to show that children cannot share their ordeals at school with the teachers and stated that, "*...ek sir ne ek bache ko maara tha...us bache ka haath fat gaya tha...to vo bola ke main report karunga...ye wale principal ne ussi ko maara...naam kaat diya uska...*" (One teacher hit one child...his hand got ruptured...so he said, I will report it...this principal hit him only...his name was struck too). These examples put forth that the psyche of children and their ego preempts them to take any action against the school authorities and as a consequence, the task of self-preservation is accomplished with the help of self torment and self-sabotage.

Carveth (2001) by quoting the work of Freud (1930, p.112) deduced the logic to avert the aggression as "it follows that if the Hobbesian war of each against all in which life is, of necessity, nasty, brutish and short is to give way to civilised order, such cruel aggressiveness, this primary mutual hostility of human beings must in some way or another be inhibited". The use of stick in the classrooms forms "a self-punishing and guilt purging behaviours. The self-inflicted punishment intends to constantly relieve the individual of his overwhelming anxiety. The guilt is internalised and introjected through the voices of meaningful and authoritative others-parents, teachers or role models that consistently and convincingly judge him to be no good, blameworthy, deserving of punishment or retaliation, or corrupt" (Vaknin, 2007). The guilt as alterity is ancillary to self-punishment. The narratives show that the school does not provide enough outlets to children to liberate themselves from their impulses, as they are always beaten or punished when they commit any mistake. The findings of this study reveal that children's internalisation of punishment by a powerful authority such as, their teachers or their fathers, in Freudian terms (1962) points towards

the masochistic self-destructiveness. This is the disguised form of conscious suppression of self and the aggressive impulse which is militated against one's own ego. From the image below, it is seen that case H has deep wounds smeared on his wrist, the marks of which are very visible. Upon requesting for permission to click a photograph of his marks on the wrist, he aggressively stated "*jab main blade le kar aaunga, tab aap photo kheechna...*" (When I will bring a blade, then you can click a photograph). The statement of H was quite confusing; hence, I further enquired about the meaning of his statement and the reason behind his bringing of blade. To this, he replied that "*jab main blade launga, aur katunga to khoon nikega, tab aap khush hogi...phir photo kheechna...*" (When I will bring a blade...and I will slit [my wrist] blood will smear out...then you will become happy...then you should click a photograph).



Fig 8: A boy's hand smeared with scars from blade

The self inflicted punishment point towards self-torment as shown in the picture above. In the TAT stories of case H, he constantly attempted to expunge and vindicate his real self. See instance case H's narratives from picture card 10 in which there is an elongation of reality testing and the final outcome of the story shows the punitive side of the superego. The narratives are "*Chori karta tha... chori kar li... pehle bohat gareeb tha chori kar karke bohat ameer ho gaya...bohat paisa aa gaya uske paas...police ne pakad liya usko...usko saza hogayi... to usko death ki saza suna di*". Case H dialectically substituted his real self in which he reified himself as "*harami*" from an alter ego in which he projected himself as a doctor, educated and an English speaking 'noble man'. Consequently, the capricious and conscious need for punishment is pervasive of the domination that transcends from the "material sphere (socio-economic status of being poor and deprived) [to the] domination in the conceptual sphere (psychical alienation)" (Whitebook, 2003). A major finding of this study reveal that alterity which results in abjection of self is mediated by the society that encumbers the individuals from developing a mimetic relationship with the society. The hierarchical relationship that the children as individuals develop with their teachers and school are determined by their experiences related to of the society. Hence, Singh (2008) stated that,

“Individuals are unable to conceptualise their relationship to society because the capacity for self reflection is eroded” (p.144). Therefore, the capacity for critiquing or taking a negative stance is smothered because the conditions affecting the possibility of our experiences are predetermined by consumer society (Singh, 2008, p.145). This is explained in the next section on fear as a loss of intimate revolt and search for an imaginary father.

Purportedly, classrooms which were observed for this study give a disillusioned and an iconoclastic view of the education system, i.e., the relationship between the teacher and the student is no longer that of the master and slave. As Kristeva puts it that, “The once solid barrier between [teachers as] ‘master’ and [children] as ‘slave’ has today been abolished, if not in people’s unconscious at least in our ideologies and aspirations” (Kristeva, 1991, p.19). However, the unconscious mind of the children has a totalising relationship with the society and the teachers. This totalising relationship forms a spectacle, as Singh (2008) stated that society is a mediatic universe of the image, which contains all information in a visible form: everything is visible and transparent and thus everything can be represented. Further, this forms a spectacle within which, “social contexts that perpetuates the illusion of total consciousness emerge. The individuals undergo an experience of negativity, making them individuals with no coherent experience of self, unstable boundaries, having feeling of emptiness and are beset by an inability to love” (Singh, 2008, p.143). The society as a spectacle erodes the capacity to fantasise and imagine as individuals are unable to conceptualise their relationship to and place with the society (Singh, 2008, p.144). This is evident from the narration of the case D’s story in the Blank picture card.

Excerpts from the case of D in Blank card

“Ek ladka hai. 15 saal ka hai. police wala banna chahta hai. uske parents bhi support karte hain. uske school ke samne acha school hai. wo dekhta hai. vo sochta hai ke kaash main is school mein parh sakta hota...usme bohat dimaag hota hai par gharwale support nahin karte hain. poore school mein first aata tha... us ilaake mein ye tha ki jhuggi ke bache nahin parh sakte the sirf ache bache parh sakte hain... jab vo principal bana to usne wo rule ko hata diya...likha ke isme khali wohi bache parhenge jo parhna chahte hain...vo nahin jo sirf ghoomna chahte hain...”
(D’s narratives from the Interviews)

In the quest for searching a place and space in the society, case D critically introspects his life at school. Exaggerated self regard is shown by case D when he fantasised that he will exquisitely admit those students who desire to only study and not wander out of the school, which reflects upon his everyday-routine practice of evading punishment from teachers by escaping from the school. In elaborating upon the school, he reveals the society of the spectacle in which poor children cannot

be admitted to high fee paying schools. In the light of the spectacle of the society, Case D creates an imagery of fantasy and imagination subjugated under the society's objective apparatus and in Adorno's terminology, the reason gets distorted as instrumental. To unravel this dialectics, I use Kristeva's analysis in '*Sense and Non-sense of Revolt*' (2000) and Horkheimer and Adorno in *DE*, to conceptualise that the false image of the self is developed by a totalising society. The totalising society perpetrates instrumental reason, i.e., it is a false conception of the reason. The instrumental reason as analysed in the lives of CoPD creates a havoc in which the most rational behaviour becomes a norm and a standardised behaviour. Using Singh's (2008) theoretical juxtaposition of an individual with a consumer, this study clearly demonstrates that the consumer society based on this conception of reason reduces the capability of individuals to functions and erases their qualitative differences. Kristeva (as cited, in Singh, 2008, p.144) stated that,

“It has often been said how the society of the spectacle and certain aspects of the contemporary family (the lack of relationships, lack of authority, and so on) lead to phantasmatic poverty if not vacuity. As a result, primal drives and fantasies, their reduction, their abolition threaten to abolish inner depth itself, this camera obscura that has constituted the psychical life of the speaking being for millennia”.

The findings of this study posit that alterity endangers children to take a critical stand against the powerful authority which is termed as loss of an intimate revolt. I discuss the manifestation of fear as a loss of revolt and conventional idealisation of the authority in the section below.

5.4 Fear as Loss of Intimate Revolt and Search for an Imaginary Father

A sadistic superego having a persecutory dimension permeates fear in the minds of the children studying in the GBSSS government school, which is evident from the narratives of the children such as “*sir ji aise ho jo maare bahut!*” (Case H-personal interview). The fear of being punished is pervasively experienced as anxieties in the body (for instance see description in the chapter 3), the imprints of punishment and its impact on the psyche. (For instance, often while walking down the aisle, I noticed that my touch or presence would sweep the children away. Once while conducting a draw-a-person test for children of 9-D, I raised my hand for adjusting my *dupatta*⁸, while talking to a boy. The boy nervously flinched away and fell upon the child sitting next to him thinking that he would be beaten). The previous chapter provided a description of fear as mimesis by perceiving fear to be a survival strategy that is imperative for securing one's existence in the school. Mimesis is a form of self-preservation in which the children are constantly trying to adapt themselves to the socially approved models of behaviour that offers them hope for better life scenarios. Fear is thus

⁸ Dupatta: a piece of cloth worn around the neck.

the fear of being cast out and being annihilated from the social community. However, this section precludes the formation of fear as alienation and subjugation of self by bringing into the concept of superego formation and plurality of authority, which seeks to act as a repressive force for the pleasure of seeking instinctual nature of the children. In most of the narratives, children contemplated that the introjection of paternal authority seems implausible, as they see their fathers to be disparaging because of their poor socio-economic status in the society. For instance, the children were asked questions such as *“tum apne papa ke jaisa ban-na chahte ho?”* (do you want to become like your father?). One of the child responded that, *“wo Mandi mein sabzi bechte hain...hum unki tarah thorhi na banenge”* ([papa] sells vegetables in the supermarket...I cannot become like him). The narratives evidently provide the children’s scornful attitude towards their father through their futile attempt to express love for their father. There are several instances in the narratives such as the case D stated *“papa sahi nahin hain mera, kyunki wo daaru pete hain, gaaliyan bakte hain”* (Father has unpleasant character...I mean he drinks alcohol...swears bad words all the time...). Similarly, the case M also stated *“papa bahut harami hain mere”* (Father is a bastard). Further, the case K in one of stories revealed that the hero’s father pesters him to earn and dropout of the school (*“Papa marte hai ki mazdoori kar beta...tujhe kya milega ye seekhne se”*).

The findings of this study regarding children’s hostility towards their fathers in the postmodern era can be explained through the pluralism of superego authority (Adorno, 2005, p.22) which is accompanied through a society of spectacle (Kristeva, 2000 and Debord, 2002). Gambaudo (2016) depicted it that the shift in traditional oedipal is linked to the shift from psychological disorder to an increase in the production of borderline children. The shift implies that the lack of social-symbiotic bonds between parents and children are no more seen as a disorder under the psychoanalytic lens. Instead, a melancholic lens describes that the children’s desire for anaclitic relationship with their parents is savaged, as they are reduced to an object for the political economy. It is the exchange principle that shapes the minds of the children, who are devoid of meaning and agency for change. The conjectures of a failed oedipal is that *“there is an increase in the number of helping institutions for early childhood which are an attempt to replace the failed mother, but above all to replace the non-existent father: to play the role of separator”* (Guberman, 1996 quoted in Gambaudo, 2016). The replacement of traditional oedipal figures with a compensatory figure is elicited from the children’s narratives that depict the overestimated the role of *‘Sirji’* (male teachers), who is considered as a father figure due to the absence of a paternal figure in their lives. Teachers take the place of an absent authority, an anonymous social character that acts as a coping mechanism. Lechte and Margaroni (2004) stated that the Oedipus resolution and the superego formation cannot

be reduced to any of the paternal figures, but needs to be understood as an “impersonal, a structural relation” (p.37-38). Further, the incest taboo is cautious about the boys developing an affectionate relation with the father, which according to Freud is pertinent to attain positive cathexis vis-à-vis negative cathexis or inverted Oedipus. As Lechte and Margaroni (2004) cited Butler (1991), who presented that

“...a boy has not merely an ambivalent attitude towards his father and affectionate object-choice towards his mother, but at the same time he also behaves like a girl and displays an affectionate feminine attitude to his father and a corresponding jealousy and hostility towards his mother.”

A feminine relation that corroborates with jealousy towards the mother is evident from many narratives. For instance, the story narrated by the case H in picture card 3 and the picture card 6. In describing the father-son relation in the hero's life, he said that “*Papa hi khali ache hain uske ghar mein*” (Only papa is good at his home) and “*Maa chod ke chali gayi thi*” (Mother had left them). Adorno (2005) conferred a meaning to this type of femininity transmuted beneath the skin of males by stating that ‘the feminine character is a negative imprint of domination’ (p. 95). The feminine character is inevitable of the need of the oppressed, who feels weak in the hands of the oppressor and so affirms their power. As Adorno (2005) presented it that in this form of domination, the subject automatically learns to develop in oneself the coarseness, insensibility and violence needed to exert domination. Consequently, the children's search for paternal authority in male teachers' implies externalising the superego (Marcuse quoted in Hedrick, 2016). The teachers are considered as the father, who is tragically missing in the children's life as seen in the case H, who said that “*Sirji mummy papa ke samaan hote hain*” (Teachers are like parents). The substitution of superego authority can be understood from Kristeva's underlying assumption on the loss of paternal function and search for an imaginary father. According to Kristeva, “locating the crisis in paternal function is not structured around search for primary identification of whether it is the father or the mother as the primary object of idealisation. Rather, she situates this in how parents are treated” (Oliver, 1991). In the theory she invents an imaginary father who possesses the same love as that of the mother. According to Kristeva, the identification with the imaginary father addresses the emptiness within the narcissistic structure. Oliver (1991) quoted Kristeva who stated that,

“There has been too much stress on the crisis in paternity as cause of psychotic discontent. Beyond the often fierce but artificial and incredible tyranny of the Law and the Superego, the crisis in the paternal function that led to the deficiency of psychic space is in fact an erosion of the loving father. It is for want of paternal love that Narcissi, burdened with emptiness, are suffering; eager to be others, or women, they want to be loved (p.61).”

An imaginary father is the loving father which is also Freud's father of individual prehistory. "In Freud, the father of individual prehistory is a form of archaic father who is neither the oedipal father nor the phallic mother but holds characteristic of both parents" (Gambaudo, 2003). In the traditional mother-child dyad, this loving father is a third party. However, the increasing difficulties faced by the subject to introject the paternal authority are because of the failing or absence of the paternal function (Gambaudo, 2003). It is pertinent that if an individual fails to comply with the objectives of primary identification with the father, it gives rise to a narcissistic structure, i.e., the ego's identification with itself. The imaginary father introduces the dimension of sociality (Stone, 2012). However, it becomes a point of dispute because of the power vacuum related to absence of paternal authority that deters individuals from successfully entering the symbolic order. This can be explained using case H's narratives from picture card 1, which depicts there is a lack of genuine object related contact with family member and a negative cathexis with his parents, especially father.

Excerpts are:

picture card 1: *Ache karam jaise...har kisi ki nazron mein ache banke raho...kisiko ulta seedha mat bolo...pyar se bolo...*

Megha: *Ye kahan se seekte hain...acha ban-na...kaun sikhata hai?*

H: *Mummy papa...*

Megha: *Mummy papa...to ache ban-ne ke liye mummy papa bhi ache hone chahiye...hai na?*

H: *Mere papa to daaru peete rehte hain...Didi...kuch batana mat jo bhi mummy papa ke baare mein bata raha hun main...agar papa ko pata chal gaya na to mujhe ghar se nikaal denge...*

One of the premise of power vacuum is the Kristeva's edict on the dislocation of authority in which the subjects struggle to abject the maternal semiotic body, which is also the site for pre-oedipal identification with the mother and her body. The inability to abject can lead to depression at the individual and cultural levels (Kristeva, 2000). The narratives creating an imagery of children's identification with mother are:

Excerpts from the Case D

The Case D in Picture card 3: (Father-Son Card): *"Ye beta aur baap hai...ye sharif insan hai, papa bahut harami hai. papa ke khandan mein banduke chalte hain. pita ji koi sahi kaam nahin karta... Pitaji afsos karte hain ke mera beta mujhse pyar nahin karta..."*

Picture Card 4 (Mother-Son Card): “Maa bete hainge...jab ye hua tha to pita ji ka intekaal ho gaya tha. Maa sochti hai ab main kiske sahare jiyungi. to unhone uske (bache) sahare jeena ka socha”.

It is apparent in Case D that his stories are a direct window to his potent relationship with his father. The story 1 elicits a constant altering between compliance and a rebellious behaviour, which is suggestive of his need for power and resistance to domination. The second story opens with a line “The father had died” depicts that the storyteller delves into a restricted arena of fantasied sexual relations with the mother by having an oedipal wish to eliminate the rival father and the son’s wishes to be alone with the mother. Similarly, the narratives of case H are as follows,

Excerpts from the Case H

“Mummy roz mujhe thappad maarti hai. Mummy mujhe kuch bhi bol deti hai main mummy ki baat ka bura nahin manta. main tha saantvi class mein...to unhone [papa] ghar mein bitha liya tha saat mahine tak...saat aath mahine kaha parhne nahin jayega tu. Parhne nahin aata tha phir main. Phir aane lag gaya khud hi...”.

(My mother slaps me everyday...if mother says anything to me then I do not feel negative about it...when was in 7th class...my father made me sit at home for 7 months...for 7-8 months he told me you will not go for studying...I did not come to school...then I started going on my own).

In case H, his narratives reveal that his [mother’s] devotion to the child is neither total nor absolute as defined from the lens of Green (2005, p.147). Psychologically, cathexis with mother is evident in case H and however, there is a yearning for mother’s love. Theoretically, the “failure of the paternal function can be theorised at two moments of the individual’s history. At a pre-linguistic maternal function which means failure of the primary oedipal triangle and at the oedipal phase proper which is the symbolic level. The mother acts as a separating agency from the child and is rewarded for the process of socialisation. To put it briefly, Kristeva suggests that the society yearns for an absolute oedipal paternal function capable of erasing the uncertainties of the pre-oedipal paternal function” (Gambaudo, 2003). However, the present society is a form of a monolithic culture, which reduces the psyche to a form of invisible power structure. Situating these narratives under the aegis of crisis in the lives of individual both at the societal and cultural level is a larger narrative of a normalising and pervertible order (Kristeva, 2000, p.4). Hansen and Tuvel (2017) revealed the pitiable conditions of the subjects-in-crisis in the existing world as, “disempowered, excluded and lacking social bonds, a depressed culture experiences and economises the symptoms a depressed individual feels in isolation-despair, symbolic collapse, a severance of social ties”. The inundated search for an imaginary-loving father looms in the mind of the children, who find any powerful authority as a

restitute. In this process, the children normalise all the reifications offered by the school and society. The findings of this study suggest that the reification created in the school coaxes children to internalise those reifications and a dominant pessimistic attitude, which creates a psychological alienation in their minds. For instance, the case M in the blank card demonstrated that,

Excerpt from the Case M, Blank Card

“ek school hai... acha school hai... bahut saare bache padte hain...aur unme se ek bacha aisa hai.. aata to roz hai school mein... par sochta hai humein to kya karna hai. Humein to redhi lagani hai. dost kehte hain chorh na. apne ko kya karna hai... nasha karne jata ho...pure school ko bigaad diya hai. Yahan par to saare bache bigde hue hain par private school mein to sudhre hue honge...poori vardi mein aate hain...i-card bhi hota hai...kaam bhi poora karte hain chahe ghar ka ho ya bahar ka ho...ghoomne bhi nahin jaate... teachers ko bhi ulta bolte hain. phele to allowed nahi tha, per ab mar sakte hain teachers.”

Through the story of case M, it can be inferred that the consequence of reification is the rigidity that forges the children to believe that they are *Harami* (bastard) and incompetent. Reification as portrayed by children resonates with the saying that to turn oneself into a stone is a way of not being turned into a stone by someone else (Laing, 2010). There is an erosion of psychic space as this is the space which requires loving relations rather than the stern father. The psychic space is also under constant surveillance, as Schippers (2011) stated that, “according to Kristeva, the dominance of a media society, with its spectacles and theatricalisation, combines with economic deprivation as a result of Neo-liberal policies to form a crisis that grips Western societies. In this crisis, individual suffering, resulting from a lack of ideals, including a decline of paternal authority, conjoins with the effects of socio-economic deprivation, such as unemployment and poverty” (Schippers, 2011, p.61). It is evident from case H’s narrative in the blank card that he is overwhelmed to go beyond the blankness of the card. His story signifies emptiness, loneliness, and passivity in life. He said *“main bhi poori raat ghoomta hun... idhar udhar ghoomta rehta hun... road pe ghoomta rehta hun main to bas... jhuggiyon mein rickshey kharhe rehte hain na wahan par saare mere dost rehte hain...to woh poori raat jagte hain...wahin par aake baitha rehta hun main...kabhi kabhar apne ghar se kitab bhi utha ke le aata hun ghar se”*. This is precisely the form of a psychological alienation found in the children of poverty. According to Singh (2017b), society creates a standardised image. In other words, it is a society of the spectacle in Guy Debord’s vision. The image saturated environment of the spectacle invades the psychic space of the individual that results in lack of imagination and fantasy (Singh, 2017b). The juxtaposition of the society with the spectacle defined in the narratives obtained is evident from the cases presented, which can be depicted from the following narratives:

Excerpts from the Case D

D: “*Dande hi dande maare...thappad hi thappad...phele murga bana diya...phir maara...maine kaha sirji maaro mat, merese bologe murga ban ja to main ban jaunga...phir maara mujhe...*” (Hit me with sticks... slapped rigorously... punished me to sit like a rooster... then he hit me... I asked him not to beat me, I requested to punish me to sit like a rooster... he hit me again...)

Megha: “*Tumhe yeh school kaisa lagta hai?*” (How do you find this school?)

D: “*Pehle acha lagta tha ab acha nahin lagta...*” (i used to like at first but not anymore...). “*...pehle main pit-ta nahin tha na...ab jon sa sirji aata hai...kaam na hua ho to maarta hai...pehle 6th mein jo bhi sirji aate the poochte the ke kaam hua hai...main kehta tha kesirji kal karke le aayenge...vo kehte the ke haan kal karke le aiyo...inse kaho kal karke le aayenge...do dande to khaane parhenge hi...chaahe kal la ya parso la...daily nahin...kabhi kabaar pit-ta hun...ek sir hain unhe mera naam nahin pata...vo bohat maarte the mujhe...kyunki main school se ghar bhaag jata tha...*”

(At first, nobody would beat me...but now as soon as sir arrives... if I did not do the homework then he thrashes me...in 6th standard, teacher (sir) would first ask if I finished homework assigned...I used to say that I will finish it by tomorrow... so he also resonated and would ask me to finish by tomorrow... when I ask this sir the same...he would thrash...whether bring the homework tomorrow or day after... not daily...I get thrashed not that often...One sir is there...he does not know my name...he would beat me a lot...because I used to run from the school).

Excerpts from the Case K

Megha: *parhai likhai ke baare mein aapki kya soch hai? Parhna likhna kya hota hai?* (What is your opinion on education? What is education?)

K: *Parhna to ma'am...English to aati nahin hai itni...Hindi to aati hai...bas parh lete hain...* (Ma'am education is... I have not learned English... I have learned Hindi... can only read...)

Megha: *Yeh school ke baare mein aap kya sochte ho?* (what is your opinion on this school?)

K: *Yeh school to bohat ganda hai...*(This school is very bad...)

Megha: *Kaunsa school bohat barhiya hota hai?* (Which is school is supposed to be excellent?)

K: *Bas parhai honi chahiye ...* (where only education is imparted...)

Megha: *Is school mein parhai nahin hai?* (Does this school impart education?)

K: *Itni parhai nahin hai...sirji aata hai parhata-varhata kuch hai nahin...aur bache bhi sirji ke control mein nahin hote...* (Not a lot of education... Sir does not focus on teaching... and kids are also beyond sir's control...)

Megha: *Control matlab?* (What do you mean by control?)

K: *Control matlab ke jaise sirji se darte hain bache...ke haan sirji agar hum ghalti karenge to maareng...hamari class mein to saare bache darte hain sirji se...ke hum kuch ghalti karenge to sirji maareng hamein...yahan wale bachon ko to kuch bhi dar nahin hai...aur vo to sirji ko hi maarte hain...sirji bolte hain bohat maarunga...to bache bolte hain ke befaltu mein maar dega...ye vo...jaise sirji bolega kaun karega...aur bache wahan pe tub hi bol de to bache ko punishment milti hai...haath kharha karte hain...dande se maarte hain...main wahan jata tha to*

sahi rehta tha...yahan pe saare badmash hain...koi hamare jaan pehchan ke aate hain yahan par bhi...ye bangali kuch zyada hi hote hain...unka ilaka hai isliye zyada bante hain...jiska zyada hoga who to banega hi...

(Control means like how sir is afraid of kids... but if we make a mistake sir will definitely hit us... in my class everyone is afraid of sir... that if we will make a mistake sir will beat us up... kids on this side are not afraid of anything... and in fact they beat up sir... sir emphasises on beating... so kids say he might beat us up with no reason... etc etc... no one is expected to follow sir... and that side of kids gets punished if they speak up... (explains types of punishments) ... I used to be better when I was there... here everyone is naughty... family and friends also come here... these Bengali think they are superior... it is their territory... the one who has large portion of territory will obviously think to be superior...)

Through the above narratives of Case D and Case K, it can be explicated that the central problem for contemporary politics is that there is lack of revolt (Kristeva, 2000). In her book revolution in poetic language, the meaning of revolt given by Kristeva was inspired by the distinctively political meaning of revolt that originated with the French Revolution, which implied a transgression against the law and prohibitive political structures, “a protest against already established norms, values and powers” (Singh, 2017b). However, in the later work, Kristeva has questioned the meaning of revolt considering the changed social and political climate of the late twentieth century. One of the most striking features of contemporary society is the absence of any definitive power against which one can revolt, and the effects that this absence has on the individual. According to Guy Debord (2002),

“the spectacle is the existing order’s uninterrupted discourse about itself, its laudatory monologue. It is the self-portrait of power in the epoch of its totalitarian management of the conditions of existence. The fetishistic, purely objective appearance of spectacular relations conceals the fact that they are relations among men and classes: a second nature with its fatal laws seems to dominate our environment. But the spectacle is not the necessary product of technical development seen as a natural development. The society of the spectacle is on the contrary the form which chooses its own technical content. If the social needs of the epoch in which such techniques are developed can only be satisfied through mediation, if the administration of the society and all contact among men can no longer take place except through the intermediary of this power of instantaneous communication, it is because this communication is essentially unilateral. The concentration of communication is thus an accumulation, in the hands of existing system’s administration”(p.24).

Kristeva (quoted in Singh, 2017b) depicted that the psychic inability to revolt against the advent of the society of the spectacle, in which the creative capacity of our fantasies become stunted; hence, “we are inundated with images, some of which resonate with our fantasies and appease us but which, for the lack of interpretative words, do not liberate us. Moreover, the stereotype of these images deprives us of the possibility of creating our own imagery, our own imaginary scenarios” (Singh, 2017b, p.25). Therefore, it turns out to be that an individual becomes as Fanon (1967, p.2) reiterated that “there is a zone of nonbeing, an extraordinarily sterile and arid region, an utterly

naked declivity where an authentic upheaval can be born”. Nandy (2012) elaborated that Social Darwinism acts as an epithet to the society. Social Darwinism gives a sanitised version of the range of social evolutionary epithets (Nandy, 2012). The ideas of the developed and underdeveloped, advanced and backward, progressive and conservative, modern and traditional, historical and ahistorical are all infected with crude Darwinism (Nandy, 2012). Social Darwinism works in conjunction with the culture of narcissism, so upon its application on childhood, it loses its intrinsic sanctity, and the child becomes an inferior, underdeveloped version of the adult who had to be guided, sternly and coercively, towards productive adulthood as well as ‘normal’, and ‘healthy’ citizenship (Nandy, 2012). Social Darwinism disables the power within the individuals to revolt. Kristeva (2000) emphasised on the need for a culture of revolt in a society that is not stagnant, rather alive and developing. In fact, the non-existence of such a culture would make life equals to death, i.e., a life of physical and moral violence, and barbarity (Kristeva, 2000). This is evident from the narratives on the use of ‘*Chaku*’ or ‘*batanchi*’ (knife) as a weapon. The following narratives quintessentially recast the use of knife to show the disinvestment in human relations as well as violence present in the minds of the children. In the previous chapter, it was discussed that early experience with a sadistic or aggressive paternal object may be directed at the nonhuman and hard objects (Meloy, 1997). Therefore, the knife has become a central point to explain the pathogenic foundation of psychopathology, which acts as a biological basis for genuine object relations that are concomitant to neurohypophyseal peptide oxytocin hormone which is under-aroused in children with violent streaks. However, on psychological basis, the children are turning the sadism of the society onto weak and marginalised as a form of hubris and [the use of *chaku* (knife) as a weapon becomes] a false sense of immunity (Vaknin, 2007). The following narratives juxtapose the psychological defense of using a weapon with a form of self preservation. Both the narratives showcase the twin part of masochism in the form of sadism, which has overwhelmed the children analysed in this study, with a death drive. The excerpts are as follows.

Excerpts from the Case H

The case H narrated a story,

*“ek sirji ke chakoo maine maara tha...!
 ...Kaam karke leke aata tha...to kaam jo main leke aata tha vo check bhi karta tha...
 lekin vo bohat maarta tha...ek din maine kaam to saara kara lekin beech mein saare
 akshar ghalat ghalat likh diye...aur sirji ne saara check kar diya...principal ke
 saamne chala gaya main...ke sir ye kaam ghalat hai ya sahi hai...sirji ne bola ke
 ghalat hai...to principal ne sirji ko naukri se nikaal diya...phir dusre sir parhane
 lag gaye the...phir mere doston ne un sir ko pakad ke chakoo maar diya tha...road*

pe log shareef hote hain...harami bhi hote hain...log sochte hain ke isko bhi ulta seedha bol do ye bhi shareef hi hoyega...unhe kya pata yeh harami banda hai...main rickshaw chalata hun aur police wale kuch bolte hain na ...to police ko bhi gaali de deta hun...dekha jayega baad mein...mere bhai ne bola hua hai...koi bhi ulta seedha bole to maar de...baad mein compromise hojayega...do bande meri taraf se aagaye...do uski taraf se aa gaye...matter solve kar diya... ”

(I have stabbed one sir with a knife...!

...I used to complete my work...the work I used to complete, he would not check it...but he would beat a lot...one day I had completed my work but in between the text, I had written the wrong alphabets...and sir check the work completely...I went to the principal...that sir is this work right or wrong? Sir said it is wrong...so principal fired that sir from the school...then another teacher started teaching us...then my friends held that sir and stabbed him with a knife...people think that you can anything right or wrong to him...he must be noble person...they would not know that he is a bastard...I drive rickshaw...if police say something to me...then I abuse the police...will see later...my brother has told if anybody say anything wrong to you, then hit...later on compromise will happen...two people will come from my side...do people will come from his side...matter was solved.)

Excerpts from the Case M

“...Ma’am ji maine to bohat dheere [chaku] chalaya hai...Ma’am ji mere teen dost the na ek Mehtab, Subhash aur Sangeet tha.....inhe koi kuch bolta thana to mere se bardasht nahin hota tha...chakoo main gussa aata tha to maarta tha to kahin bhi lag jata tha...to vo bhi laate the aur main bhi chakoo lata tha pehle...ek baar kisine meri dost ki behen ko cherha tha to usne use maara tha...phir usne apne doston ko bulaya tha...usne dande-vande maare the to hum bhi yahan se chakoo leke gaye the...humne bhi maara tha unko..unke haath- vaath kaat diye the humne ”

(Respected Ma’am, I used it mildly. I had three Friends-Mehtab, Subhash and Sangeet; I could not bear if someone ridiculed any one of them, so, out of anger, I used the knife aimlessly causing injury anywhere. So, my friends and I used to carry knives all the time. Once, my friend’s sister was eve teased by a guy, so my friend had beat him up. Then, that guy ganged up with other fellows and beat him up. In turn, we also used knife to take revenge, they suffered cuts on their hands).

These narratives point towards that the wicked mastery over others creates a sense of domination of authority, which is a form of narcissism. The malignant form of narcissism allows the children to indulge in sadistic urges and to exercise misogyny freely and openly (Vaknin, 2007). The misogynistic pursuits are discussed in the next section. A form of Social Darwinism normalises the doctrine of survival of the fittest through massive commodification of education (Pathak, 2018). The psychology of violence is equated with the dominant imagery of masculinity; and love, care and forgiveness are seen as ‘feminine passivity’ (Pathak, 2019). Violence has been normalised in the lives of the children-of-poverty-in the practice of ‘development’, [in the practice of schooling

and education] and in the sanctification of hyper-masculine ‘heroes’ or ‘martyrs’; hence, it becomes exceedingly difficult to appreciate the hollowness of this culture (Pathak, 2019).

5.5 Violence as Matricide and Phallogentrism: Situating the Minds between Prohibitions and Radicalisations

“There is always a sadistic pleasure and a morbid fascination in vicarious suffering” (Vaknin, 2007)

The narratives obtained for this study manifest a direct depiction of aggression against women, which focusses on a symbolisation of matricide or female homicide. The previous chapter has provided a description of parents as objects of (De)cathexis, identification, and idealisation. Considering the nature of cathexis, it is significant to see whether the children’s relationship with their father was of a rebel son or whether there was only conventional idealisation towards the father. To a degree, the previous chapter established the relationship between identification with the father and conventional idealisation of father’s authority with masculinity. The cases in this study largely repeal and discern the Oedipus complex whose function is to dissolve the rebel son’s libidinal aspects of antagonism towards the father. The stories essentially “posit a universal structure organising the psychic economy of the subject and the unconscious transmission of the culture or social bond that produces that subject” (Jacobs, 2004). The unconscious fantasy of patricide is almost completely missing in the narratives of the children but is not defunct, except for a few stories as shown in the previous section that not only reveal the classic oedipal but also resolve it. The children sublimate any substantial conflict between the sons and their fathers towards the end of the story. The idealisation is expressed with statements that glorify and overestimate the qualities of father in terms of overt behaviour conduct. On the contrary, in majority of the stories, the mother figures are seen as distant, least nurturing and succouring. The sparse description of the picture evades any symbolic reference to the mother, which is evident in the picture card 2, where the case ‘H’ stated that *“papa hi khali ache hain uske ghar mein...baki sab aise hi hain”*. The story as seen in the picture card 2 entails some difficulty in the object related interaction and presents an ambivalent relationship of the subject with his mother. In the story, the subject has revealed an underlying feeling of rejection and withdrawal from a threatening home, but is seen as having positive cathexis with his aunt (*Mausi*) and the father in comparison to the mother.

“Mausi ke ghar par khana-peena dekhke apne ghar aane ki ic-cha nahin hoti. wahan t.v.-v.v. sab hota hai. khana peena dekh kar uska aane ka mann nahin hota”

(Case H, Picture card 2)

A similar story is evident in the case of K as seen in the picture card 2, where the subject reveals his unmet interpersonal relationship with the family, especially the mother. In the story, K offers indications of his family relations and largely omits the central figures except the boy and a woman. He identifies with the boy who is inadequate in catching a fish and associates the woman with his mother. By surfacing his incompetency in fishing and fearing abasement from the family, K experiences a lack of interpersonal interaction within his family (Case K, Picture Card 2). Considering the details of the case, it is observed that there is a deliberate omission of mother or wife from the life of son or father, as is evident from the narratives such as “*ladka sochta tha khali mere papa hain. pita ji wife ko le kar rote the, beta bhai ko, ma ko aur behen ko lekar rota tha*”; “*Wife chorh kar chali gayi*” (Case H, Picture Card 3). In the picture card 2, M limits the actions of women to household chores vis-à-vis father is seen as shouldering the burden of the family. The dysphoric qualities of life invoke the feelings of helplessness in the subject, and the mother or female figure does not manifest any significant affect in the story. The perception of the mother in some stories narrated by children reflects the punitive side of the mother, which results in the defense mechanisms such as reversal of affect and isolation of affect. Perceiving that the mother is aggressively threatening and overly critical, the children intellectualise their active aggression against their mother with stories in which the mother endures pain, weakness, helplessness, emptiness and abandonment on either losing her son or husband, as in Case M. In the picture card 4, 5 and 10, the case M presents a physical and psychological withdrawal from painful situations with statements such as

“[Mummy] kehti hain tujhe khelne nahin dunggi. Tujhe khana nahin dunggi isliye ye sharminda hai...Mummy isko maarti honggi...ye sochta hai maare na pyar se bole to main wohi karunga jo mummy bolengi par iski mummy aisa nahin karti hain.”

(Picture Card 4).

“Aisa lag raha hai ke mummy ne bola hoga Bache ko ke school jao. Uska jaane ka mann nahi hai...uske doston ne bola hoga ke aaj main bhi nahin aaunga... socha hoga ke aaj kaam bhi poora nahin hai... Sir ji maarenge. uska kaam bhi pura nahin hua hai.”

(Case M, Picture Card 10)

The defense mechanism related to the isolation of affect in the case of M can be seen in narratives of a story of a helpless woman who was crying at the staircase of a temple either because her son or her husband is bitten by the snake, as seen in the picture card 8. Although M identifies with woman as the hero at a surface level, at a deeper level, passive aggression towards mother is exhibited.

Here, a latent form of revenge, i.e., change in the impulse from being a victim at the hands of the mother as seen in other stories (Picture card 4, 5, and 10) to that being a perpetrator is evident. The tone is a wishful fantasy against the mother who is abandoned by the husband and is pleading in front of authoritative figures.

“...Ek Aurat hai usse dekh kar aisa lag raha hai vo seediyon ke oopar haath rakh ke ro rahi hai..aisa lag raha hai jaise uske ghar mein kuch hua ho....iska pati chala gaya ho aur ye yahan par baithke soch rahi hogi ke kab ayenge...vo chah rahi thi kahin na jayein sirf mere paas hi rahein...pati chod ke chala gaya hai.”

(Case M in Picture Card 8)

The children display an adjustment pattern only at seminal level. For instance, the Case D wants to break the culture of domestic violence, as he sees his mother to be ill-treated at the hands of his father. He often resorts to safeguard his mother from his aggressive father by confining his father and holding him captive in a room. Further, the TAT stories of D reveal the sadistic side that focus on a latent reference to gang-rape infused with power hierarchy. In the picture card 8 he narrates,

“aurat hai. ache ghar se hoti hai. isme bohat ghamand hai. kissi se baat nahin karti. [Larhke] ishara karte hain ke [Larhki] nikal gayi ghar se...jaise hi nikalte hai to van mein dal dete hain aur isko leke chorh dete hain. aisi jagah chorh dete hain jahan se ye vapis hi na aaye...jaan se maar diya tha is larhki ko” **(Case D, picture card 8)**

With the gradual progression of the story, it is observed that the children show estrangement towards the authoritative figures which have a female gender as seen in the above mentioned collective narratives of children. They display a little empathy towards the needs and feelings of the female figures, for instance, the comments of Case H on girls as seen in the chapter 3, where he stated,

“Ek baat bolun...aap jaise larhki ho...larhkiyan hi na larhkon ko bigaadti hain. Main jab murthal jata hun wahan par larhkiyan cigarette peeti hain? Peene ko mana nahin par khulle aam peeti hain.Hum poore poore kaprho mein rehte hain...larhkiyan pata bhi hai kaise kaise kaprho mein rehti hain? Aapne bhi dekha hi hoga yeh...is wajah se larhke bigad jaate hain.” (Should I tell you one thing...like you are a girl...girls only spoil the boys...when I go to Murthal, there girls smoke...it is not wrong...but in open they smoke...we come in fully clothed...girls you know...what kind of clothes they wear? You also must have witnessed...that is why boys get spoiled)

(The Case H, Personal Interview)

At a fantasy level when children feel rejected, ignored, subordinated or mildly criticised by any female character, the hero in the story exhibits as Abrams (1993) puts it an extreme, almost paranoid anger. Emotional aloofness and discontentment is significant of unmet oral needs. There is

a sign of ego-dystonic trend in the children who present murderous impulsivity towards the female characters. The impulses are coupled with the higher level of defenses such as intellectualisation; isolation of affect, rationalisation and the identification with the aggressor is used to justify the act of female homicide. For instance, the administration of Card 4 on the Case H shows that he projects two sides of self. One is an obedient and a self-sacrificing son who conventionally idealises his parents by entering in a triadic mother-son-father relationship and the other self is of an overly aggressive husband in the form of the subject's own daughter's projected husband. While in the first story, the hero sacrifices his love and marries a girl according to his parents wish, in the second scenario, the hero uses the defense mechanism of mental rigidity. The mental rigidity of the hero is reflected in the situation of sameness where he thinks he should act similar to his parents and repeat the same with his children. He said

“larhki ke maa baap ne bhi gareeb ghar mein shaadi kari thi...Larhki ko bohat dukhi rakhta tha larhke wala...vo bhi larhki ko maarta tha. Jo saasu maa thi vo bhi taane deti rehti thi...Vo khaana peena bhi nahin kar paati thi theek se. Vo bohat pareshan hogayi thi. Dheere dheere bohat zyada pareshaani hogayi thi phir ekdum hi uski death hogayi thi.”

Case H, Picture Card 4

The husband of his daughter is shown to be aggressive and hostile towards her, which leads to a tormented relationship and death of his daughter. The cold and annihilating behaviour of male figures towards the female figures is significant of power fused in the hands of male members in the patriarchal societies, which is evident in statements such as *“Uske pitaji ne socha ab main isko maar hi dunga... Larhki ko kai baari maarne ki sochta hai...koi na koi beech mein aa jata hai. Koi aa jata tha to seene se laga leta tha, matlab dikhane ke liye ke main isse bohat pyar karta hun. Ek din usne larhki ko maar diya”* (**The Case H, Picture Card 5**); *“pita ji [apni beti ko] ko bahut marte Hain, marte marte road pe le aate hain...phir wo larkhi se zyada pyar nahin karte the”*, as seen in card 7 in case H. The children are seen as having dominant death drive and project an overt form of aggression on their mother in the form of matricide.

In the case of M, he shows passive non-compliance against his mother in the picture card 5 which differs from the potential dyadic-conflictual relationship with his father in the card 3. The story in the card 3 and card 5 are as follows:

Card 3: *“...Beta padhna chahta hai, per pad nahi pa raha hai. jaise school bol rahe honge ki gareebo ko nahi parhayenge. Fees ki wajah se. inke papa khete hai ki makkan tayyar karenge to parhne ke liye paise nahin bachenge...to phir kabhi parhenge.”*

Card 5: “...Bache school jate the. Teacher marte the...aur iski maa bolti thi ke tu aisa kaam mat kiya kar ke teacher maare tujhko... ye kisko maarta ho ya Copiyan cheen leta hoga...ya kisika bag leke bhaag jata ho...usse satata ho,,,chirhata ho... Sir ji thappad marte hain. Roj mummy bolti honggi to sun sun kar bore hogaya tha...apni mummy ko bola hoga ke aisa mat bola karo...mummy ne phir bola diya hoga...to isliye isne apni mummy ka khoon karne ki sochta hoga...Gala dabana shuru kar deta hai mummy ka.”

The passive non-compliance of M against his mother does not result in the negotiation of tensions; rather it causes an aggressive step of matricide. Women are reduced to an object of sexual desire, which is also depicted in the picture card 7 wherein the children’s fantasy of sexual relationship is fused with voyeurism that is coupled with the defense of isolation of affect. The reason behind it is that they consider women as dependent on men and the aggressive component of the personality is seen as symptomatic of sadism, hostility, and domination. The misogynistic projection of self is revealed in many stories narrated by the children. For instance, the story narrated by Case D in the picture card 5 wherein the hero strangulated the girl whom he loved, as he suspected her of having a love interest other than him. The hero of the story did not show any sign of remorse or afterthought, and the act of murder was committed due to his extra-aggression and obsessiveness for the girl owing to rejection from the girl. The aggressive and sexual components of children’s psyche are also revealed in other stories which circumscribe the misogynistic thinking. This is evident in Case D and Case K. The stories revealed in the card are as follows:

“Raaste mein larhki ja rahi hoti hai...Mumtaz. larhki andhere mein se aati hai kaam par se. udhar hi ek larhka hota hai...vo sochta hain aaj koi aayega to paise cheen lunga. larhki aati hai to larhka wahin baitha hota hai perh ke neeche....larhka ekdum se uska haath pakarhke bolta hai paise de de nahin to main mar dunga. Larhki use apne phone paise sab de deti hai...phir bhi larhka uska gala ghot ke mar deta hai phir larhka apne ghar chala jata hai...iski maa beemar hoti hai to vo uski dawai leke aata hai...police aati hai to isko pakarh ke le jati hai aur poochti hai ke tune kyun kara aisa... bolta hai meri mummy bohat bimar thi...mujhe iske ilaaj k liye bohat saare paise chahiye the.”

Case K, Picture Card 5

These narratives present an image of a larger discourse on phallogentrism as an optic or a society of spectacle and a popular imaginary of growing up in a patriarchal societies in which the difference between

“men and women no longer remain simple/ symmetrical differences. As they grow up, and develop ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ identities, they are already hierarchized. Men are privileged, and women are subdued. A women is seen to be an ‘incomplete/castrated’ man-with weak superego and conscience...Simone de Beauvoir [writes that] ‘She is the

incidental, the inessential. He is the subject; he is the Absolute-she is the 'Other. Women [as a result] continue to bear the burden of this otherness Their humiliation, marginalization, and isolation from the 'active/rational/public domain' reduce them into silent role performers; they bear only the legacy of the male-directed culture they live in!" (Pathak, 2006, p.134).

Phallocentrism is a form of misogyny in which the discrimination against women is at a conceptual level vis-à-vis sexism and patriarchy which exposes women to direct submission to male authority. Moitra (2002) stated that if sexism is discrimination at the level of speech and action, and patriarchy is a structural oppression, then phallocentrism is a form of conceptual male domination. The realm of this type of discrimination is at the unconscious-bodily level, which is a form of misogynistic scheme that deals with the fact that a woman is always relegated to a subordinate position (Moitra, 2002). The primary function and constitutive manifestation of misogyny is the punishment of 'bad' women, and policing of women's behaviour (Manne, 2017, p.408). For instance see Case H "*larhkiyan hi na larhkon ko bigaadi hain*" (girls only spoil the boys). Phallocentrism reifies masculinity as an autonomous self-defined position in relation to femininity, which is rendered a secondary position, thereby justifying the notions of patriarchy. The system of punishing the bad women or Kakar's bad mother (1981) and rewarding good women or Kakar's good mother predicts the misogynistic state of mind that enforce gender conformity (Manne, 2017). It is because patriarchy provides the scheme and phallocentrism constitutes the foundation of that patriarchy, which probably, becomes epistemic scaffolding that forms the foundation of all thoughts (Moitra, 2002). Phallus intermittently reinforces maleness or the attributes central to male traits. Viciously, this view envisages the thought that scrutinises every attribute different from the maleness as peripheral, subordinate, and the Other. It is sustained through the logic of domination that privileges men over women. Phallocentrism resuscitates that male superiority and power over women is seen as 'normal' in the patriarchal societies. The primary identification of men with male authorities valorise their condescending authoritative relations with women in a way that ascribes value to the fact that real men are masculine and the sexual acts of 'real' men symbolises sexual potency offered only by exerting power over women. Girls are socialised to embrace the feminine role that requires submissiveness, interdependence, interconnectedness and emotional expressiveness (Khan et al., 2008, p.46).

However, at a deeper psychological level, corresponding to these narratives on mother is the argument that "the child hates the [maternal] body, but only because it cannot be free of it" (Oliver, 1993). Theoretically, matricide is a form of a psychological learning that everyone experiences in the form of growing up. Matricide psychologically takes the shape of symbolic matricide, as

Kristeva (1987) argued in the case of female sexuality. Nevertheless, matricide is a significant and an indispensable act that is critical to the process of individuation even in men. The chapter 4 part 1 has dealt with the mother enthrallment, considering the views of Kakar (2016). We become subjects as Kristeva (1987) demonstrated that only through a violent separation from the mother. The mother is abjected as in the previous case of mother being the object of love. Thus, Kristeva (1987) stated that, “matricide is our vital necessity, the sine-qua-non condition of our individuation, that it takes place under optimal circumstances and can be eroticized”. Considering the lived experience, it can be stated that matricide happens through concrete socio-cultural practices and norms (Rozmarin, 2016). Tyler (2009) in his work quoted Kristeva (2001) for arguing that the infant’s bodily and psychic attachment to the mother’s embodied presence must be abjected in order for a speaking human [post-oedipal] subject to emerge. Hansen (2013) explained that abjection is a revolting process in which the *infants* render the mother’s body as abject-disgusting, vomitous, and *revolting*-in order to facilitate maternal separation. In short, it is a necessary part of the child’s imaginary in which the rebellious development is sublimated. Only through the abjection of the maternal body, the child can begin to confront, displace, and assimilate paternal authority (Hansen, 2013). The maternal abjection explains the distant and least fulfilling relationship between the father and son as seen in the chapter 3. However, at a phantasmic state, the stories weave an alternative picture of the relationship between the children and their fathers. In the chapter 4 part I, both the sections on savage father and repressed feminine identity as well as dead mother complex provides an insight into the relationship of a powerful father dominating his son. However, it is phallocentrism that becomes an umbrella term for understanding men’s sexuality to explain masculine domination and violence.

This section delineates two premises; firstly a man undergoes symbolic castration at different intervals of his life and secondly, the masculine order prevails which structures libido in the social context. It also deals with an anomaly that phallus is not a symbol of a genital but an object of desire for men. The formation of male identity in general is situated around the argument that masculine behaviour and psychic life enact a successful defensive posture, which remains unrecognised because it is in line with the dominant mode of living (Figlio, 2013, p.137). It also resonates with an idea that “most men do not know they have a gender. They can afford to take their sex for granted. It is the norm” (Middleton, 1992 quoted in Bharucha, 1995). To elaborate this further, the psychoanalytic-conceptual machinery behind the manifestation of phallocentrism becomes impertinent to present the discursive formation of male identity through the lens of male sexuality. This section also presents an analogy between phallus and violence in the prehistoric

formation of the subject and the subject in the modern-contemporary world. From the beginning of psychoanalysis, Freud has lucidly presented his ideas on phallic monism within the frame of his evolutionary theory. Phallic monism structures around the thought that every human being unconsciously imagines every other human being to possess a penis. Fromm (1955) rightly demonstrated that it is built on two aspects: the evolution of the libido, and the evolution of an individual's relations to others (p.50). In other words, libido defines the energy of the sexual development, which transcends from being centred around the genital areas (autoerotic) to repressions and sublimation in the latency period in which a child undergoes a castration threat and internalises the incest taboo. It is mainly referred in the context of a male child who shifts from the fixation with mother to the allegiance towards father (Fromm, 1955, p.51). To overcome the primal fantasies of the mother is also a result of the phase in which the male child views the shocking sight of mother's genital having 'no penis' (Lurie, 1981). This castration complex vividly represents an unconscious fantasy and acts as a threat in which a boy chooses his penis in preference to his desire for his mother (Figlio, 2013, p.137). It is followed by an insight that the mother is castrated or mutilated and lacks everything that a man without a penis is deficient of (Lurie, 1981). A contemplation of this lack almost immediately makes the little male to surrender to the rival father and to follow the "**law of the father**". According to Lurie (1981), "the mother is signified as a castrated male who triggers unpleasant castration fear and a sad renunciation of desire for the mother, it is perhaps a fortuitous cultural fact which guarantee the flourishing of patriarchal culture". However, Kristeva demonstrated that the phallic reference is indispensable for both sexes as soon as they are constituted as the subject of representation (Kristeva in Keltner, 2011, p.23). Considering the universality behind the Oedipus complex and the triangular child-father-mother link, Kristeva moulded and twisted the complex and further stated that whether we are women or men, we all want the mothers (Oliver, 2010). Though phallic monism becomes a veiled mystery of psychoanalysis, it remains the datum of unconscious self with its recognition of one sex (the penis), of one libido (the masculine) and a sole symbol for the activity of thought (the phallus) (Kristeva, 2008b). In psychoanalysis, the pre-oedipal girl is seen as the *same* or as identical with the pre-oedipal boy (Dhar, 2000). It is a famous Freudian axiom that describes the little girl as a 'little man' which means that her libido is inherently masculine for the child irrespective of the anatomical sex (Kristeva, 2008b).

Most of the critique of Freud's phallic monism such as by Horney, Klein, Deutsch and Ernest Jones (Figlio, 2013), who considered Freud as mainly sexed because of his obscurities in seeing the eminent sexual differences, as phallic monism that defines phallic law, i.e., the transcendence of the

Oedipus subject into the paternal, which is the symbolic function of the culture (Beardsworth, 2005) However Kristeva rejected the claims by stating that Freud was well aware of the problem that his Oedipus has installed the primacy of phallic monism and so explained that,

“Freud makes a clear distinction here that his later readers have a tendency to neglect: he emphasizes the fact that it is a matter if a phallic organisation localised at a certain moment in the subject’s history, which endures as an unconscious fantasy but is not at all the optimal outcome of adult human sexuality. The optimal outcome would be the recognition of both sexes and relations between them. When one speaks of the primacy of phallus, therefore one must not lose sight of the fact that it is, I repeat, a matter of *fantasy* linked to *infantile* genital sexuality. If some remain fixed there, it is their structure, but it is not the path Freud envisages in the development of human psyche. This stage, these fantasmatic unconscious contents, are repressed in the adult, and Freud does not identify phallic monism thus defined with completed adult sexuality, the advent of which he assumes and that is perhaps somewhat of a utopia” (Kristeva, 1996, p.74).

According to Freud, phallic monism is an unconscious fantasy, yet it becomes a reality in patriarchal societies, as it obliterates the co-presence of female genitals in the psychical realities of subjects. He further stated that a paradox in the destiny of an adult psychic life occurs as an individual fails to see maternal aspect to be an authority in the infant’s life. Considering masculine power as defence for both male and female, it leads to a gentle violence as Bourdieu (2001), who argued that a gentle violence is imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, as exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition or feeling (Bourdieu, 2001, p.2). Further, it obtains legitimacy in a society that follows the norms of androcentrism, as Bourdieu stated,

“The androcentric vision imposes itself as neutral and has no need to spell itself out in discourses aimed at legitimating it. The social order functions as an immense symbolic machine tending to ratify the masculine domination on which it is founded: it is the sexual division of labour, a very strict distribution of the activities assigned to each sex, of their place, time and instruments it is the structure of space, with the opposition between the place of assembly or the market, reserved for men, and the house, reserved for women, or, within the house, between the male part, the hearth, and the female part - the stable, the water and vegetable stores; it is the structure of time, the day and the farming year, or the cycle of life, with its male moments of rupture and the long female periods of gestation” (Bourdieu, 2001, p.9).

The general depiction of androcentrism is concomitant to sociological perspective on masculinity. At a deeper psychological level, masculinity acts as defense for boys identifying with their mother. The analysis given by Kakar’s about Indian childhood resonates a psychoanalytic insight combined with an examination of myths and folklore to demonstrate the growing up of sons, who feel hopelessly dependent on their mother by the time they become adults and their early childhood

memories frightens them, as they are still locked in their childhood days at a deep layer (Kumar, 2018). “The figure of the mother is indeed omnipresent in the psyche of Indian men” (Kakar, 1981, p.93). There is a phobic attitude towards the mother who is both a nurturing benefactor and a threatening seductress (Kakar, 1981, p.93). This is vividly depicted in the story narrated by Case D in the picture card 4.

“uski maa to sochti thi mera ladka bahut hi pyara hai. uski maa hamesha usko gale se laga kar lagti thi. school jata to school chorhne jati thi. jab ye aata tha to uske saath aati thi. phir usne ghalat logon ka saath pakad liya tha, to uske dost bolte the mummy ke sath kyun aata hai? hamare saath aaya kar, humare saath mazza bhi aayega! To usne bola theek hai abse main tumhare saath hi aaunga...phir jab uski ye ghar pe jaata hai, to iski maa se nazrein nahin milti hain. ma isse kehti hai maine itna kharch kara, maine ek ek paisa joda itni mushkilon se tujhe parhane ke liye, ab tu hi aisa nikala to mai kya karun. ussi time school chorh deta hai. kissi kam pe lag jata hai. uske dost bulane aate hain to gali deke bhaga deta hai ke mujhe tumhare saath nahin rehna hai.” (Case D in the picture card 4)

In Case D, there looms a strong feeling of guilt about sex. The sexual wishes of the storyteller towards the maternal figure and the fear of counter-aggression by the mother figure forces him to redirect his sexual impulses towards his friends, but he finds himself highly distorted, unstable, and channels his fears and aggression on himself in the form of guilt. The fear of rejection by mother enables him to again identify with his mother in a significant way in the end. The sentence “*ghar jaake so jata hai*” (He falls asleep) diagnostically points towards withdrawal and passivity by the subject. Kakar (2007) provided a glimpse into this form of Indian traditions, as he says that “sexual relations with men are not a source of conflict as long as the person believes he is not a homosexual in the sense of having an exclusive preference for men and does not compromise his masculine identity by not marrying and refusing to produce children”. In the chapter 4, the extensive use of cuss words in the school is also evident from the abuses hurled by the teachers on the children like “*Maderchodh, Bhenchodh, Kaun baap ki aulad hai*”. The same abuses can lead the students and fellow mates into war with one-another. On one hand, it shows their conformity and inaction to the abuses given to them by the authority, but on other, these abuses create a humongous scuffle amongst the students who now call upon each other’s gang members to face the brunt. Hence, Kakar (1981) stated that “This resolution of the oedipal conflict by means of a submissive, apprentice-like stance towards elder men in the family leaves a psycho-sexual residue in the unconscious that influences the rest of a boy's life; in the identity development of Indian men, this has generated a passive-receptive attitude towards authority figures of all kind” (p.134). The extensive use of abuses related to mother and the erect penis or fuck you in the anus also depicts “a common masculine preoccupation with hierarchal status; that is, this usage reflects the fierce

struggle to ascertain who is superior to whom in ambiguous social situations unclarified by the customary guidelines of age or sex, sati affliction or position in the family” (Kakar, 1981, p.135). Concomitant to Kakar’s analysis of masculine domination is an anxiety that fosters in the Indian men. It is the mildly phobic attitude towards sexually mature women (Kakar, 1981, p.94). The common term of abuse as per Kakar (1981) analysis is “Your mother’s penis” (p.94) whose meaning stems from precisely a dark side of the Hindu male’s emotional imagery of maternity. While presenting his analysis, Kakar quoted Karen Horney to show that the attempt in male fantasy to endow woman with a penis is an attempt to deny the sinister female genitals-in India, specifically of the mother (Kakar, 1981, p.94). The phobic attitude of having an intimate sexual relation with a mature woman is evident in the story narrated by case H in the picture card 7. In the story, the hero defends himself on marrying an older woman after being abused by a group of people by disregarding her to be his wife and introducing her as his mother. Kumar (2018) stated that “the narrative is rich with layers of meaning and possibilities of multiple interpretations. Its theme and message remain paradoxical but the intent is clear: to generate a discourse around the fear of women. That indeed is the heart of misogyny”. Women become token of exchange in the masculine state of affairs. In the narratives discussed above, the construction of women’s subjectivities is shown to be under the perils of masculine order. To summarise, the male child is intimately connected to mother in the pre-oedipal phase and so easily idealises with his mother (Kakar, 1981). But to enter the symbolic social order that is masculine, the child has to be separated from his mother. For instance, in one of the narratives, the boy tries to protect his mother from his father’s misbehaviour by locking him. Nevertheless, in the TAT, he is seen as violent or aggressive towards many women and kills them even though there is no personal enmity.

However, the separation is not that easy. Though the boy does not want to idealise with his father, conventional idealisation happens in his growing up. Furthermore, they idealise patriarchy, brutality towards girls or wife, and the rape culture (Identification with the aggressor). “The son’s early experience also impairs his ability to relate to women as equals. It withers the son’s relation with the woman in the later life too” (Kumar, 2018). However, this does not mean that my study emphasises on the need to set up a counter society which is based on the same logic of exclusion of the society and hence does not situate itself under the parameters of feminist-separatists. It is because of the reason that Oliver (1993, p.158) quoted in her work, where Kristeva (1977) stated that,

“As with any society, the counter-society is based on the expulsion of an excluded element, a scapegoat charged with the evil of which the community duke constituted

can then purge itself; a purge which will finally exonerate that community of any future criticism.”

The primacy over penis has been a central point of reference in the psychoanalysis of Freud, as it is debated that penis is visible due to its erection. “Not only it is eroticised, but it is also symbolic of desire and lack in some cases vis a vis deprivation in the little boys and absence in the little girls” (Kristeva, 2000, p.72). Thus, Kristeva (2000) echoed Lacanian terminology while stating that the penis ceases to be a physiological organ for becoming a phallus in the psychical experience, “the signifier of the lack” because it may be lacking and because it subsumes other lacks already experienced. This phase of infantile genitality is the hallmark difference from adult genitality which is a function of the unconscious that structures the psyche. Thus, it becomes a residue of the infantile phallicism conditioning the Oedipus complex (Kristeva, 1998). The repression of this thought structures the unconscious in a way that unconscious becomes phallic, i.e., the psychical representation of other sex lacks the acknowledgement of sexual difference. The phallic primacy that structures the unconscious resuscitates with the claim made by Lacan, i.e., the man is not without having it, the woman is without having it (Kristeva, 2000). This becomes a reference point of excluding women from the hegemonic discourse of universal primacy over masculine subject and masculinity. In the totem and taboo, Freud’s iconic book explicated the doxa of totemic meal and incest taboo, Kristeva analysed the phallic logic beneath the antagonism behind murdering of the father who enjoyed the unlimited phallic power. The resentment of the brothers forms the symbolic order that displaces women from the psyche, as the women and extravaganza phallic power is reduced to renounce women as an incest taboo and reincarnates women as a mode of exchange (Chanter, 2005, p.66).

Kristeva in ‘*Contre la depression nationale*’, spoke on the position of women that “[W]oman is foreign to the phallic order that she however integrates, which would be only because she is a speaking being, a being of thought and of law. But she conserves a distance with regard to the social order, its rules, its political contracts, etc., which renders her skeptical, potentially atheist, ironic, and in the final analysis pragmatic. I am not really it, says a woman, I remain outside of it, I do not believe it, but I play the game, and sometimes even better than others. The affective-discursive positioning of marginalised, feminine subjectivity results in a ‘disequilibrium’ that can lead to melancholia or, in defense against melancholia, ‘efforts to make as if’ through seduction, make-up, or on an extremely serious side, abnegation, overwork, etc.” (Kristeva, 1998, p.113 quoted in Keltner, 2009, p.175). Most pertinently, in the essence of the Freudian myth regarding the pact between the brothers who had earlier plotted and conspired against the primal horde-the father,

Kristeva argued that the social link is worked out through the idealised image of the father. As long as this totem reminds the sons that they killed their father, the social bond is maintained through the feeling of guilt and the remembrance of the death of the father through the totemic rite (Edmonds, 2009, p.220). Considering the limitations of this logic, the bond between the brothers becomes a mere association, and the rituals that memorialised the father become meaningless and empty (Edmonds, 2009). At this moment of crisis, Kristeva enquired that,

“Why does one sacrifice? Why does one enter into a religious pact and embrace fundamentalism, of whatever sort? Because Freud tells us, the benefits we extract from the social contract threaten to disappear ‘as a result of the changing conditions of life’: unemployment, exclusion, lack of money, failure in work, dissatisfactions of every kind. From then on, assimilation into the social link disintegrates; the profit ‘I’ finding my integration in the socius collapses. What does this profit consist of? It is nothing other than the ‘appropriation of paternal attributes.’ In other words, ‘I’ felt flattered to be promoted to the level of someone who could, if not be the father, at least acquire his qualities, identify with his power; ‘I’ was not excluded” (Kristeva, 2000 quoted in Edmonds, 2009).

The story of the filial rebellion and the murder of the primal father, the figure of the unlimited power and enjoyment, end with a joyful appropriation of the paternal attributes through the totemic feast (Ziarek, 2012, p.66).

The present study through the narratives obtained from the children of poverty establish that the symbolic order and the establishment of the symbolic authority (internalised superego) through violence, curtailment of phallic jouissance, and antagonism constitute the repressed origin of the law that is highlighted through various private or social rituals. However, this repression of libidinal enjoyment constitutes a possibility of the reactivation of violence in case a group finds itself excluded from the libidinal or symbolic profits of the social bond under the weight of oppression (Ziarek, 2012, p.66). The reactivation of phallic jouissance is evident from the social violence and the rape culture, which is the modern idiom. The schooling and educational praxis has made a little impact on male aggression and self-righteousness (Kumar, 2018).

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Paradox of School Education: A Quest for Egalitarianism or a False Reconciliation?

Amidst the chaos of modern society, childhood yet remains a utopian promise. The promise is a possibility of change that the children of poverty weave in their stories. A paradox of hope and despair surmounts the narrative underlying of the stories. The voices of the children echo as “Faiz Ahmed Faiz would have put it that life is a harvest of hopes, a belief that someday a ripe harvest shall be ours. Till that day, we must plough the sands” (Pathak, 2009, p.185). However, the lives of the children touched by the reification induced by the school and society reduce children to a marketable commodity. The hope manifests into anxiety, and the possibility of change truncates into a gloomy picture of survival or self-preservation. They transform from the subject of enlightenment and reason to Odysseus in the modern society, having an identity of nobody and somebody at the same time. Engulfed in a false unconsciousness, the children of poverty have simultaneously learnt to self efface themselves as well as protect their identity as Odysseus. “Acknowledging his name to himself by disavowing himself as ‘Nobody’ Odysseus saved his life by making himself disappear” (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2016). Therefore, “Childhood experience and the image of utopia is the broken promise of Adorno’s Proustian sublimations, and adjustment, amounting to an uncritical internalisation of the reality which insists that the infant must enjoy that which is socially sanctioned” (Connell, 2000). The lived life and the TAT stories of the children proliferate this form of Social Darwinism. The survival imperatives continue to supersede the children, which deters them from becoming a primary agent for revolutionary change in overcoming own exploitation and alienation (Cook, 2006). Becoming ‘Nobody’ as Camus (1990) would relate is an incalculable feeling that deprives the mind of the sleep necessary to life. “A universe which is suddenly divested of illusions and lights makes a man feel an alien, a stranger. His exile is without remedy since he is deprived of the memory of a lost home or the hope of a promised land” (Camus, 1990). School as a promised land masks itself into an image of naked individualism by practising naked individuality. In the pursuits of individualism, the school preaches self-preservation of conformity as a core value rather than rationality or criticality. This form of individualism is the dogmatic face of a collective totalitarian society, which ruthlessly shatters innocent children’s promise of emancipation from the toil and miseries of everyday life, which society created under the subtle name of progress. To cope with the rhythm, the children who enter the school with a hope of establishing a relationship with others, society and the self, are overpowered, forgotten and lose their critical consciousness; remain a stranger. The stranger is a communion of both familiar and the unknown. A stranger who resides at the periphery of knownness, yet coexist within us, “he is a foreigner, he is from nowhere, from everywhere, a citizen of the world, cosmopolitan” (Kristeva, 1991, p.31). Although “one experiences softening of the

border and it has allowed conditions for Nations to be peaceful as per Kant’s dream. However, the same conditions are becoming intolerable and abject as new inequalities are erupting” (Kristeva, 2016). Children of poverty under the disguise of modern cosmopolitanism, become strangers in the world of commodities. They begin to recognise that “one becomes a foreigner in another place [country] because one is already a foreigner from within” (Kristeva, 1991, p.32). Becoming oblivion to the world and stranger to oneself is a form of Adorno’s identity thinking. It is a fear of being cast out and being annihilated from the community. Symbolically, it is this fear that debilitates the freedom of the subject. As Adorno restates that, “the ideas of freedom are derived from a negation of those aspects of reality that perpetuate unfreedom. Freedom is, therefore, a polemical counter-image to the suffering brought on by social coercion; unfreedom as that coercion’s image” (Cook, 2014, p.32). However, in a fickle and volatile economy, (Un)freedom is a part of the ego development, which severely impairs the autonomy of subjects. Ego development in an economy reduces the human capacity for meaning and reflection and further, reduces the people to objects or commodities which can easily be exchanged in the market (Oliver, 2004). People are brought and sold as chattel (Oliver, 2004), but the invisible chain of this form of reality also commodifies relationships, family and value-system. Consequently, the school obliterates children’s identity of themselves to reified individuals belonging to low socio-economic status. It manipulates the agenda of education from the ideals of the common school system to a condition of being a largesse policy of the state. A reified consciousness prevails in the minds of children that although education and schooling for them is a primordial need. It is, however, a private school that is essentialised in their minds, as for them, it is a good school that produces good children vis-à-vis their present school which they categorised as bad. There is unified thinking that a good school is one which charges fees from the students (*“Jahan paise de kar parhte hain”*). An interlinkage between the socially approved model of behaviour and the quality of the school is evident from many narratives and can be summarised in the narratives of the case M. There is an inherent sadness in the narratives of ‘M’ in which the hero of his story contemplates his future. He negates that schooling and education will provide him with a successful future as he will remain a hawker and shall set up a cart (*redhi*) in the future as well.

“... ek school hai... acha school hai... bahut saare bache padte hain...aur unme se ek bacha aisa hai...aata to roz hai school mein... par sochta hai humein to kya karna hai. Humein to redhi lagani hai. dost kehte hain chorh na. apne ko kya karna hai... nasha karne jata ho...pure school ko bigaad diya hai. Yahan par to saare bache bigde hue hain par private school mein to sudhre hue honge...poori vardi mein aate hain...i-card bhi hota hai...kaam bhi poora karte hain chahe ghar ka ho ya bahar ka ho...ghoomne bhi nahin jaate... teachers ko bhi ulta bolte hain. phele to allowed

nahi tha, per ab mar sakte hain teachers. khelte bhi nahi, sirf t.v. dekhte hai phir so jate hain.

[...]

Per yahan sir ji sirf aate hain maarte hain, bhaunkte hain aur chale jate hain..."

(The Case M, Blank Picture Card)

As Cook (2014) puts that, "although individuals have always been obliged to submit to economic conditions that determine whether they work, when, where and how they work, today even their needs and instincts are manipulated to correspond to available offers of commodified satisfaction, their behaviour is moulded to fit socially approved models" (p.36). Alienation with self occurs as a result of social consciousness that is created when children as individuals fail to locate themselves at a barometer that measured their self-worth in toto with the goods they possessed and place they occupy within the economic system (Cook, 2014). Isolation and alienation originating from the place and space in the society become an ugly face of the unconsciousness of the children who fail to develop a meaningful relationship with self and society. "A wrong life cannot be lived right" is an antidote of Adorno's (2005) understanding of reified life. However, the experiences of children derived from their TAT stories and informal conversations echo a distinctive voice of living a wrong life which is symptomatic of a psychical form of alienation comprising shame, torment, aggression, desirability, grandiosity and counter-aggression on the society. This form of psychical alienation is the abjection of self, as it is beyond the scope of deriving meaning.

Abject, in the form of a harrowing experience, enables to access the origin of the subjectivity of a suffering subject repressed by the dominant socio-symbolic system (Singh, 2008). Abjection begins when the 'self' of a subject has an unstable relationship with the 'other'. My study endeavoured to bring to the surface how the subjectivity of the children studying in a government school located in slums of Delhi, is linked to the power relations, exchange principle and universality of identities that shape and define their subjectivity. Abject, according to the dictionary means, self-contempt, self-loathing and disgust. Considering Julia Kristeva's (1982) theory, the meaning of Abject in the present study is based on the notions that some lives are not sustained by desire, as desire is always for objects, such lives are based on exclusions. There is a fundamental division between the 'I' and the 'Other'. Abject refers to an individual who is affected by a loss of boundaries and the confusion about place and space. It disturbs the boundary comprising an individual's sense of identity. While it threatens the subject externally by disturbing its boundaries, it also repels the subject internally, where the internal experience results in loss or emptiness in the individual's core.

Kristeva's theoretical machinery became a magnifying lens to understand: what constitutes psychological alienation in the most interior-intimate space in a child from poor and deprived home studying in a government school. Further, how the external world of exclusion enters the inner world of that child. Most pertinently, how these experiences get situated in the unconscious mind of the children which disturbs their understanding of identity and self. My study incorporated and corroborated the conceptual machinery of two schools of thought. "The Psychoanalytic theory of Julia Kristeva and Theodor Adorno's Critical theory as they share a similar methodological approach. Both the viewpoints illuminate the mediatic relationship between individual and society in a way that neither a psychoanalytic account of personality formation nor a Marxist account of class conflict can be able to provide answers for alienation faced by people" (Singh, 2008). Both Adorno and Kristeva believe that society proliferates the false image of happy, fulfilled life even though the experiences of reality by individuals make them empty and idiosyncratic. Individual experience in the totalising society became a central point in the research on the psychology of poverty and deprivation. Both the theories are concerned with how the subject is transformed under the late capitalism which results in increased passivity of the subject of modern society. The interlocking arguments of decline in paternal authority and loss of meaning due to violence and culture industry reduce the subject's lack of resistance to domination leading to a hapless state.

The method applied is the Thematic Apperception Test, storytelling and verbal logorrhoea. However, the narratives obtained from the children are also viewed through the lens of 'ND' of Adorno which question the abstractness of the concept of personality and how non-identity is subsumed under the homogeneity of identity. The sample consisted of 30 children of IX standard who are studying in an afternoon school and are working as battery rickshaw drivers, mechanics, labours, or at some eatery shops. In Chapter 4, Part 1 of this study, the emphasis has been laid on the psychoanalytic conceptualisation of object selection, in particular, how the child views his relationship with his primary caregivers. It was elaborated in the chapter that a son's identification with the father takes place only if the father allows son emotional access. As object selection leads to idealisation in which the child invest his/her libido leading to cathexis. It was found that the children failed to transmute the unconscious process of idealisation. The idealised parental imago is highly contested as seen in the TAT stories in which the children display the disdainful or patronising attitude, and have feelings of inadequacy, non-congenial home backgrounds and lack of succourance. The narcissistic vulnerabilities accentuate as they show a psychological loss of the mother that takes a pivotal role in some of the stories. In the light of conditional relationships within the family, decaathexis as a defense mechanism arises. In such a situation where desires can no

longer be satisfied, the children begin to develop decathexis in which they substitute their desire. For instance, Case H stated that “*mujhe to khana bhi time se nahin milta...main itna vaasta hi nahin rakhta apne gharwalon se...*” (I do not even get food on time...I do not keep much relation with my family...). Decathexis constitutes the psychic reality of the children in which there is an instinctual delusion, unbinding and weakening of libidinal cathexis in the subject. While the children consider their father to be too savage whom they fail to idealise, it is the mother who is equivalently distant for them. As Kohut (1989) stated that people who are exposed early to violence or neglect come to expect it as a way of life. There is a fascination with the blood and pain as the repression is directed against the most antisocial murderous tendencies of mankind (Klein, 1927). Failed paternal imago, mother enthrallment, repressed femininity, de(cathexis) and moral masochism are the main findings of the present study using the psychoanalytic framework.

Chapter 4, Part II of this study pertinently explicated that the relationship between the individuals with their environment or with each other is constrained by society. The society does not give the possibilities of fullest experience to humans, as the subject and the object interact with coercion and dominating intentions. The rules of the exchange shape the general consciousness of the children. There is a desire of the children to become the ‘Other’, the non-deprived and non-poor. It is described through Adorno’s identity thinking, which invades the lives of the children who are subordinated and distorted by the exchange principle. This identity thinking is seen through the dominant narrative “*acha ban-na chahta hun*” (I want to become good). This becomes symptomatology of establishing false identity. The main findings of this study based on Adorno’s critical theory are reification and fetishisation of body and consciousness, the reification of a good school, fear and violence as a mechanism of self-preservation, physical punishment as the internalisation of fear and annihilation of self, and violence as a mimetic impulse.

My study critically examined that the life of children at school and in the society is dominated by the principle of instrumental reason and culture industry (consumerism). Both the existing psychoanalytic and psychological literature as well as the praxis of the school reifies the idea of a childhood of the children of poverty and deprivation and savagely define the children as the ‘other’ or outsider of the society. The image of the childhood is split from the dominant notions and those aspects of a child such as a fully innocent, beautifully obedient, self-denying and non-autonomous being (Nandy, 1987, p.67). Chapter 5 elaborated that the image created by the society is that of a society of the spectacle (Debord, 2002), an image-saturated environment that invades the psychic space of individual resulting in a lack of imagination and fantasy (Singh, 2017b, p.24). The culture

of egalitarian schooling reneges in a society of the spectacle. The genuine experience of education of the poor, deprived, marginalised, and disenfranchised community suggests the opposite, as most children live a reified life. A standardised image of childhood offered by the school is of violence, patriarchy, hyper-masculinity and a bigotry culture. This study elaborated that the psychological, social, and economic autonomy of the children is highly deterred and impeded by the dominant norms of society. The schooling and education of the children suggest a major dystopia of the society, as childhood for some becomes a dystopia, in the society of the spectacle. The banal oppressive praxis of the school dominates the social unconsciousness of the children who become the victims of meaninglessness and a by-product of social narcissism. As Cook (1995) stated that narcissistic individuals lack sufficient ego autonomy and are, therefore, defenceless against the culture industry's libidinally charged techniques. As a result, under the guise of the culture industry, the children become satisfied in maintaining the status quo and conformity to the socio-economic order. This is also evident in the narratives on the irrational form of physical punishment projected as a false psychological need of the children. The somatic and physical body of the children is under constant physical and psychical violence. Many instances in the present study examined the physical form of punishment as a social construct of reforming the unsocial self of the children. The relationship between teachers and children is visualised as of a dictator and a scribe, due to the internalisation of corporal punishment. Children's need for physical punishment is referred to in this study as a form of moral masochism. This form of masochism comprises, being maltreated, beaten or forced into unconditional obedience. The constant demands of ego for punishment elicited through various narratives of children explain their pleasure-seeking behaviour from painful situations (for instance, "*Sirji aise ho jo maare bahut*", Case H). The passive-receptive attitude and submissiveness towards the authority figures have become the norm in the school and children developed a form of master-slave dialectics with the teachers. The conventional idealisation of authority at the school is similar to a false reconciliation in the society as the individual in an attempt to adjust in the society, denounces his autonomy. This form of false reconciliation alludes to internalisation or epidermalisation of inferiority, according to Fanon (1967). The ego of the children oppressed under the unflinching criticism by the teachers renders their self non-existent. The self of the children is seen as a deficit and longs for a predefined 'Normalcy'. The set of pejoratives used by children to define their real self is dialectically inverse to their definition of fantasised self. This leads to a conclusion that they vindicate their real self by forming grandiosity or counter-image of themselves in the stories. The hero of the story desires to be liked by everyone and project the hero's need for acceptance in the society (for instance the case H and D stated that "*main shareefon ki tarah rahun...*" and "*ye acha ban-na chahta hoga*"). The environmental press

of the children suggests an uncongenial and hostile home environment, represented by the need of succourance and nurturance. The children have taken into cognisance that their relationship with their parents is beginning to undergo a shadowy transformation (Adorno, 2005a, p.22). The object cathexis is problematic as it is the economic impotence of their fathers and reification of the family's socio-economic status that deters them from developing a congenial relationship. The internal constitution of the psyche of the children as well as their internal world is dominated by sadness, repression, and isolation. As a result, the self of children evolves into a form of alterity dominated by the binaries ascribed by the school and the society (*"Acha insan vis-à-vis Harami"*). Children's individual ontogenesis and the phylogenetic experience with parents is hammered under these binaries. For instance, case H stated that *"mera papa to harami hai"*. The body of the children takes the shape of corporeality when the desires of the material world transfigure into needs evasively under the culture industry. The body of the children defined as a state of reification elaborates that they are becoming an accomplice to their own subjugation and self-sabotage as they internalise the external forms of reification both cognitively as well as through the bodily experiences. An environment of reification persuades the children to position themselves in given fixed and limited identities. This allows them to be simply manipulated and instrumentalised by the school. Alterity in oneself becomes a rubric for locating fear in the minds of the children. Fear is a form of human coldness that allows suffering on select population. To transform oneself in accordance with external domination, one also starts to dominate internal nature. This study argued that the meaning of fear confined to suffering, is of three types: 1). Decline and decay of the body; being betrayed by our own body, 2). The suffering from natural disasters, 3).The suffering that originates in our relations with other human beings (Huhn, 2016). A suffering which is bestowed by the disappointments occasioned by others becomes a form of self-preservation. The fear has become an orientation of the mind; a terror of the authority in the lives of children has invaded and inveigled their minds (for instance, The case M stated that *"Bacha school jate tha. Teacher marte the"*). As a result, fear penetrates deep inside the children as they idealise it as a source of the rectification and see the oppressor as the nurturer (*Ghlati pe maarte hain*).

One of the most pertinent questions that this study attempted to answer was: "do representations of violence incite or quell violent desires and actions?" (Oliver, 2013). Is there a relation between mimesis and identifying with the aggressor? How the aggressive drive in some situations is sublimated and some are stimulated on others? What happens to the children's subjectivity when they experience a precarious form of verbal abuse and violence at the hands of the teachers? The present study explored that mimesis originally referred to non-hierarchical relation that a man

shared with the external nature. With instrumentality, this assimilation of self transformed into the annihilation of others through force, and domination. The children were seen as habituated by the punishment which resulted in either ego-assimilation or ego-withdrawal. For some children, their ego reacted to this social reality as a mechanism of conformity in which they showed their allegiance to punishment. For some children, punishment became a tool for ego withdrawal from painful situations in which they would run away from the school or used pseudo names in order to protect their identity. Any misdemeanour on the part of the children could lead to their name being struck from the school, and the children would conceal their real name in order to be caught.

My study concludes that the mimetic impulse of violence leads to a more significant expression of violence on the society, especially on the marginalised and those considered weak in society. As Horkheimer (2004) stated that “if the final renunciation of the mimetic impulse does not promise to lead to the fulfilment of man’s potentialities, this impulse will always lie in wait, ready to break out as destructive force” (p.79). He further stated that the norm of the society is status quo and if the reason offers only pressure in the hope of happiness, man will never be able to overcome the mimetic impulse and shall revert to a regressive and distorted form of violence (Horkheimer, 2004, p.79). Quintessentially, my study states that the desires of children on whom the TAT was administered return to the repressed through the narratives on matricide, homicide and rape. As Adorno (2002) stated that the soul of learning in children is an imitation. The child’s faculty of imitating the expressions of adults is exceedingly subtle. The present study concludes using Adorno’s explication that the individual, “in his hopeless struggle with the power of society, seeks to avert his destruction by identifying with that power, then rationalising the change of direction as authentic individual fulfilment” (Adorno, 2002).

At a macro level, this study concludes by stating that there is a lapse of meaning centring the modern world. This void is derived from the thought that life is becoming more and more busy, routinary and meaningless, where we struggle to find meaning in the mundane existence of our everyday lives (Tan, 2013). It can be argued that in the current times, as Julia Kristeva in an interview with Karen Mock stated “we might think that we are living in exciting times with the spread of the digital revolution, rapid means of communication, of being in touch with each other, etc.,” (Kristeva, 2016). But in reality, a crisis has engulfed us and is day-by-day beginning to erupt from “the outright failure in our ability to educate, govern, to enter into contact with the mental lives of others” (Kristeva, 2016). The children of enlightenment that we are, have cut all ties with one another and have forgotten about the richness of meaningful relationships. It is the nihilistic

crisis in the modern world, having its roots beyond theology, which has deeply wounded our self-knowledge and manifested into a vulgar form of violence. Everyday life penetrates fear of existence for the marginalised who have decried that modernity has nothing to do with them. The culture which is becoming oppressive, abject, excludes, or marginalises certain groups or types of bodies, sublimation and idealisation can become the privilege of dominant groups, and idealisation can become a cruel, judging superego (Oliver, 2004). While one half of the children population weave their threads of future, of being part of the technocratic rationality and scientific realms, it is the other half the children who do not even know how to dream. The education and schooling of the poor and deprived symbolise the older culture of cynicism, fragmentation, inequality, and violence. It is a paradox that the infrastructure of Government school is changing vastly, yet dropout, hunger, starvation, poverty of the children and the continuous violence both overt and symbolic, remains unchanged.

This study, through the narratives of children, dares to hope that the future will change. The future is alive for those children who have stopped dreaming about the world they live in. Amidst all the darkness, there is still a hope of light that ignites in the children who wait for their journey into the world of inequality to break free.

6.2 Positioning the Present Research in Relation to the Previous Researches

The research on Poverty in Psychoanalysis remains a matter of grave concern. There is a gap in the discipline which see poverty as either an exogenous event (having external symptoms) or as psychic poverty of dreams, affect or even poverty of intellect. Poverty as an inner reality and its impact on the psychic life imperilled by the socio-economic conditions influencing human well-being have not been an area of sustained interest of psychoanalytic studies (Kumar, 2012). Poverty in psychoanalytic terms alludes to the ego's impoverishment or ego's poverty, which relates to the loss of an object or incapable of fulfilling the ego ideal (Freud, 1918). Extending Freud's usage of ego's poverty, "Weiss (1942) referred to ego's poverty in libido, which is represented in the dreams about being poor or becoming poor. Ego and its withdrawal from utilising impulses consequently lead to an impoverishment of ego behind such dream symbol. According to Weiss, in dreams and neurotic expressions money and richness stand for interest, libido, while poverty and beggars, in so far as they are related to the dreamer himself, indicate that some affective need, drive, instinct or inclination is neglected" (Kumar, 2012). Anna Freud, in her article titled "the concept of the rejecting mother", developed an analogy of fear with the fear of impoverishment, which she explained as a symptom of pre-psychotic states. Fear of impoverishment is expressed as a result of

the individual's libidinal withdrawal from his material possessions and the ensuing fear of losing hold of them vis-à-vis a graver psychotic delusions of the world" (Freud, 2015). The psychotic delusion, according to her, is a reflection in consciousness of the withdrawal of libido from the object world in general (Freud, 2015). Again in the essay, Freud uses poverty as a metaphor to describe the concept of voluntary poverty which is practised by many religious, political, and social bodies whose members engage to cathect only ideas and not waste cathexis on material matters. While, she alludes that "we expect poets, writers, members of the medical profession, others to be high-minded, i.e., at least to be partially uninterested in material reward" (Freud, 2015). In her, another essay on the symptomatology of depression, Freud (1970) found that castration anxiety could manifest in children in the form of the anxiety of mutilation, operation, dental illness and 'poverty' amongst other forms (Kumar, 2012, p.8). Other prominent psychologists such as Winnicott (2005, p.137) referred to a deprived child as one who is notoriously restless and unable to play, and has an 'impoverishment of capacity to experience in the cultural field'. Here Winnicott refers to poverty as a lack of a potential space in the child in which there is a relative failure on the part of those (such as mothers for the baby) who constitute the child's world of persons to introduce cultural elements at the appropriate phases of the person's personality development (Winnicott, 2005).

Researches have demonstrated that people who have grown up in the conditions of poverty do not perform well on a test of abstract thinking, tests of intelligence or tests of academic achievement (Frank, 1994, p.95). There is an elitist standpoint in the research on poverty and psychoanalysis. In an article on mental health of a homeless poor from a psychoanalytic lens, although Vahali (2015) quintessentially provides a voice of a non deprived or a non poor psychologist who uses the technique of narrative storytelling and self-reflective approach to asserting that there is a need of an authentic connectedness between the psychologists and the poor and homeless poor. Despite presenting a radical thought, she reified the poor as the 'other' in the section on listening to the 'Other': the promise of the relational psychoanalytic frame, Vahali (2015).

In the discipline of psychology, poverty has been defined as a metaphor of loss and allegorical usage of the phrase 'psychological poverty' to connote a certain deficiency or lack of imagination, inability to garner enough analytic material or thoughts (Kumar, 2012). Some of the prominent researches by the Indian psychologists have subtly defined deprivation under the ecological models of deprivation. While, deprivation, according to Durganand Sinha (1982), is paraphrased as a felt loss, to deprive or to dispose or strip (a person or an object). There are deficiencies in the

environment, which are not only there but are also experienced by the individual. According to Sinha (1982), deprivation in the discipline of psychology is seen as an individual variable and hence, the psychologist within the discipline deals only with person and personality. Sinha (1982) suggest that there should be interplay between the environmental factors, ecology, the biological factors and physical environment. Although, the interplay of studies was to provide a full account of inter-connecting totality, yet the psyche gets reduced to subjective motivation. As Adorno (1967, p.69) stated that the separation of society and psyche is false consciousness; it perpetuates conceptually the split between the living subject and the objectivity that governs the subjects and yet derives from them. Such methodological approach fosters false consciousness as it tries to isolate sociology from psychology and succumb to positivist methodology. In such researches, the psyche becomes a naturalistic observation and society becomes a mere variable. Other researches by Girishwar Misra (2000), R.C. Mishra (2000), Ajit Dalal (2000), many others, focussed mainly on deficit models such as, the psychological effect of poverty leads to inappropriate cognitive functioning, attention problems, learning disability, inadequate linguistic skills, stagnant or unrealistic aspirations, low self-esteem and secondly they have focussed on the intervention programs to level off the difference between the deprived and privileged.

Researches on poverty and deprivation have used “behaviour theory and suggested intervention programmes to alleviate the ill effects of deprivation or social disadvantage. However, the social system hardly, if ever works this way. It is the “haves” who control all the resources. Therefore, it is they who decide what behaviours to reinforce and when. Such reinforcements are likely to be few and far between and, therefore, will play only a small role in the psychological development of the deprived” (Tripathi, 1982, p.22).

6.3 Implications of the Study

The schools work in the bourgeoisie era by glossing over the personalities of children. Personality as a doctrine work as archetypes modelled by the school that metonymically classifies the children under the dominant concepts such as productive, refined, violent, abusive, etc. There is an idiosyncrasy structured around these definitions and fosters a false principle of ideals of personality. This is a form of market-driven propaganda in the education that works in harmony with the kind of personality the economy need for its development and separates those who cannot contribute to the spheres of production, circulation and growth of the society. The children of poverty, as the present study elaborated, have been viewed as a euphemism for backwardness and uncivilised by the school. They reduced to a common denominator and are no longer considered to be capable

persons. As Adorno (2005b) put it because they do not fully accomplish their self-preservation through conformity, they are looked at askance: deformed, cropped, weaklings. The ideology of the schools needs to be reframed under the democratic principle of education rather than harnessing the old ideology. Schools potentially cater to surrender every child's body and the soul to society's demand for a specialised workforce. The ego of the children manufactured by the school contains the elements of psychological resistance to change and autonomy. As a result, the ego day by day weakens, and the children turn from victims of narcissistic aims of education to a narcissistic and reified personality. By introjecting the teachers who are propagators of moral masochism in children, education and schooling curtail individuality, autonomy and freedom. Pathak (2016) quintessentially summarises the fate of children who are suppressed under the perils of our current education system. He stated that "The primary goal of education is not the arousal of the child's innate potential but is instead a ruthless process of elimination and selection for future manpower allocation. Furthermore, in a society guided by the scarcity of resources as well as the neoliberal ethos of Social Darwinism, competitiveness or hierarchisation of individuals based on a measuring scale, becomes the standard norm that a large section of parents and teachers tend to accept" (Pathak, 2016). There is an intellectual tyranny which is reflected in uncritical pedagogy that provides autonomy and power to the teachers who make the educational experiences of the poor an atrophy. Those students who are considered waste gradually withers from the school and becomes atrophy for society. Kellner (2005), a third generation critical theorist using the work of "Allan and Carmen Luke argued that current education systems, curricula, and pedagogies were designed for the production of a labouring subject who has become an 'endangered species' in the current economic, social, and cultural system. In a global economy marked by constant restructuring, flux and rapid change, there is a fundamental misfit between youth life-experience and schooling" (Kellner, 2005, p.60-61). As "Ivan Illich analysed that there is a hidden curriculum and the modern schooling prepares for the modern industrial system which promotes conformity, bureaucracy, instrumental rationality, hierarchy, competition, and other features of existing social organisation" (Kellner, 2005, p.61). The most pertinent elements that will lead to revolutionising education is the tool for conviviality, which will end the means through which individuals are oppressed, dictated, overpowered and controlled.

The school needs to embrace an emancipatory pedagogy that enables to develop the delicate art of pedagogy that will allow the child to develop the faculties of learning-concentrated observation, rational perception, intuitive flash, poetic sensitivity and empathic understanding (Pathak, 2018). A classroom which embraces difference but not hierarchies will have a teacher who does not

stigmatise others and envisions to celebrate the discourse of an inclusive society through an inclusive classroom and weave the children in a thread of connectedness to one another, and a child who is unconstrained, active and reflexive. The schools should encrust their classrooms under the paradigm of guided apprenticeship. Rogoff (1990, p.39) stated that “the notions of apprenticeship as a model of children’s cognitive development is appealing because it focusses our attention on the active role of children in organising and development, the active support and use of other people in social interaction and arrangements of tasks and activities, and the socioculturally ordered nature of the institutional connects, technologies, and goals of the cognitive activities”. She further stated that

“shared problem solving-with an active learner participating in a culturally organised activity with a more skilled partner-is central to the process of learning in apprenticeship. So are other features of guided participation that I emphasise: the importance of routine activities, tacit as well as explicit communication, supportive structuring of novices efforts, and transfer of responsibility for handling skills to novices” (Rogoff, 1990, p.39).

The propagators of education of poverty and disadvantage need to take a dissident position and uphold a revolution that can dismantle, subvert, and deconstruct the totalising system of bourgeois individualism. The veil over the crude consumerism that cogently dismisses the socio-cultural and economic difference should be lifted. Fear and violence escalate when classrooms become power intoxicated classroom producing authoritarian discourse which tames the children as ‘dèclassè’. It is this fate of being a dèclassè that looms in the minds of children as ahead lies the road to an asocial, criminal existence who are constantly exposed to the vengeance of society (Adorno, 1967, p71).

6.4 Limitations of the Study

The present study undertook snowball sampling for researching in a Government school. Permission from the Directorate of Education was sought through proper channels in which all the documents were duly attached. However, there was no correspondence from the office of the Directorate of Education. The Regional Director, North-West Delhi, Directorate of Education gave permission to me to conduct a research in two schools: an afternoon boy’s secondary school and a Co-ed school. However, it was found that the sample could not be condensed together, as there were differences in the children’s socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. The Co-ed school was located in the CRPF campus, and hence, the data obtained could not be compiled with the slum school. This study limits its findings on the boys as the analysis of the sample obtained from the girls of the Co-ed school showed variance with that of the boys’ secondary school. My female gender jeopardised some of the TAT sessions as the session had to be stopped midway due to interference from other male teachers and students who contextualised female and the isolated room

with sexual connotations. The children used to deliberately close the door of the room in which TAT was being held and screech from outside “*maam aapse majey le raha hai*”.

Epilogue

The Concluding Discussion

My doctoral study indeed suggests that the schooling of children who belong to a low socio-economic status within Delhi remains subversive in the classroom context characterised by a binary opposition of *sharif/harami*, *acha/harami* and *ameer/gareeb*. The school conducts as a source of symbolic castration against the unsocial desires of the children, wherein the main task is sublimation and idealisation. However, the praxis of school perpetuates a deeper layer of discrimination and a prerogative that sublimation and idealisation remains a privilege of the dominant group. The defense mechanism left for the poor remains in conformity to the status quo and dissolution of self against the demands of sociality. Most students who had participated in this study projected themselves as an abject, which “is simply a frontier, a repulsive gift that the Other, having become alter ego, drops so that the “I” does not disappear in it but finds, in that sublime alienation, a forfeited existence” (Kristeva, 1982). The alter ego which is deeply situated in the terrains of the children’s minds stigmatises them from the real self, which results in alterity or a grandiose self. The psychic embodiment of the children explains how the school extends the meaning of vulnerabilities, disgust and the emotional defence against de(cathexis). My study at various junctures provided an understanding of the topography of self of the subject wherein the ego libido proliferates and regresses.

There is a victory of id over the ego in the children which calls for a triumph of Thanatos over Eros. Abjection yields an external reality for the children whose social existence assumes otherness. The death drive which is apparent in the children “lacks the plasticity: it is altogether hostile to the stringency needed to hold the ego together as a stable unity that sublimates instincts in the first place” (Hedrick, 2016, p.182). The death instinct in the children becomes immutable and erupts with aggression on other students in the school. This study questions the psychoanalytic literature which takes into consideration Hedrick’s proposition that from a psychoanalytic lens, the main task of the therapist is to train the ego to be less selfish and grandiose, more loving (Hedrick, 2016, p.183). It brings to the surface that the emerging narcissism which the children projected is a desperate attempt to compensate for the injustice faced by them in the society which forces the children as individuals to relinquish all spontaneous and direct relationship among human beings today (Adorno, 2014). As a result, children as individuals steer all of their idle energies towards themselves. The schools are opening the gate of violence through normalising education for children of poverty in the form of aggression, fear, humiliation, alterity and narcissism. As a

modern datum, it is ego which is turning into the id (Adorno, 2005), as the self of the children, under constant scrutiny, is rendered non-existent. Analysis of the self of children under the psychoanalytic lens makes a child a social object, as Adorno (2005, p.63) said that “psychology provides society with weapons for ensuring that this remains the case. The dissection of man into his faculties is a projection of the division of labour onto its pretended subjects, inseparable from the interest in deploying and manipulating them to a greater advantage”. The ‘I’ of the children is a prejudiced form of personality which is easier to dominate, and it confirms their ‘non-being’. The psychoanalytic exploration behind the school’s objective elimination of children shows that the school expropriates any possibility of living a fruitful life from children. An apocryphal promise of schooling takes away any possibility of experiencing oneself as a genuine or authentic self. The TAT method becomes a source of catharsis for the children as the stimulus of the picture cards projected the fear and violence in their lives. Through narrative story-telling technique, the realm of reification of self and others and the lingering of super-ego among the children was extended. The stories opened the primaeval wounds of their experiences as well as their parents’ experiences in society. Their stories weaved a picture of how society castrates any hope of happiness in their lives. Awareness of one’s social position, place and space lingers on in children’s conscious mind who projected themselves as the victim of society’s master-slave relation. Their ego as a form of lived experience in the school and society provided a cognition to socially accepted models of behaviour.

My study illustrates that the ego and libido of the children need to be seen in a continuum and not in isolation. The investment in ego-libido under the sway of narcissism in the late capitalist society is because society hinders individual development and holds the individual responsible for the neurosis. The society treats the ego of the individuals as an embodiment of rational faculties of the soul as if it fell from heaven (Lee, 2014, p.316). My study critically analyses the revisionists perspective on the ego as an independent entity, free from drives, impulses and passions. It questions some of the notions of the revisionists that the ego is not genetically related to the Id. The anonymous character of ego formation according to the revisionists is critiqued using Adorno’s (1967, p.73) arguments that, “They [revisionists] forget that not only the individual but also the concept of the individual is a product of society: the individual is...not simply individual, not merely the substratum of psychology, but, as long as he behaves with any vestige of rationality, simultaneously the agent of the social determinations that shape him. His psychology, the dimension of irrationality, points back no less than instrumental rationality, to social moments”. As a result, the manifestation of phallic monism as a constitution of the psyche of the children in the present study points toward an understanding of how a society represses the deeper psychology of

the children which surfaces through many stories on fragments of their drive and impulse. Phallic monism which is referred in the thesis to an unconscious datum in which there is a recognition of one sex (the penis), one libido (masculine) and a sole symbol for the activity of thought (the phallus) becomes an underlying principle of the conscious mind of the children. This study provides a critique of practice followed by the schools which reify phallocentrism and masculinity. With masculine social disorder being more prevalent in the school system, it becomes a dominant part of the lives of students. The students, through their stories, rendered the body of women as abject, disgusting, vomitous and revolting, which indicates a form of maternal or female abjection (Hansen, 2013). Phallic monism is becoming a psychological reality in patriarchal societies which obliterates the co-presence of female genitals in the life of the children. There is a direct relationship between spanking and sexualisation, which my study elaborated. The collision of the masochistic tendencies with sadistic pleasure is also evident from the children's narratives. The schools are attempting to instil a submissive attitude in children towards the authority figures, wherein they use a direct form of abuses related to mothers such as an erect penis or mother/sister fucker. There is a fierce struggle to ascertain the identity of women in their lives, especially mothers. The present study quintessentially fosters a message that construction of women subjectivities is under the perils of masculine state of affairs lest it is curbed through education and schooling, shall result in the archaic form of barbaric relationships where women become token of exchange. Krishna Kumar (2018) stated that schooling and educational praxis had made a little impact on male aggression and self-righteousness. School is creating a hyper-masculine image of the society, and the children are exceedingly developing a mimetic relationship as a result of cultural hollowness. This study indicates that the power vacuum and the lack of intimate revolt become the epithets of a monolithic culture wherein the children as modern subjects decry their own isolation, a symbolic collapse and severance of social ties (Hansen and Tuvel, 2017).

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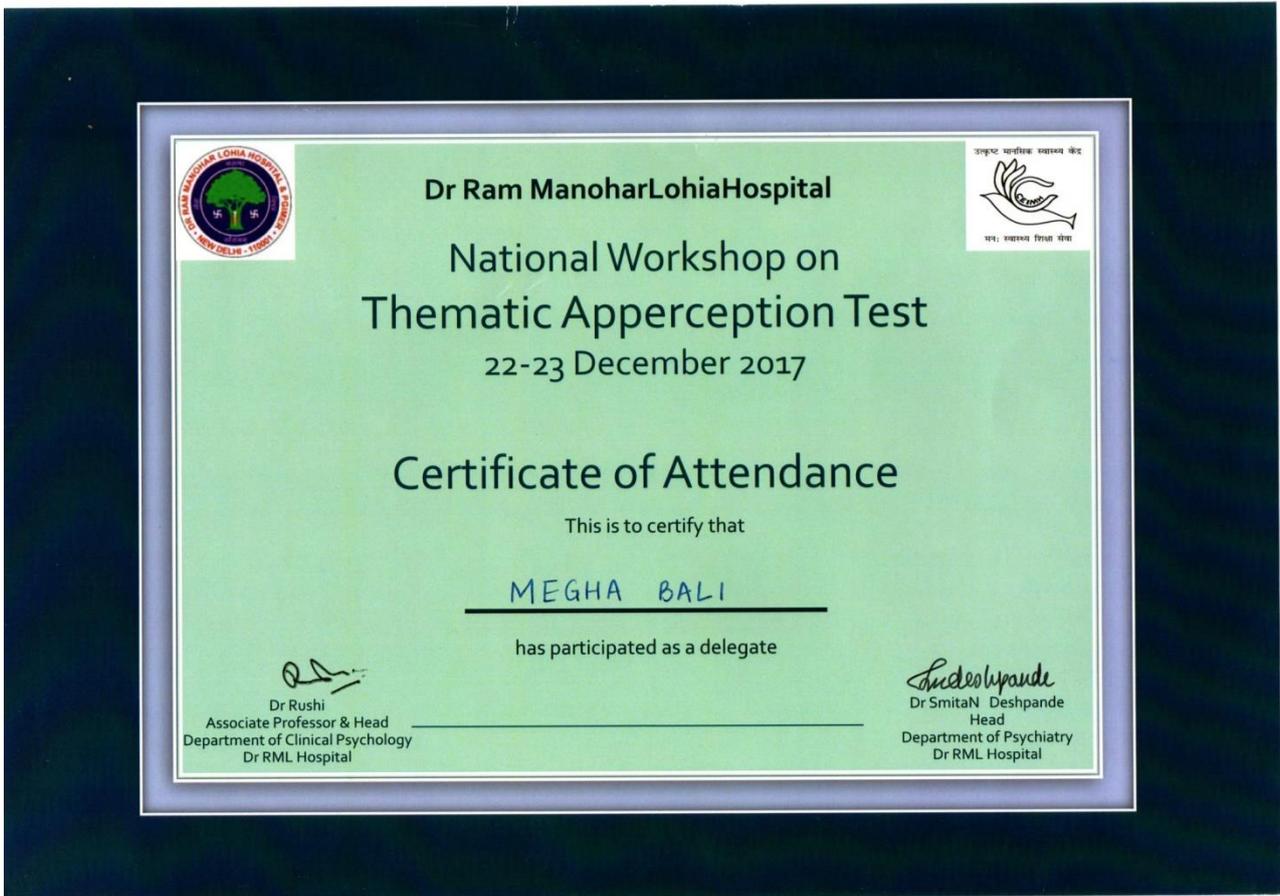
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TAT CERTIFICATE



ANNEXURE A

TAT of the CASE H

CARD 1:

He is thinking what tune should I play, from which I'll be hit...some people go out to play somewhere, when someone calls...what tunes should I play to make people like me ...which will make me a good person...he wants this.

Megha: So is this not a good person?

H: He is ...and thinks of becoming a better person.

Megha: A better person ...what is a good person?

H: One who do not do bad things, does nothing...only pays attention to his work...that's it, he's a good person. So he wants to be a good person, wants to make tunes...

Megha: Who is in his house?

H: His mother and father...he has one sister...and one brother also...

Megha: He goes to school?

H: Yes...

Megha: He studies well?

H: He studies well...

H: Let me tell you one thing Didi...if the elder brother is good in the house...then all the brothers will be fine...

Megha: You are a younger brother in the house, or elder brother?

H: I'm elder one...

Megha: You are elder...so are you good?

H: No...

Megha: Your brothers and sisters are also not good?

H: No...

Megha: Why do you feel that you are not good?

H: I just ... I am not just good ...

Megha: What is it...what is goodness? What are good deeds?

H: Good deeds like...keep a good look in everyone's eyes... Do not speak upside down to someone ... say it with love ...

Megha: Where do you learn to be good...who teaches?

H: Mother and father...

Megha: Mother and father...to be good, mother and father should also be good...is it?

H: My father drinks alcohol...

CARD 2:

This is the mother of this girl...and she's her daughter. He's her husband... she's going outside now. He said if you're going to the market then bring something to eat. She says...mother I'm leaving, from there I'll leave to aunt's (maasi) house...it will take 2-3 days...you bring it yourself. (introduces 3rd and 4th character) . He is her brother, she says brother come home...I have cooked the food...he says sister I'll be back soon, I'm going for fishing ...I'll bring it home and then we will eat it... But he could not catch any ...it gets too late catching a fish...sister comes again and speaks...come on fast, the food is getting cold...he gets upset trying to catch fish since morning...if I ever go out of country to catch fish...and I could not catch fish there, I will feel insulted among the people...insult happens to those who cannot do anything among people...that is his father...he plows...and does

farming...only his father is good in his house...everyone else is just the same (is it sufficient or I should tell you more?)...she lives happily at her aunt's house...eats and drinks well...she does not desire to come back home after having good meals at her aunt's house...there is T.V. also...everything else is there, so she does not desire to come back home...she makes friends also ...

"...did you record that part where I said about my mother and father?"

Megha: You don't trust me? I am not going to tell all this to anyone...

H: I don't trust anyone...I don't even trust my family members... The world is such that people will speak only if they have money. I have friends at school...friends will support only if I bring money...in fights and in other cases... otherwise they will not... whoever it is...friends or family members"

CARD 3:

They used to live in a village, two people...not two, many people...people spoke bad words in the village...someone used to say something, and sometimes the other...they were always troubled...there was no work also that's why they were troubled...there was another reason to be unhappy i.e. arranging food to eat..used to do anything...he started stealing also....then they kept stealing...but one day or the other the thief gets caught...they had no farms...had nothing to eat...no work that's why started stealing...had no home...used to live like this only...slowly started to live decently...they became good and then many became friends in the village...even after making friends they were not happy...he used to think I neither have a brother nor sister, I only have my father with me...his father used to cry for his wife, and his son for his brother, sister and mother...they were very sad...his wife left him...she started living somewhere else...one day his wife was watching T.V., then she watched both father-son in the T.V....they did something good that's why...after seeing this the wife comes back home...then they started living happily...he was blessed with a son and daughter...they got their reputation back in the village...they were happy now.

Megha: Wife came back because he had money now? She left him because he had no money? How did he earn...how did he become a good man?

H: Everyone who goes to jail, either he becomes a decent person or becomes more bitter. so both of them became decent instead of becoming bitter.

Megha: People embraced them that now they have come from jail, yet we will give them work ...? People thought that if they had been discharged from the prison, were discriminated on this basis so...

H: Started talking kindly with everyone, did not speak upside down ...

Megha: What were their thoughts about themselves...that we came back from jail now and want to be decent...from where did this thought came into their mind...to be decent?

H: They used to live in village, used to see love of people, daughters were lovable towards their mother, they used to see this in others...to be nice, and then they thought of becoming decent....made their own home. both were happy then...

CARD 4:

She used to live in a village...she had her mother and father...brother and sister...she had her grandfather and grandmother also...boy used to love someone else...and girl was of some other village...so one day family of girl comes to see the boy...boy's family agreed to the marriage proposal...and girl's family too agreed after seeing the boy...but both of them didn't agree...but girl's family was rich...boy's family was not that well, they were poor...they were getting them married only because of greed for money...and marriage did not take place at home...the boy was very good...for others he was good, otherwise he was a bastard...otherwise he was good...they got married...after getting married they were never happy...and never talked to each other...they never asked each other for food...only thought of the other person...where would be my first wife...the girl also kept thinking about the boy she loved once...how would they be...where would they be...whether they would have eaten food or not..but never asked each other about having food...both lived together like they didn't know each other...so one day...their parents told them to have food...so they went from there...but they quietly stood in the room...parents saw that why are they being so quiet with each other...they told their truth to the parents...but girl belonged to rich family...boy was very poor...boy's father told them not to do like this...we don't have enough money...that's why we got you married with a rich family...boy asked his father for money...everything is bought by you only...but you couldn't buy love...I loved another girl...she must be sad for me...this is it...the girl could not speak...she was at her in-laws house that's why...when rakshabandhan comes she goes to her parent's home to tie rakhi to her brother...so girl told the truth to her father...after going there she told the truth to her parents...still they didn't do anything...they said if we'll get you married to another boy, it will slander us...nothing will happen to boy and his family...now if girl's parents will make her leave the boy, only girl's parents will be slandered...at first girl thought of leaving the boy...girl's parents wanted to renounce the marriage...but girl's mother told that doing this will not be good for us and her...girl's reputation will be hampered more...so slowly-slowly many years passed away...they started talking to each other...then started loving each other...one day or the other, we have to leave the first love...they started talking, started living together...and started eating with each other.

Story 2

Then they were blessed with a girl...they started tuition classes for their daughter, got her admitted in a private school...she grew well while studying...she used to study in a good tuition...used to study in a good school...she had so many friends...she used to speak to her friends... her parents loved her very much...her marriage proposals started coming...a family came for their daughter...but they thought of not getting their daughter married...she will stay like this...we have only a single daughter...if she goes away our home will become dry...then girl used to say...girls are surrogate wealth...she is a debt...a debt you have to pay...slowly slowly girl started denying...her mother also denied...and her father too...slowly slowly they said we also used to love someone...we also got married...if she gets married it will be better for her...then her parents got her married...they got her married to a poor family...that if we'll get our daughter married in a rich family, we'll cry...but girl was not happy with the boy...slowly slowly the boy started beating her...mother in law also kept taunting her to do this work or that work...she told her mother in law that she is hungry, she will work after having food...her mother in law would say to work first and then have food...she used to sleep late at night...and her mother in law made sure to wake up early the next morning for work...she was not having proper food because of all this...she was very upset...slowly slowly she started becoming more upset...and suddenly she died.

Megha: Her parents loved her so much...what did her husband and her mother in law do with her..? Is it not...? How did she die?

H: The person gets upset and disturbed...if one doesn't eat properly...he is bound to get ill. If the disease will take place then the mother-in-law is not going to treat the

disease...she will make sure not to tell her parents... if you do not even get any treatment, then death will happen for sure...fever will come...then medicine of fever will be required.

CARD 5:

Story 1

...is he trying to choke the other person?...he is his father...he is girl's father...she has a mother also...they used to live in a village and they had a girl, she was 11-11.5 years old...she always used to do dirty things...she always did wrong things...she used to hit someone, people used to come to her father and taunt him of her acts...her father used to beat her after reaching home..still that girl kept on doing similar acts...she was their only daughter...villagers started speaking foul about her...because of the girl, her parents lost their reputation...this girl is like this only...she does this...she does that...does wrongful acts...picks up anything from anyone's house...her father used to feel bad...her father loved her no more...her father thought of killing her now...then people will never taunt...i will get rid of her...he thoughts of killing his daughter many times...one or the other person comes in between...when someone used to come, he used to embrace her...just to show others that I love her so much...one day he killed his daughter...after killing her, he started regretting what he did...he thought I had only one daughter and I killed her...he regrets of having a single daughter...

Story 2

Months passed away and memories of people also fades away from heart...after many months passed away a boy was born to them...that boy of them was very nice...he was young so was loveable, he used to do similar wrongful acts...but his father never used to say anything to him...slowly slowly he grew up well with time and started understanding things better...when parents were there, they used to scold their daughter...a girl learns whatever you teach her...so their boy was born...they gave him good education...slowly they did his admission...he used to touch teacher's feet as and when he reached school...but he didn't know how to read...he has to study now only then he will learn to read...slowly slowly teacher used to pass him because of his goodness...he had no ego...then one day he got a job offer...he went there...a girl was sitting in front of him...she was speaking in english...she didn't know english that well...he was humiliated by people...was taunted...that you have grown up...you don't study, you do nothing...he again took admission in school named Gaurav Public School...then he failed 3 times...teacher used to let him go home after beating him and told him you cannot study...then one day aunty was taking the water out of well...there was one tree there, he sat there...that rope which was used for taking water out of well...was so stretched after pulling out water with it so many times...and then breaks...then he realised that I too will pass one day after failing again and again...he concentrated a lot...he started studying well...then he went to that girl again...that same girl who humiliated him...then the girl herself went away after feeling embarrassed...with the passage of time he became a doctor...started treating illness of people...and then opened up his own hospital on the name of his father...but never charged high amount from patients...because he thinks that I too was poor earlier...I became rich only after studying...his parents also loved him a lot...he respects his father a lot...he used to worship his father...for him his father's place was above god...

CARD 6:

Boat can be seen...plants and trees re there...a river can also be seen...boat, trees, a pond (doesn't want to go to such a place)...I don't feel like going to such a place...rich people must be going there for travelling...(in between afraid of light)...light irritates me...i don't stay in light so often...there was a man with a boat...his wife...and his two children...had no home...they used to stay in the boat

itself...people who threw coins in river...they used to collect those coins from river using a magnet...there is a bridge of train...gold is being taken in the train...bridge collapses and whole train falls in the river...they threw magnet in the river...and finds out so much of gold treasure...then they became rich...they became rich but always remembered their capability...even after having so much of money they lived like poor only...they made a palace of their own still keeps on doing the same work ...keep on searching for the coins using the magnet...they went to a village to stay...a king visits the village once...the king slaps a poor man...he knew that the poor man is richer than him...when the poor man makes a revelation of his truth...then the whole village keeps on thinking...villagers thought that they should wear nice clothes...should get their daughter married like a king...villagers thought that if they gets his girl married, then they will become rich...slowly their children grew up...one is 19 and the other one is 21 years old...he gets his children married in the village...the girl is very pretty...but the father of boy was greedy...he decides that he will not give anything to anyone out of his property...when he gets his son married, the son thinks that his wife will become queen...after 2-3 months he gets his another son married also...children then think that our father is not giving us anything...they separated...they thought of getting their share if they separate...they separated but got nothing...they worked like their father in the river...they used to say we have no one other than our father...they became richer than their father...they became rich by their hard-work...the money that was lying with their father had, government came to know that he only took that money...they took away all the property and their home...father becomes poor again...they kept their mother with themselves...and they tell their father that we cried a lot because of you, we will make sure that you too cry a lot...he did nothing for us...their father keeps on crying...he neither ate food nor drank water...one day children accepted their father ...they started living together...they also started taking care of him...

CARD 7:

There was a man named Pappu in a village...he had two wives...he loved one of his wife a lot...he didn't love his other wife much...the other wife kept on watching...other wife was rich...and the one he loved was poor...he loved his wife who was poor...poor wife had two children...the rich wife had no children...he lived with the wife that he loved...they had a single room but there was a wall at the back of the room...and it has a little window...the other wife used to watch through the window, that what both of them are doing...rich wife got married with the other man...younger than her...that boy married her out of his greed for money...slowly she transferred her property in the name of her (younger) husband...the boy married her out of greed...initially kept his wife with love...the boy got married, but whenever he went to village ...villagers used to taunt him...that see his age and his wife's age...it seems as if he is child of his own wife...then he started beating his wife...he married her because of her property...his wife files case against him that I transferred all my property in his name and now he beats me a lot...her husband goes to jail...then he comes out of jail...then thought that if my wife wanted to leave me, she would have left me...but she didn't leave him...then he thinks that I'll take her to another village...if I'll go there agin everyone will taunt me again, and if I go alone...no one will taunt me...I'll tell them that she is my mother...then they went to another village...their daughter is born...he loved his daughter very much...the girl soon achieves age of 11...he used to call her daughter, "sister"...people thought she is her sister...he admits his daughter...then after 12 years brother is born...she loved her brother very much...one day she and her brother were playing on the track of the train...she goes to sleep on the track of train while playing...train comes and brother dies... father beats a lot...while beating her he brings her on the road...villagers understood that boy was his son...because the girl says, father don't know anything...this and that...slowly and slowly they started getting taunts in that village as well...everyone comes to know that she is his wife and not mother...they had to leave that village...then he didn't love the girl that much as he thought that she killed his son...he didn't speak too much with his wife also...then tells the truth about his wife and daughter in another

village...people said nothing and they took a room on rent there...the daughter becomes educated...she becomes a doctor...then father says that our daughter gave us that happiness of a boy and girl both...our one child gave us happiness equivalent to two kids...when her brother died they said so much to her...but now they gets happiness of both from her...

CARD 8:

There was a huge forest...husband, his wife and their 2 children went to jungle for picnic...started playing hie and seek...they went from where voice was coming...everyone lost their way while looking out for each other...two days passed away while searching for each other...nights comes...wife looks for her husband and her children...3-4 days passed away...everyone started becoming tensed...she sits beside a temple...temple was in the middle of the jungle...she thoughts it is a house...she lies down on the stairs of the temple...in the morning she comes to know that it is a temple...she started praying in the temple to meet her children and husband...she went from there after praying...the next day husband arrives in the temple while looking for his family...after praying, husband also leaves from temple to look for everyone...then children went there...but they didn't went from the temple...children stood there...they thought that forest is so dense so we will stay here only...many years passed away...forest is very huge...but because of deforestation jungle become narrow...houses started getting built there...people started coming from outside...forest belongs to government...land belong to government also...poor people start claiming lands of government, but government says nothing to the poor...the tiny temple became so huge...one day father and mother came to village...she gets old and was unable to identify her children...their children identified their parents while looking at their photo...children were priests in the temple...villagers touched feet of children whenever they came to temple...if any politician used to come from outside, he used to touch children's feet...they touched their mother's feet...villagers thought that they never touched feet of anyone, so why are they touching feet of this old woman...they told about their reality to the villagers...that the old woman is our mother and he is our father...we got lost and separated...and said earlier we had nothing much to eat...mother started living there...for water they had to go far...slowly they got taps...children's father used to think about them a lot...he thought they would be alive or dead...wife also identifies...she falls in the feet of her husband... they hugged each other...mother says children are with us now...they started living in the temple...they get food to eat...everyone brings...rich people come to village...they donated huge amount of money...children distributed that money to the villagers...if someone had no house, they gave money to them...they gave clothes...that's why village which was poor earlier became so big...village had now permanent homes instead of temporary ones...

CARD 10:

He is sitting on iron pipe...he is a big thief...used to steal...he stole...was poor earlier, but became very rich after stealing...he had now so much of money...he thought of becoming the richest among all...there were many cases on his name, but still he didn't improve himself...he kept on stealing...one day he stole from king's palace...king caught him red handed...king pulled out his sword and hit him...he didn't get injure...thief had a knife, he threw it on the king...it went straight to the king...king died...police comes...they called every thief...only this thief didn't come...police understands that he didn't come because he is the one who stole...so he runs from here and there to hide himself...here and there...they caught him at every place...but still he didn't understand and kept on stealing...but he liked only one place...there was a pipe where no one used to come...so he used to sit there...he used to stay there whole night...then leaves straight from there in the morning...one day the pipe was cut...wall was to be build, so it had to be cut...police understood this is some kind of passage...police caught him...he got punished...he was sentenced to death...

Blank Card:

What should I tell you in this...I cannot see anything...you can create a story on my behalf on this one...there was a village...there were many ghosts there...(there is nothing in city...but there is a lot that happens in village)...in villages nobody comes out of their homes after 6-7...here people keep wandering the whole night...I too keep straying the whole night...I keep going here and there...I keep walking on the road...in slums, rickshaws are there on the road, my friends live there...they keep awake whole night...I keep sitting there...sometimes I bring a book to read also...

ANNEXURE B

The TAT of CASE M

Card 1: The kid is thinking which pin should I play first so that good rhythm of music plays and I could narrate beautiful stories. His name is Mitesh, he is 18 years old, he most likely lives in a shack, studies in angandbadi school. His face reflects he is a noble person and he want to become something in life. He got a haircut of his choice. He is wearing simple clothes. Mother-Father, Father would like to see him become someone relevant in life. With this thought he want to become a singer. He wants to perform well in life so that he could provide better living condition to his parents. He is weak in mathematics, must be all right in rest of the subjects. He has problem with poverty, like how I would like my parents to wear better clothing and eat better quality food, live a better life.

Card 2:

It seems to be a village... a man is taking his bullocks to plough his farm... His wife is sitting and cleaning rice... she is looking behind to see what is happening... A woman is taking her child somewhere... She has a bag on her head... her daughter looks sad... There is a man who is fishing in the pond... A goat was walking towards the shack... An aunty is walking behind the goat... This farmer is going to plough the farm. he doesn't have any clothing on his back, he has something kept on his head to save himself from getting wet in the rain... Rain will result in good production of crops... Rain means more money... can buy a bullock... will make more money... he will be able to buy additional piece of land... will be able to convert shack into a well built house... possibly their kids will also find a respectable job... will eat better food. Once their kids will grow up, they will care of their parents. Later on they will buy more land. It looks like they don't study, it seems there is no school in the village. They consider to enrol their son in a good school to provide education. They will go to renowned schools; good education is provided by such renowned schools only. For example, this school does not respect but I assume renowned schools must be respectful and they would provide a seated meal to the parents. This farmer must be afraid of rich people because he is poor and does not have many possessions. The riches might take away his possessions, they won't be left with anything. He thinks, it is best to do farming peacefully and live comfortably. Plough the land and live. A rich person has what it takes to rule on other people like a snob. They think of how to oppress the poor even further. They have connections with many powerful people. They put in a lot of effort to cause trouble. Only rich have a status, only they can show it. Poor people must mind their own business, must not say anything to the riches. For a poor person, one way to become rich is to sell a part his land and raise goats in remaining. Again sell a part of land, then buy three farms from somebody. They may gain some status, might even leave the riches far behind. Also, one might beat up others to become rich. For example, a rich person rides in a car more often... A poor personal never thinks I am poorer than another person... that is why when a rich person slaps then a pole also slaps back in turn... if a rich person slap once, the poor will slap twice in return... but the riches don't have what a poor person has... like every poor person is works hard and rich ones only take bribe... but the rich people don't really have proper work... they become rich by beating up the poor.

Card 3:

This is boy and his father... the sad boy is standing... he has rested his head on father's shoulder... they are miserable, it seems they have lost something... perhaps an object that made them nostalgic of someone... or something else.. it is winters, his father has draped something... he is sad to have lost something expensive. May be their house broke down. Everything is submerged under the debris of house... like household essential items... father and son, together will pull the items out of the debris... they construct a new house. Son wants to study further, but cannot, perhaps school's

actions convey that they will not support further education for the poor. Because of fees. His father says, we won't be left with any money to for school fees after having the construction of the house done... will have him educated some other time... the child is thinking that I will have to do something if I want to study or I will fail... I want to do something in the future... else efforts that I have put in for one year will go waste. He wishes, pay for my school fees first, get the house constructed later and then after my schooling is done, I will get a job and get the house constructed for better living.

Card 4:

In here, there is a boy and his mother, both are sad and are standing... like something has left them... either the boy is angry with her or vice versa... perhaps angry with each other... something might have happened... must have gone to play somewhere. Mother must have disapproved. He must have opposed which lead to anger... his mother must have said something for sure... boy is ashamed. It seems he must have gone against mother's wishes and must have lied to mother on his return. She says, I will not allow you to play . Will not let you play that is why she is ashamed... Mummy must be physically abusive... he thinks if she will say lovingly instead of beating, then I will fulfill whatever she will say but his mother wouldn't... no one would have hit him in the school... he must be the one who would beat others. Sir must be keeping his mother informed. Which made mother angry. She says be disciplined.

Card 5:

Child used to go to school. Teacher would thrash... and his mother would tell him not to do such a thing that a teacher has to beat you... he must be a troublemaker by beating others or snatching others notebooks... or run away with other's bag... to cause trouble... by mocking... Sir slaps. Must have become bored of mother's everyday nagging... he must have asked mother not nag... so that is why he thinks to kill his mother... he starts to choke her... Then mother didn't beat him but throws him out of the house... now he must be living with some friend somewhere... stopped going to school.

Card 6:

There is a river... surrounded by trees... it is a jungle, boat is still... travels from one village to another. Perhaps children come to work. There must be friends in the village who would like to go to other side to eat fruits... let's eat mango. Let's overfeed ourselves with fruits. Will also take them home... grand ma - Grand pa, mother, father, brother, sister, aunt, uncle... will be able to feed them ... village children could also swim in it...

Card 7:

Here, a man is intimate with his wife and a woman is peeping from the other side of window... she is also his wife. She is sad. For her husband married another woman and may be he visits to her more...

Card 8:

There is a jungle... where in a temple is situated... inside a fire is burning... Looking at the woman, it seems she is crying while her hands are placed on the stairs... it seems something might have happened at home... she may have come here or somebody did something wrong to her... she may have come here to feel better... May be something happened to her son or may be a snake bit her kids... she must be wishing for her son's recovery, for if he will recover, she will offer her prayers here... It also looks like her husband is perhaps leaving... and she is requesting him to not go... he husband has left and she is thinking when will he come back... she wanted for him to not go and stay with her only.... She says don't go there, stay here, at least you will stay at home... husband has left her.

Card 10:

It seems like that mother must have said to the child go to the school...he does not feel like going...his friends must have told that today I will also not come...he must be thinking that today my work is also not complete...Respected sir will hit me...his work is also not complete...

Blank Card:

Mummy says go to school... and I will refuse... and when mummy will get angry it is not necessary that I will choke her... I will accord with mummy and will go to best of the school... even when my work is not complete I will still go to school... and how in one of the cards a man was married to two woman and I will also do the same and mummy will ask not permit... I never interrupt or refuse mummy... and for example when I go to village... to bathe in river, mummy say not to bathe in river and then mummy would beat me... next day when friends ask me to come along... I have to refuse... first ask my mother... they insist on having taken permission from her... but later mummy says I didn't ask her... there is a school... it is a good school... many students study there... and one of the students... comes to school daily... but contemplates if he should. I just have to set up cart (to become a hawker). Friends say let it go... consume drugs... they have diminished the whole school. Here all the students are negatively affected but students of private school are better disciplined... they wear their complete school uniform... wear ID cards... they do all the work whether it is for home or something else... they wouldn't roam around... reply back to teachers. At first it was not allowed. But now teachers can beat... never play any sports, only watch es television... Sir only hits, yells like a dog and goes away... different type of food is prepared to eat and to sell... but I mostly eat at shop.

ANNEXURE C

TAT of CASE D

Card 1:

This boy sing songs. I want to become a good person. He is thinking about a tune... must be from a middle class family. Not very rich, not poor. He does not understand music. He must have like music, but not a lot. So that he can find a job in music. He is about 15-16 years old. He is talented. He thinks he can work well in this job. Wouldn't loose anything. That is why he is looking for a job. Finally, he makes a tune. He becomes famous. Becomes a musician.

Card 2:

Man is surrounded by water all around him. Everyone's house in the community is flooded with water. They are helping one another. There is woman who does not have anyone. She only has a daughter... would to educate her daughter. She moves to a bigger village from a small one... she works. She educate her daughter after moving, I mean daughter progresses and study. She becomes an engineer. She continue with further studies. Mother is now aged. Daughter says to mother, lets move back to village where we came from... after going there... she is an engineer... she changes everything in the village for the good. In this place where rain water would collect, she gets rainwater wells built. She gets work done on open pits on the road, transforms shacks to well constructed houses... does much more work... then she gets married. She gives birth to a son. She sends her son to city. She thinks he will study, but he does not. He passes time aimlessly. She calls him back. He says to her that he has become a music teacher. That girl's mother dies... girl and her husband continue living in the village... His mother calls him home... he has a girlfriend. He introduces her as a music teacher and does make up... to make look like an old woman... village people are not much aware about music. They think whatever he says is related to music... but he is wrong... then he goes away from that place... he continues to live the same way. Then his father goes to there and see him. Father observe him for days to find out his wrong doings and good work. After a few days, father finds out that his son does not work anywhere, he is just spending time with his girlfriend. (Father warns) I will call your mother and inform her. Father tells mother about her son... mother does not believe it to be true... With mother on his mind, he leaves to the city. He learns music. Then he goes to the village and the people of the village worship him.

Card 3:

They are father and son... he is a gentleman, father is a bastard. In father's family use of gun is common. Father never does anything right... the boy does not like to see bloodshed... his father is a don in the village... and he hope not to become like his father. His mother died long ago... since then he has been thinking to not live with his father... he left his father and moved to a new city... he gives dance lessons there. He becomes a very good dancer... father also visits him and showers love on his son... he makes appearances on Television. Father came to know the city where his son lives. Father asks his friends for what should he do? How should he bring his son back to home? Father says that he cannot live without his son... Friends of father says let go of us... to which father says my heart will not let me leave all of you. One day father leaves to bring his son back to home... When boy became aware that his father has arrived to take him home, he runs away to a different place. Father is saddened for his son does not love him... but son loved him a lot... even now he does... he feels if father will make amendments in his life then he will return to village. Donates and returns confiscated property. Searches for his son without caring to eat for days... does not mingle with bad company anymore. Now he does not have any friend... he is reminded of his son time and again... his son also reminisce about his father so leaves to village to meet him. But didn't not find him there. Both of them cry and hug. Father says do not leave me and that I will

always live with you... we will resolve any differences together. Son asked Father if he has let go off his past and wrongful activities? Son, for you I have forgo all the wrong doing... village is again likeable. Accompanies respectable citizens. Father is happy... he says get married... now I am getting old... don't have anyone to cook

Card 4:

They are mother and son... when he was born, father passed away. Mother thinks how will I survive now. So she started to live by looking after the son. When son was 1-2 years old, she admitted him into a school. When he was in sixth to eighth class... when he grew old, he fell into bad company. His mother didn't not know about it. His mother thinks my son is so loving. His mother always loved him. She would pick and drop him to school. Then, he started to accompany bad people, so they would ask why do you go with your mother? Stay with us and have fun! so, from then on he decided to come and go with his friends. When his mother came to pick him, he asked her to go back. Said I will come by myself... he was very poor. So mother said, you don't even have money. From where will you get it. He said I am not interested to go inside, will see from outside and come back. He lied to mother and went for local festival with friends, friends used to consume drugs, would do wrongful acts, they made him join them. Started to consume drugs. He said I am going home. My mother must be alone... I have to go home... his friends insisted on having him stay for more time. He goes to home right away. The next day, his friends teach him all about it. He stopped staying at home during night time. Would only see her while leaving to school. Mother asks to stay at home for longer duration of time...he makes excuses like I will be with a sir from school... lies to his mother...mother visits them at where they hangout. He does not do that kind of activity. His mother thinks my son cannot be here, must be somewhere else. So, she leaves. On seeing his mother there he decides to go to home for now. He sleeps after going home... mother asks, son, today you didn't stay with your teacher? He replies, mother today I did not like being there. Mother finds out about his hang out place. He goes there again... so his mother sees him the next time over there... mother questions him what are you doing here? He says I am not doing anything, these people are beating me. Then he leaves to home... some guy visits hime... who is his best friend... tells everything to his family. Aunt, he does not accompany good people. He takes drugs. When he goes to home, he could not look in the eye of his mother. Mothers says to him that I spent so much money on you, I saved every penny to send you to school for education, now what can I do if you are like this. He drops out of school. When his friends asks him to come along, he swears on them and asks them leave and says I don't want to accompany you anymore...

Card 5:

(I do not understand completely. It seems to involve strangulation)

He is a boy. He studies in college and this girl also studies in the college. She is most beautiful girl in college. Boy falls in love with her... boy tells her lovingly that he is in love with her... girl says she does not love her... he becomes stubborn and refuse to study. His parents enroll him back to the same college once they arrived from abroad where they live... he falls in love again... that girl has a boyfriend now... he is jealous to them together. He argues with sir all the time. His father is very rich. Nobody can say anything to him in the college. Due his father, this girl also wouldn't say anything to him... he has murdered many people... that is why girl is hesitant to say anything to him as his father is a big figure... his existence is negligible compared to his father's. Once his father visited his college, girl tells him that his son teases and follows her around. Boy does not go to college the next day as his Father beat the hell out him...girl presumes this might have happened, so she decides to pay him a visit at his home, boy thinks now she loves him back that is why she came to see him... she says I can only be a friend to him. His continues to think that she loves him. Slowly they spend more time together... once her boyfriend saw her with this boy... boyfriend assumes him to be her brother... when her boyfriend asks the boy who is he, boy responds saying

he is her boyfriend... he leaves from there... later he picks up fight with him and shoots him with gun... girl witnesses the act... he then strangulates her to death.

Card 6:

This is a good place. Close to ocean. Nobody goes into the ocean. One has to travel through the ocean to arrive at this place... one man was trying to discover this place. Ocean is dangerous... there are many animals in the ocean... snake, dinosaur like things... dinosaur eats that man... that man's son asks where is my father... he want to speak with his father... but his father is not alive... he goes with 2-3 friends of his... when they were crossing the ocean, dinosaur eats his friends... then only two of them are left and they think what kind of place is this... they think how is dinosaur possibly alive in this era ... then they find out that this was a work of bandits... once a person arrives here, it is impossible for him to leave... he tries to go back but failed... they try many different ways to break out from there... when they become aware that it is a bandit's work... they are scared to see him... they make arrangements to spend the night there... they build a boat ... and sleep in it... in the morning they pluck fruits and feed on it... at the end bandits are caught and so, boys leave the place. Later, they bring police back to the place who couldn't believe that all this illusion was work of bandits and that there is a real dinosaur... Both the friends kill the dinosaur... then they catches the bandits and rescue his father and friends... then they become famous for their discovery.

Card 7:

He was married to this woman. He did not want to marry her... his family pressured him for this match. He loved some other woman... he wanted to marry her... his family refused to have him married to her... when he gets to married, he does not love her. He meets the other woman everyday. After a few days, his wife asked him directly where he goes after office hours... he says it is none of your business to know... I do not love you... his response is same every time and... he refuses to eat a meal prepared by her... he always bring food from hotel... he employs a servant at home so that he knows who visits his house every time... he did not want anyone visiting his house like how he visits other's house... he employs a guard... once his wife for going out when the guard asked her where is she going... she says I am going to look for my husband... he offers to make a phone call asking him to come home... when guard calls husband says that he will not be coming home tonight... so his wife does not like that he won't be coming home at night... her mother is no more... her father remarried... her father didn't come when she asked... so she thinks what can she do... she considers leaving home and going away... she thinks it does not look good to leave her husband... then one day she follows her husband... she sees that he is going in a house... she peeps through a window and finds out what her husband was doing... When her husband returns to home she asks him his whereabouts... he says he had gone somewhere for work purpose... wife says why are you lying...i know where you have been... tell me, I will not say anything... I will not tell anyone... take an oath over holy Geeta (Hindu Holy book)... then he refuses to accept his true whereabouts... then she says that she saw him enter a woman's house... he asks for her forgiveness... he says I will never visit her now onwards... he promises to be with her always... do not tell my father about it... after 2-3 days... he makes a call to the other woman and his wife inquires whom is he speaking with... he lies to her and says it is office... so she leaves... then later that day he visits the other woman... his wife sees him leave... she asks his father to pay a visit at their house... when his father arrived he beat him up and jailed both of them... say your acts are illegal... you destroyed somebody's life... his father is a very god man...

Card 8:

It is a cave. There is a woman. She belongs to a good family. She is a snob. She does not peak with anyone. She engages condescendingly with an ill behaved set of boys... they did not act on it as she belonged to a rich family ... since they did not want any trouble...she sometimes throw colour at

others... sometimes unleashes her dogs. She hopes to live alone. She only has a father... her father loves her... her father supports her in every way, even when she is wrong... he assumes it is always other's fault and that she is always right. She goes to the same ill behaved gang of boys. They want to do something about her behaviour towards them... they make a boy stand in front of her house and one on the roof... they communicate with each other when she leaves the house... they kidnap her in a van and drop her far away from her house so that she cannot return. She loses sense of direction in jungle... she finds a cave and sleeps there. Finally she realises what it is like to be alone. Everyday a boy teases her. Then he kills her. Father is looking for her. He came to know she is in jungle... somebody killed her... then father looks for her killer... and he came to know about him... father looks for proof of murder... a mad man lives in the cave... he saw him... father takes the mad man with him... on interrogation he said 5 boys killed her... then the boys are called and interrogated... the mad man says they did not kill her... then father is distressed and want to find out who killed his daughter... there was a security camera placed by a hunter for the purpose of hunting... hunter sees that those boys killed the girl... then he finds her father and gives the video to him... 5 boys are called and are convicted. When boys were asked why they killed the girl... they because she was always behaved condescendingly with them... she spoke with arrogance with us... we warned her many a times to not speak this way with us... we are not good people... she never paid any heed to our advice... sometime she unleashed canines on us ... sometimes she would make her driver beat us... so we thought lets kidnap her... we did not plan to kill her... when we pushed her she fell and hit her head on stairs and died...

Card 10:

It is dark... a boy is sitting... he is sad... he is sad because he is alone... once he was on an outing with his friends... his friends asked where are you going... they wanted to verify whether the boy is good since he was alone... His friends parents asked them not to keep his company... they let him know about it... he separated from them... then one day he was spending time with them... so, their parents see them hanging out with him... so they tell them he doesn't not have anywhere to live and asked them to stay at home... and do some work... so he has been sad since this day... he does not have anyone... he starts working somewhere... at a tea seller's shop... one motherly woman always visited him... she passed by the shop often... she is very rich... she always watched him... this woman had a son who died... she sees her dead son in him... so one day she takes him to her house... she feeds him food... makes him wear clothes... gives him a bath... then he says I want to live with you forever... she says you may not be able to live with me forever... this woman had a wicked daughter-in-law... woman thinks what can she do about it ... the property was in daughter-in-law's name... the old woman somehow manages to transfer the property in her name... so when she brings the boy home... she registers him with the school where his friends study... then he excels and every year he tops the school... he started to carry out admission interviews because he became so intelligent... when his friend's mother visited the school, she see him sitting... she tries to turn around and leave ... but he sees her and asks her to come inside... then he asks her give interview... she says very year my son gives interview but he never gets admission... he says this year I am here, it will be alright... then he goes to their house and coaches them to clear the interview... and then they get admission in the school... and then their mother says keep company of this boy... Comment: The story begins with a splendid isolation and as Abrams (1993) puts it that the narrator displays only a surface level adjustments with people. The hero has low self esteem due to his poverty. The narrator shows his helplessness and vulnerability and demands for attention. He introduces grandiosity coupled with magical thinking that some rich lady will adopt him. He has an immense self regard and in the plot he showcases an oedipal wish towards the old lady that she bathes a teenaged boy and reclaims a fear of separation from the mother at the hands of her daughter-in-law.

Blank card:

A boy...15 years old. Want to become a police man. His parents also support him with his decision. The school in front of his school is good. He looks at it. He wishes to study in this school... so one day he stands in front of the school... teachers call him inside. Teachers ask him what are you doing here, it is time to go to your school... he says I don't like my school... I want to study in this school... they take his test... he is in 7th standard. He can study 12th standard's text. He is very intelligent but family does not support him. He was a school topper... teachers used to pay his school fees. He becomes principal of the same school. He reduces school fee from INR 500 to INR250 after becoming school principal. In that area, there were children from slum who could not study but only the good ones could... he changed such rules when he became principal. He ruled that only those who really want to study will get admission... not those who just want to roam around...

ANNEXURE D

TAT of Case K

Card 1:

This is K... he is thinking, what should I do with violin? Shall I play? Perhaps used to learn or will learn? Who knows he might not even know what it is? He is thinking, what to do with it... what kind of sound will be produced after playing the instrument? And if he does not know how to play, he would go on to play without any rhythm... He is thinking that what else can this violin become, perhaps violin to guitar... at home lives his father and young sister... his father doesn't love him. Because he want to learn how to play but his father his angry over the violin. He want to learn. Will go against father's will. Will learn to play violin. Will work in the farm, will learn violin through it... he is poor...papa says do some work (to earn)... why are you wasting time, but he want to learn. one works to become something in life. When he gets his wages, his father seizes the money. His father chastises him to start working as a labour... what will you obtain by learning... people will laugh at you when you will not be successful in life.

Card 2:

Boy's name is Bhasin. He does fishing...work till evening. Doesn't catches even a single fish. He gets sad. He thinks what should he do... everyone at home must be hungry... he thinks, my sister must be waiting. That when will I arrive with fish, and when will my mother cook it. He catches two fish. Then goes to home. He finds out that everyone has already eaten meal. He says, mother I caught the fish now cook it... his mother replies eat what is already prepared, I will cook fish tomorrow. Then he wakes up to find that both the fish are dead... because he caught the fish alive... he starts to cry realising how much effort it took to catch the fish.... Then he goes back to the river again. He can see due to clear water that there are more fish... he thinks best to sell than to cook... then he goes home, sells all the fish. He earns rupees 200. He buys green vegetable, potatoes, rice from the earned money and give them to his mother.

CARD 3:

There is a boy. He loves his father a lot. He wants to do something for his father for his father could not do anything for the son due to his physical disability. Boy goes to work. He earns rupees 200. Goes to home. Father prepares and serves the meal. In the morning, he wakes up to find empty bottles of alcohol. When he enquires with the father, father says this is medicine. He goes to work. On his way, he observes some men drinking from similar bottle... they are passed out... he thinks this is intoxicating... his father is an alcoholic. He finds his father is drinking after returning from work. He tells father that this is a bad habit... it is intoxicating... it will damage your liver... papa, you will be taken ill... he tries to make papa understand its effects. Goes to work. He finds his father passed out after drinking alcohol. Ambulance has arrived. He asks about father's health and is told about damaged liver... he rushes out and screams for help... a man helps him... papa is taken to hospital. Doctor says operation is required. It will cost one lakh rupees. Then goes back to work. Requests everyone to make some contribution but no one does. Then goes to work and earns money... and his father drinks alcohol again. He asks father, why do you want to die. Then he take loan from somebody and gets the operation done. Post operation, papa has reformed.

Card 4:

This boy's name is Islamuddin. His mother's name is Ruksana. Mummy does farming. Mummy say she will become a house maid, sone says you have raised me, I cannot see you like this... he goes to work, mother thinks he will come back with some earning. Her son finds money somewhere. He brings it home. Mummy asks if the source of money is not appropriate. This is not possible, if

someone will question, I will give it to police. He says, got money from a pipe. She asks where did you go, don't go there again. Let go, then serves meal and make him sleep.

Card 5:

A girl was on passing through...Mumtaz. Girl returns from work when after dark. This was standing there... he thinks, today, when somebody will pass through I will rob money from that person. When girl arrives he was sitting there under the tree... suddenly boy catches hold of girl's hand and ask her to handover the money lest he will kill her. The girl gives away her phone, money everything she had...yet the boy chokes and kill her and goes back to his home... his mother is sick, so he brought medicines for her... in the morning, due to his wrong doing, mother passed away. Police arrests him for Mumtaz and asks why did he kill her... says my mother was very sick...i needed a lot of money for her treatment... so, when I was sitting under the tree and Mumtaz was passing through, I thought I can rob her. The girl gave away everything, so out of fear I killed her.

Card 6:

There is an isolated place. 3-4 students are lost. It is huge jungle... they hope that somebody will save them. There must be some danger of animal. They keep walking... see a river...they walking on the bank of the river... they see a boat... they waive at it. Then they go to an edge and hang a white shirt on a stick... boys wait and hope somebody will see and save them... nobody comes. It starts to rain. They think, it is impossible to survive... for 2 days they survive only on water and keep walking... they climb on a big tree to figure out direction. After climbing the tree, they hope somebody will drop them home. People in jungle watch them as they leave. People of jungle catch hold of them. Boys start to cry. People of jungle think why are they crying... then the head of village asks to release them... they are offered fruits to eat by the people. They continue to walk. They walk towards and around the school. At night, they continue to walk. They come across a person who invites them to his house; they inform him that they have lost their way. Then he drops them home...

Card 7:

A man has two wives. Papa is married to one of them. Papa has respectable reputation in the village, so he asks son to marry... Father has found a suitable match of his choice but the son is in love with someone else... he does not want to go against father's will. Father gets the son married. Son continues with his relations with the woman he love... He marries her rather than cheating... so he loves one wife more than other... so his wife says you are not intimate with me... etc etc... his wife cries... she says if you didn't love than why did you marry me... his wife insist on knowing why he is not intimate with her... he explains that he had to marry her due to father's pressure... I have also married the woman I love... finally he loves both of them... nobody leaves...

Card 8:

A woman named Geeta has two children... twins. She loves both of them. But both of them don't get along. Both sons fight with each other. Akash and Rahul are their names. Both of them start to fight... Rahul hets injured. Akash is beaten by mummy. Akash says to mother that you don't love me. You love Rahul more. So, mother says that son I love both of you but what will do if something happens to either one of you while fighting. Rahul wins, Akash pledges to take revenge. He starts beating Rahul... Their mother prays for both of them in the Temple. The makes them understand that other people make them fight with each other. Next day, they beat up the ones who were influencing them to fight with one another... then they become best friends for life... they never fight again and life their life in peace...

Card 10:

A boy is jailed for his wrongdoing... in the jail he is sitting in the dark and thinking about why he did it. I had fulfilling family... now my family must be facing the consequences... it must be challenging to find food... shelter... how would they be living now... he was hungry when he came out of the darkness and he eats, then he asks a man what happened to you, why do you cry in the dark? He says... I came to make a living... I was deceived... I murdered someone by mistake... I have a mother and two sisters... Both sisters are young... why did I come here... then he tells his story to everyone... that somebody sent me to rob someone... somebody saw me... I had knife in my hand... it lodged and injured him and he died, I am in jail for this case... I wonder how my mother and two sisters would be making their ends meet and what would they be eating...

Blank card:

A boy... 'K', lives in Bhalaswa Dairy. He really want to study, but starts to accompany bad circle of friends. He does bad things with his friends. Mummy warns that she will have him restated from school. Now you will have to earn. He requests to let him continue going to school... just give me one chance... At first he focusses on his studies. But he goes back to wrong doings... his mother says now will not continue education anymore... mummy does not wishes for him to study further. Teacher says you are performing very well, keep up the good work... your future is bright... he informs his teacher about mother's wishes for him to not continue education... Where I live, everyone has fallen prey to bad company... so, teacher says he want to speak with the mother... then teacher speaks with boy's mothers and tells her that when her son is good at studies then why does she not want him to continue with his schooling... so mummy says that he plays with his friends through out the day... does not come back to home... teacher says that the boy is intelligent so why don't you want him to study further... so mother replies he is fine at studies but he does wrong doings ... like drugs... does not eat food... don't know where he eat or drink... his whereabouts through the day... he can study further as long as he want... then he continues to study further and passes class 12th and thinks he want to become thing in life... so he becomes an engineer...