Impact of Emotion and Citizens Rights in Dehradun

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ABSTRACT
I look at how citizens consciously or unconsciously elicit emotion and affective responses, and the effect these have on MC mobilization. The fact that these responses are sometimes involuntary suggests that we should look beyond the practical and calculative motivations of city councilors and examine how they are forced and motivated to fulfill the requests of certain citizens. but others are not. The power to influence and the ways to do so are as follows. In Dehradun, India, Municipal Councilors (MCs) are the "known and well-known faces of the state", a vital first point of contact for individuals seeking government benefits. The way MCs respond abundantly to constituent requests is thought to be a large part of why government welfare and services are so unevenly distributed. This article aims to contribute to our knowledge of civil rights by highlighting the importance of influence and emotion in the structure of interactions between MCs and 'voters'.

Keywords: emotion, citizens' rights, Dehradun parshads, effective force

I.   INTRODUCTION

While we were talking with Dehradun Municipal Councilor (MC) Kashi, a local lady came to us. She further explained that she was performing a puja and needed to clean the local temple (temple), using the generic form of 'Aap' to greet Kashi. Her tone was polite, but harsh enough to convey that she didn't consider it a favor, and wanted the job done quickly. Kashi smiled and nodded. She didn't smile, but her annoyance was evident in her tone when she said that she would send someone to clean the hall. As the woman left, Kashi nodded and asked us to pay attention to people's expectations. "They expect me to complete all the tasks." If the worshiper is a woman and the space is so small, she should clean herself. People come to me every day from morning till night with great effort, hoping that I will complete everything." Despite this, Kashi called his daily maid and requested that she clean the temple.

The scene poses a topic that has received little attention in the literature on urban governance: why do some MCs comply with "irrational" citizen demands while others do not? The anthropological evidence from Dehradun casts doubt on the commonly held explanation for these actions: that MCs are motivated by electoral considerations. The emotive and emotional dynamics and compulsions that drive MCs' activities, and hence uneven citizen entitlements, are discussed in this article. I expand on Desai and McFarlane's (2015) concept of "sites of entitlement," which highlights how moral economies impact people's access to government services in two ways. First, I argue that MCs' moral and ethical responses are linked to their investments in self-fashioning, necessitating consideration of how MCs' personal biographies impact moral claim responses. Second, by emphasizing the involuntary nature of some reactions, I suggest that voters' varying ability to elicit emotions, and the force of affective configurations in MCs' interactions with voters, are underappreciated drivers of citizen entitlements.

The results are based on five months of fieldwork in Dehradun, Uttarakhand, between May 2015 and June 2016. We talked with and watched the activities of MCs, also known as Parshad or ward members in the community, performed official interviews, and hosted a workshop for women. In June of 2016, the Parshads were released. Most importantly, we co-created ten in-depth profiles with female Parshads, which included formal interviews and participant observation. These profiles were essential for deciphering the relevance and intensity of the incidents we were witnessing, and parshads' accounts of their interactions with civilians. At the same time that emotions can only be expressed in part, biographical information matter for how people are impacted or moved. My interpretations are informed by an intimate knowledge of these women's lives and direct observation, yet I recognize that examining emotions and affects necessitates some speculation. Three of the ten women profiles had seats allocated for scheduled caste women (RSCW), one for other backward class women (ROBCW), three for women of any caste (RW), and three had seats that were open (UR). Seven were members of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), two of the Congress, and one of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). Two Parshads had been elected one or more times (2T), whereas the remainder had only been elected once (1T). Details that would jeopardize respondents' anonymity have been disguised or deleted.

This paper contributes to two fields of study. First, in urban studies, the state's inability to provide welfare and services to the urban poor has been a necessary focus. The Indian state's inadequate capacity to meet the demands it generates leads to the personalization of citizenship. Local politicians play an important role in deciding who receives what, bartering privileged access to resources for votes from the poor. The ways in which middle- and upper-class "voters" extend their entitlements beyond the state's normative responsibilities by inducing emotional and affective responses in elected officials are less well-studied. Second, this study responds to Gupta's demand for research into "the emotional and affective links between persons and states" by investigating this expansion. The existing work on the emotive components of the state is primarily focused on people's subjective perceptions of the state, and how the state is replicated or becomes a "social truth" through affective intensities. I propose a different perspective, noting how the "state" is likewise prone to being imposed or impressed upon through interactions between citizens and state agencies.

Despite the fact that I focus on women's experiences, I reject the categorization of this piece as one that is solely about gender and governance. Gender is significant because women municipal councilors' gendered selves and social identities make them more vulnerable to affective animations and emotional mobilizations than males. This argument, however, is questionable because my empirical data lacks details about male ward members, thus I have no clear point of comparison. In noting these limitations, I draw attention to the majority of the literature on Indian local political actors' implicit masculine bias, in which women's exclusion is scarcely discussed or only gets a footnote (c.f. Price and Ruud 2010). Given that a third of all seats in municipal urban governance in India are allotted for women under the 74th Constitutional Amendment, the omission of women's experience is striking. Women now hold 29 of the 60 seats in Dehradun. Even with a few 'proxy' women, a huge majority of residents use female Parshads to gain access to the state. I emphasize how a concentration on men has distorted our understandings of urban citizenship by focusing on their experiences.

II.   DEHRADUN PARSHADS

Uttarakhand, a Himalayan territory created out of Uttar Pradesh in 2000, has its provisional capital in Dehradun. Migration from the hills and other parts of North India is fast increasing the city's population of slightly over one million people. During the summer months, the main routes are congested with tourists fleeing the heat on the plains, travelling through Dehradun on their way to the Uttarakhand hills. High population expansion puts a strain on municipal infrastructure, leading to the growth of bastis (informal dwelling colonies) and strains on roads, electricity, water, and public transportation. Dehradun's recent ranking of 61 out of 73 of India's cleanest cities encapsulates the city's shift from one of orchards and grey hair (referring to the city's numerous lychee trees and its appeal to retirees) to one of traffic and garbage. Dehradun is becoming more and more like other Indian "neoliberal cities," with a concentration on luring investment through "middle-class" services while ignoring the needs of underprivileged urban people.

Parshads, as the lowest level of municipal government, are the initial point of contact for citizens. Unlike MLAs, "everyone can approach the ward member for any concern, big or small," Dipti (UR-2T) notes. They want their ward members to assist them since they consider them family. The Parshads are familiar in the sense that they are approachable, close in terms of distance, and have a certain ease in social graces, prompting me to refer to them as the state's "familiar face." The term "face" stems from Yashin's concept of "faces of the state," which describes the state's polymorphic nature, ubiquity, and presence in seemingly "un-state-like" representations, gestures, and actors. In a sense, my use of the phrase is more literal in that the "face" is a human face that people look at and react to. The ability to affect the other through mutual displays of emotion is an important aspect of the state's relational modality. This familiarity influences the emotive interactions between Parshads and their constituents, or "voters," with implications for citizen entitlements, as I will explain.

Dehradun has been given Municipal Corporation status as the state capital. The Nagar Nigam governs the city, which is divided into 60 wards, each with an elected Municipal Councilor (Parshad) and 5,000 to 12,000 "voters" (adults registered to vote). In comparison to other municipal corporations, Dehradun Nagar Nigam (DNN) is substantially smaller (and less resourced). MLAs have access to development funding, but Parshads received only 5 lakh ($8,000 USD) in 2015, a fraction of what other MCs in India earned. Parshads also get no honorarium or sitting fee, unlike their rural counterparts in Uttarakhand and MCs in other cities in India. According to some Parshads, the municipal corporation's shortage of cash is partly due to the state government's (at the time) unwillingness to devolve state funding to the BJP-controlled Nagar Nigam, forcing the municipal corporation to rely on house tax to stay afloat. The BJP regained control of the state government in a landslide in February 2017, although it was too early to tell whether the change in government would address this issue at the time of writing. The Nagar Nigam will be re-elected in the first part of 2018.

The Parshads' official responsibilities reflect their restricted power. They are in charge of rubbish clearance under the supervision of (underpaid and understaffed) sanitation employees. They communicate with other government departments, particularly those in charge of power and water, to report supply difficulties and ensure that street lighting is in excellent

working order. They use their funding for modest development initiatives and collaborate with other organizations (such as the state Public Works Department) to help with major infrastructure projects. MCs also sign a variety of documents that the Indian government requires (Chandra 2004), such as domicile certificates, income certificates, pension forms, and power applications. Notes that Parshads also serve as "intermediaries," assisting citizens with "social handicaps" such as illiteracy, poverty, and caste position in gaining access to the state through its frequently resistant and uncaring officials. Unofficial responsibilities, like those of MCs in other cities, extend much beyond their formal responsibilities; they attend functions, obtain school entrance, resolve family issues, and so on.

III.   RIGHTS OF CITIZENS

Citizenship in India implies a variety of rights to the state's resources, services, and security, among other things. I agree with Desai and McFarlane (2014) that entitlements should be distinguished from rights. Unlike "rights," which are often expressed in legally binding words, entitlements are created via social interactions and are based on people's experiences and views. An individual may have a legal right to a resource but be unable to access it; others may rely on sources of legitimacy, such as societal norms of sharing, to make claims that go beyond legal or formal rights. Desai and McFarlane's (2014)'sites of entitlements' method is a good place to start when looking at how distinct citizen entitlements are created. The following are examples of 'entitlement sites':

In the ordinary production of claims, there are always coexisting principles, laws, and norms with social and regional inequalities. Sites of entitlement are marked by change throughout time, frequently necessitate ongoing negotiation, and are frequently marked by ambiguity and ambivalence (Desai and McFarlane 2014).

Entitlements are fought for and negotiated in everyday life. They are ambiguous and dynamic, flexible, changeable, and shaped by social connections. According to Desai and McFarlane (2014), sites of entitlement are a key factor in the creation of "sites of entitlement," which are defined as "collectively understood informal regulations around expected behaviour and an individually held sense of what is expected that may or may not coincide with that shared collective view" (2014).

The personalization of access to state resources emphasizes the relevance of citizens' relationships with elected officials when it comes to entitlements. A relational morality frames politics as "a collection of ideas about how those who govern and those who are governed should connect to one another." Patronage and clientelism characterize the relationship between MCs and their constituents in India. Politicians give voters preferential access to state resources or direct monetary rewards in exchange for votes, while voters expect their support to be rewarded with privileged access to the state. The connection is based on mutual exchange, with politicians succeeding when they route resources to clients, and clients need to be able to provide something in return, such as votes, labour, political allegiance, or payments. Relationships may have a stronger normative component, in which the political leader adopts a "lord" or "social worker" persona and works in a disinterested manner. However, this is most commonly seen as a cynical leadership style employed to gain political support. The fundamental motivations determining MCs' differential responses to people are instrumentality and political benefit.

The sites of entitlement approach appear to be particularly well adapted to investigating uneven access to urban services in India, where citizen rights and entitlements do not always correspond. Argues that the individualized nature of Indian bureaucracy (see also Gupta 1995), combined with the state's lack of infrastructural power, results in structural and cultural gaps between citizens and the state, which are described as "gaps between both the formal–legal channels of entitlement actualization (and informal channels) and differently positioned places or collectivities." According to Desai and McFarlane (2014), people's sense of entitlements and how these translate into tangible access to services is influenced by the local state, which includes government personnel and politicians. Municipal councilors are crucial actors in the production of entitlement sites because they play a vital role in connecting citizens to government resources in a time of scarcity. This shows the importance of MCs in Mumbai in assisting people in engaging government officials, hence integrating some people while rejecting others from "urbanization networks."

Due to electoral calculations, the majority of MC's efforts are directed at poorer people. The impoverished face societal barriers to getting government services, making them devoted customers of those who can supply them. Patronage in this manner does not have to be exploitative, and it can actually help communities on the margins of India gain access to important state resources. The middle class does not rely on political middlemen to gain access to the state and votes less than the impoverished (Banerjee 2014). Instead, they have sufficient social and cultural capital to contact government officials directly, and they choose to pursue their interests through organizations other than electoral politics (such as Resident Welfare Associations). Despite the fact that the distinction between "political and civil society" (Chatterjee, 2008) or "new and dirty politics" is fluid, the majority of the literature studies citizens' maneuvering for state resources in these terms. Electoral politics allows the poor to close the gap between rights and entitlements—that is, to bring access to services and resources closer to

their actual rights as codified in law. The middle class expands their entitlements beyond their official rights by either sidestepping elected representatives or increasingly putting forward their own candidates from non-partisan organizations, despite the fact that it is rarely stated as such.

When it comes to affect and feeling, the Indian state's individualized nature takes on a new dimension. Emotions and affect have their own resonance, intensity, and practical relevance as a result of one's life experiences, relationships, dispositions, and social positioning. Emotion is complex and intertwined with one's identity inside discursive processes, whereas affect is not untethered from one's identity. The affect I'm talking about isn't the non-representational theory's "resolutely anti-biographical and pre-individual" affect, but rather something closer to "affective practise." Affective configurations are socially created in part and infected by the symbols and discourses of a particular socio-historical setting. Individual affective styles and trajectories determine how people respond to various emotional configurations, the affective slots that they occupy in social encounters, and those that they refuse. In terms of methodology, this necessitates paying attention to biographical details and paying attention to effects and feelings that are difficult to articulate or can only be articulated imprecisely. The in-depth profiles, combined with attentive social encounter experience (author name, 2016), aim to disclose the emotive and emotional components of Parshad's work.

Contrary to popular belief, I highlight a variety of instances in which rights are negotiated. I show how voters increase their entitlements in excess of what they give in return (their vote), how middle-class residents claim entitlements in excess of their rights through elected officials they did not vote for, and how MCs assist poor people in claiming rights in the absence of electoral advantage. My argument is that when Parshads act to fulfill or ignore claims to state resources, they are acting not only in terms of a rational calculation of electoral advantage, and not only because it is the right thing to do in terms of moral relationally or moral economy, but also in response to the affective intensities of encounters with citizens and as a means of dealing with their own feelings engendered by such encounters. In doing so, I draw attention to the non-instrumental and enigmatic causes of politicians' behaviour that operate below the level of consciousness and for which no explanation can be provided (the affective), and how the desire to manage negative and positive feelings motivates or animates certain actions (the emotional). By focusing on the role of affect and emotion in the continuing construction of differential entitlements, I hope to build on Desai's and McFarlane's (2014) "sites of entitlement."

IV.   CLASS EFFECTIVE FORCE

On the front porch of her house, we were enjoying a casual conversation with Indrani (RWG-1T). This room, which is outfitted with two charpoys and a pair of plastic chairs, acts as her office during the morning hours. We were tired, leaning against the rear wall while the fan leisurely circulated the air. It was soon after lunch. Indrani took a phone call, and we were interrupted. I was used to her tone at this point, which sounded like she was always angry, snapping at people, yelling at them to get her work done, or, in this case, shrieking that she would not do their work. She got off the phone and went on a rant about one of her constituents.

When he complains about the former Colonel, he is referring to the unreasonableness of his expectations in the context of growing demands from middle-class voters. The question of why the former Colonel asked a ward member to repair a problem that he could easily address himself, as is usually described in the literature, emerges. I haven't met the Colonel and can't ask him directly, but I'm more interested in how Indrani interprets and responds to his requests. Her route to becoming Parshad reveals some information. Indrani requested the party ticket when the position was designated for women, but it was granted to a female relative of a guy high up in the party structure, of whom the Colonel is a supporter. Indrani ran as an independent candidate, won the election, and then switched back to the party. She claims that some members of her own party continue to undermine her, seizing credit for her work and casting doubt on her capacity to complete tasks. In Dehradun, the impression that women are incapable of serving as ward members looms over female Parshads. As a result, the colonel's demands can be regarded as provocations, mocking Indrani about her lack of competence and instilling fear in her. Indrani is well aware of her abilities, but she feels obligated to demonstrate them repeatedly.

Indrani serves as an "intermediary" between citizens and the government on a regular basis, connecting her constituents to government services. However, there are distinctions between what is considered legitimate and illegal demands on her time. Her action is justified due to ongoing service delivery issues. The "poor" lack the ability to successfully contact government or other officials on their own, necessitating their assistance. People with significant cultural and social capital, such as the colonel, can, on the other hand, get things done on their own. Their demands are seen as illegitimate and are frequently portrayed as a devolving of mundane chores that they do not wish to accomplish (see author name).

Despite the unique conditions, many Parshads grumbled that middle-class residents, also known as "those who live in affluent regions," were more demanding than impoverished inhabitants. They expected better services, infrastructure to accommodate middle-class needs (such as driveways for parking their automobiles), and Parshads to help them with their

menial jobs (see author name). Unlike in the previous situation, their claims are not founded on a vote, as middle-class individuals across India frequently fail to vote; Dehradun is no exception. The lack of electoral calculation or moral justification for their demands begs the question of why Parshads agreed to them in the first place. Many people believe that it is their responsibility as a politician to look after everyone in their district. Is there, however, more to it? And how are residents in the middle class able to command a larger proportion of resources than those in the lower classes? Rachna, on the other hand, says that she is continually chasing after middle-class people.

There are more complaints from affluent neighborhoods. Instead of coming here, residents expect me to go to their houses and listen to their issues. They expect me to fulfil all of their requests. If the work is not completed, wealthy individuals become more irritated. They are eager to complain and fast to do so. They are aware, and they know that if they speak to us in a certain way, their demands will be met, but the poor people are not aware and treat us with respect.

Rachna highlights the qualitative differences in how the wealthy and the impoverished approach her. There were several instances of the latter. People would sit on the balcony and patiently wait for Rachna to finish what she was doing before gently requesting her signature. Rachna's own response demonstrated her occupation of the emotive slot of "superiority" to their "deference," as seen by her use of diminutive verb forms such as "Ha, bol" (yes, talk), her inclination to make them wait, and her fast dismissal of claims that were not within her control.

It's instructive to look at someone who refuses to give in to middle-class demands. Aditi (UR-1T), a Brahmin from the middle class, refuses to give in to what she considers to be unreasonable requests. Padma (UR-2T), who is serving in an unreserved seat for the second time, feels confident in her talents. She argues that the poor make the majority of their demands, while middle-class individuals help her with her work. The class backgrounds of Padma and Aditi, and their confidence in securing unreserved seats, appear to alter the nature of the demands placed on them, and how they are affected in such meetings. In contrast, Rachna (RW-1T) is a member of the aspirational lower-middle class. She has a limited education, having only completed the tenth grade, yet she is far from bashful. Her assertiveness, which is amplified by her loud voice and intimidating physical presence, intimidates me.

The "class divide" is not a simple equation in which upper-class people force lower-class Parshads to comply with their demands. Instead, the disparity in economic status must be close enough to cause discomfort or humiliation. It's interesting to see how rich people engage with Bimla (RSCW-1T). As previously said, Bimla is frequently the target of enraged demands, albeit from poor rather than middle-class citizens. They only come to her if they needed a signature and made no other demands: "After they have done their work for me, they will converse politely, and when their work is done, they will refuse to recognize me if I pass by their house." Bimla makes no mention of being offended by what could be construed as a slight. Rather, she chalks it up to a simple calculation that they don't require much from her, so there's no need to keep things tight. She is unfamiliar with the middle class, in contrast to her 'familiarity' with people from lower socioeconomic classes, and the transaction remains businesslike. Bimla is distant due to her poor caste and low social rank, and she does not accept outrageous requests. Class distinctions, on the other hand, can sometimes elicit different feelings and desires, which alter Parshads' responses to residents.

What drives a strong woman to go to the homes of well-off neighbors and meet their unreasonable demands? Perhaps the best time to consider the subject is while she is at her house, which also acts as her office. Our driver parks us on the main road before heading off to find a parking spot in this packed area. We walk in the scorching sun, still needing directions to reach her house through the maze of roads on our third visit. Her family lives on the second floor of a little brick house; the stairwell is narrow and steep, and my colleague takes a breather. I include these details to demonstrate how unusual it would be for a member of the upper socioeconomic class to visit Rachna's home. There are no caste divisions here, only class divisions. Does this humiliate Rachna to the point where she visits the homes of her wealthier constituents? If that's the case, she doesn't tell us about it. She is unable to provide an explanation for her absence. She is adamant that the wealthy do not vote, and thus she is not soliciting their support in politics. She is compelled for reasons that are unknown to us and possibly incomprehensible to her. I believe that the socioeconomic disparity between Rachna and residents of affluent neighborhoods has an affective component that influences her response.

V.   VOTE'S EFFECTIVE FORCE

Devani (RW-1T) was at home taking care of her son. Without introducing himself to her, a man came up to the door and told her that his wife had run away two days earlier. He was furious and spoke in a belligerent manner. "Why are you telling me this?" Devani asked. You should report it to the police station." I have voted for you, and you are the ward member, and until you accompany me to the police station, I will not leave this area," the man cried. She caved in after some ugly words were fired at Devani. As she accompanied the man, she contacted her mother-in-law to watch after my son.

Because of Devani's initial hesitation to aid the man, this ordinary scene stands out from other tales of MCs in literature. After all, it's not uncommon for MCs across India to regard such visits as one of their key tasks, if not an opportunity to acquire constituent support and/or demonstrate their influence and ability. Why, then, does Devani refuse to assist him and afterwards complain to us about his insistence on dragging her along with him? Many Parshads, like Devani, were at the end of their tether in 2016, four years into their five-year mandate, scurrying around night and day to complete the tasks asked by voters. Citizens' expectations seemed to greatly surpass Parshads' obligations, with what seemed like a reasonable claim being challenged in social contacts between elected representative and voter. In this scenario, it was the man's harsh comments, insults, and threats that finally convinced Devani to comply with his demands.

Anger has been an overpowering part of Bimla's (RSCW-1T) first term as a ward member, as well. Scheduled Caste (also known as dalit or "untouchable") is a government designation that recognizes historically and currently marginalized groups. According to their demographics, seats are reserved for SC and other backward classes (OBC). Bimla has a seat reserved for a woman from the state of South Carolina. She comes from a low-income family and has only completed the tenth grade. She had no prior experience dealing with bureaucracy and had no relationships with government officials or businesses before she was elected. In her first 18 months, she struggled to cope with increasing responsibilities in venues outside of her comfort zone, resulting in a steep learning curve. She had found her feet in her third year and had grown to appreciate her capacity to get things done. She beams as she shows us around her neighbourhood, introducing us to the folks she's assisted with simple things like collecting a pension.

Bimla's generalised summary of her contacts with voters contains some telling details. She claims that people speak to her differently than they do to government officials, which she partly attributes to her familiarity. This familiarity can be interpreted in a variety of ways, such as sharing a socioeconomic status, having the same caste identity, or living in the same neighborhood. Being in a social meeting with the "known face of the state" allows for the expression of rage, whether it is a performance or a genuine emotion. According to Kashi, women Parshads are more likely to be abused because of their gender: "They assume she is a woman, thus we can get our task done by her by shouting loudly." Bimla, Devani, and Kashi all react to the unpleasant emotions created in such a setting, prioritising the demands of those who may express rage or cause discomfort. Because people's ability to express specific emotions varies, affect becomes a conduit via which social norms are translated into resource access (Ahmed 2004).

Despite the fact that many Parshads thought voters' expectations were ridiculous, they were effective. Bimla implies this when she emphasises the financial strain of supporting their requests and when she expresses it openly when she says, "We believe that these things happening to us are wrong... You gave us a vote once, but we'll be serving you for the next five years. "The contact between the Parshad and the voter thus displays the tensions and debates regarding the Parshad's moral obligation in exchange for the vote. Within the moral economy of electoral politics, a vote might be regarded as a "gift." Matdan, or the dan (gift) of the mat, is a term used to describe voting (vote also means belief). This is not the meaning of the "free gift," which has religious significance for Hindus and Buddhists and involves giving without expecting anything in return. Rather, in a patronage democracy (Chandra, 2004), the leader gives the gift of the vote in exchange for access to state resources. As long as the "debt," or duty, is not paid, dominance is possible.

Demands, according to Bimla, are linked to the act of voting: "They say we voted for you, so do our task." People become enraged because they have reasonable expectations related to the act of voting, or because they use the fact that they have (or said they have) voted to make demands, according to Parshads (as seen above with Devani). Although voters use their vote as a claim or a threat, and the Parshads frequently emphasise that they are working to be elected again, I argue that the vote's emotive power exceeds its instrumental usefulness. Studies on elections in India highlight the emotional intensity that voters experience when going to the polls, when they "experience an individual sense of rights and duties as citizens." These affective qualities, I believe, do not vanish after elections but rather circulate in subsequent situations associated with them. As a result, India's "smart, forceful citizens" keep putting pressure on their elected officials. However, I'm more interested in the lingering effects of the emotionally charged experience of being elected, which continue to impact elected officials' behaviour throughout their tenure. The mention of the vote, and the rights that come with it, was particularly helpful in getting Parshads to respond to requests.

As a result, the "vote" inflects the emotive configuration between voters and Parshads, giving the former a sense of entitlement while giving the latter a sense of uneasiness. Bimla feels overpowered as a result of the undetermined 'reasonable' (that is, moral) return of the vote. This uncertainty is used by voters (consciously or unconsciously) to press their claims; Bimla's moral obligations to voters become ripe for contestation and enlargement. Scenes with furious and aggressive residents have different emotional intensities, which affect how they are handled and reconciled. The relevance and intensity of these situations, and Bimla's response, are influenced by her life experiences and personal information. Rather than moral obligation or instrumental value, fear (of failure, of failing to honour her commitments) is the motivating force. The vote is a symbol that allows for the instillation of dread, and it has an affective force that outweighs the act itself.

VI.   GOOD EFFECTIVE FORCE

While we spoke with Padma (UR-2T), she received a phone call from a man in the neighbouring ward while we spoke with her in her front room. A man in shabby clothes stood before "Madam-ji" a few minutes later, requesting that she submit a letter for an electrical connection. It wasn't the first time he'd inquired about the relationship with Padma. The Parshad from his own ward had put off drafting the letter until now, and then asked for 500 rupees. When the man received the handwritten letter, he discovered that it was unreadable and would not be accepted by the electrical department. He then approached Padma and requested that she add a line to the letter confirming what it said, along with her personal stamp. This was rejected by the power department, which demanded a new letter. The man went to the mayor in distress, who told him that any ward member, not just his own Parshad, could sign a letter certifying his address and need for connection. He'd returned to Padma in order to finish this project. The man was quite polite to "madam-ji," yet he was enraged by his own Parshad. We voted for him so that he could carry out our duties. However, after being elected, he does not work at all. The individual is Muslim and a Congress Parshad voter. He confessed that he would not vote for the BJP, which is Padma's political party. He says he would vote for her because she is a nice human being if he were in Padma's ward.

Padma's activities appear to be based on electoral calculations. Because of the BJP's ability to negotiate between disparate organisations and the state, it has been able to gain support from groups whose interests are diametrically opposed to its philosophy and policy positions. Is it possible that electoral considerations were the only factor? The man does not live in Padma's district and claims he would never vote for the BJP. In Uttarakhand, the BSP is the second most popular party among Muslim voters who are dissatisfied with the Congress. Instead, I believe Padma's self-narrative as a social worker inspired her to do everything she could to aid the man. This isn't just a self-portrait; the consistency of her self-narrative and actions indicate that "social worker" is an integral part of who she considers herself to be. Her active and enthusiastic membership in the BJP is woven within this self-awareness, and she sees party work as a natural extension of her social work. The fact that seva (or public service) is part of the party's philosophy and a common political lexicon does not lessen its significance in her identity. Rather, it motivates her to operate in accordance with its core ethical values.

Following the man's departure, Padma discussed the Parshad's demand for payment from a poor man. For every modest item they accomplish, some ward members want money. However, I believe that if you are performing social work, you should not be concerned about making money. She took a huge book from beneath the table and scribbled the job she had just finished. When we ask her to show us, she beams as she turns the enormous pages full of inscriptions. The ledger's functional purpose is unknown, but its emotional impact on Padma is undeniable. Writing in each entry reaffirms her position as a seasoned and capable ward member. The vast volume has its own affective presence, conveying the magnitude of the duties she has performed through its weight; I can barely raise it into my lap and am awestruck. Each engraved activity also conveys the warm feeling of doing good, and while the entries are mundane, they evoke memories for Padma of people like the Muslim guy whose life she has influenced in little ways.

The phrase "social worker" is frequently used as a euphemism for "fixer" or "broker"—someone who, under the guise of impartiality, mediates between citizens and the state in exchange for political support. The value of this identity—being someone who helps others—to one's self-understanding and self-making efforts is overlooked when motivations are reduced to cost-benefit assessments. Fischer reveals how individuals choose leaders who not only serve their interests but also share their beliefs. This highlights the importance of internal and intrinsic motives for people to run for leadership positions in a rare, non-cynical portrayal of small-time politicians. Fischer's (2016) findings are in line with a review of the profiles and backgrounds of numerous Dehradun ward members. However, I would go even farther and say that helping others is not only a motivation for them, but also a basic part of their identity. They are not only motivated by ideals, but also animated by the alignment of actions with self-understandings or goals for self-realization.

People are affected in a variety of ways, and the examination demonstrates how the desire to help others is frequently entwined with other parts of life and existence. Bimla (RSCW-1T) is a BJP member who understands that Muslim voters will never vote for her or her party. She does, however, accompany them when they go to collect their pensions. Her party criticizes her and opposes her: "Many times complaints are expressed... People in our neighborhood, including my family, warned me not to associate with Muslims, but aren't Muslims also human beings?" Bimla tells us that she is motivated to help the underprivileged because she has lived in poverty herself and understands how tiny things like a pension can make a difference. Leaving aside the chance that Bimla is exaggerating her eagerness to assist Muslims, she appears to be motivated by other motives.

Affective mobilization of volunteers, humanitarian workers, and supporters of development programmes has been studied in recent literature. This work looks at the drive to help others as a visceral and emotional response to individuals in need, rather than as a calculation. They depict the degree of affective attachments to specific improvement projects or concepts of current or ideal modes of being, as well as the manner in which these intensities inspire activity. The value of social and

cultural scripts for action is not diminished by paying attention to the emotive. Rather, tactics for instilling specific emotions are considered a newly recognized kind of governance that leads to the formation of "caring," "self-sacrificing," or "hardworking" subjects. The purpose isn't to say that people can't engage in dialogue; rather, it's to suggest that we can think of people as more than instrumental, self-interested individuals. I suggest that applying these principles to comprehending city councilors, who, despite being politicians, are emotional people with affective responses to lived experience, is beneficial.

As previously stated, Bimla had a steep learning curve as a first-time ward member with limited knowledge. Having competence has changed my life, and doing things correctly has an affective impact. We've noticed how she lifts and swells when she's able to complete tasks, such as filling out a pension form. Another way to get to this level is to assist a Muslim individual. I'm not dismissing her empathy for poor Muslims; rather, I'm emphasizing how these animations are intertwined with other emotions elicited by her life's biographical elements. Such motivating reasons are especially strong for women, many of whom had little experience or understanding of dealing with government agencies but now proudly tell us about the work they can do. Another facet of the mediated state is that its impenetrability creates emotional highs for those who can successfully engage it. This appears to be a key animation for women in particular, energizing them to work for their constituents.

VII.   CONCLUSION

The literature on affect and emotions has focused on the energy that animates behaviour that is ambiguous and counter to one's aims and intentions. In anthropological descriptions, politicians are resiliently instrumental, calculative, and largely self-interested individuals, and this line of inquiry has yet to penetrate our understanding of them. In the first scene, Kashi cooperates with a constituent's request to sweep the temple for a private function. She did it despite her belief that it was not her job, that it was not a moral act, and that it would not benefit her politically (she was not standing for re-election). Her conduct had an emotional logic—to avoid an unpleasant situation—or even an affective force—an unconscious urge she couldn't explain—but no instrumental goal. In an attempt to uncover the ways in which Parshads are affected in such encounters, I highlight people's differing abilities to negotiate, which in many cases expands expectations of the state.

In describing encounters and narratives of encounters between Parshads and residents, I've exposed hitherto unnoticed or perhaps neglected facets of municipal councilors' daily lives: being screamed at, embarrassed, or appealed to by both voters and non-voters. It's unclear if the absence of such experiences in the literature is due to the fact that they are unique to women Parshads in Dehradun or because they are deemed unworthy of investigation by scholars. Other studies have noted India's increasingly forceful voters, but my view is that the emotional responses to these demands have been missed rather than ignored. The literature on urban development and citizenship in general has tended to praise forceful individuals who will demand their "rights" and hold elected officials accountable. This phenomenon has two unfavorable aspects, which I have underlined. First, not just the urban poor, but also the middle class, want MCs to bridge the gap between entitlements and rights. Second, I want to call attention to how MCs are frequently burdened by growing citizen expectations in terms of time, financial costs, and emotional labour.

As a result, entitlements—the resources and opportunities that people can access from the state—are influenced by the differential power to impact and the differential susceptibility of Parshads to be affected. In this study, I've attempted to build on Desai and Macfarlane's (2014) approach to "sites of entitlement" by emphasizing the relevance of emotions and affects in the contestation and reconciliation of claims. Moral economies, or how morality impacts resource distribution and class relations, only catch a portion of these factors, and only if we extend morality to include not just informal and formal norms, but also moral sensibility, or the embodiment of moral orders. Emergent moral regimes fall short of capturing activities that are in opposition to, or part of, emergent moral regimes. Observing the subjective intensities of interactions between MCs and voters exposes capillary kinds of power that operate via the body and have individualized impacts. The entitlements that emerge from these interactions may alter moral economies in a complicated and contingent relationship. But the centrality of personal histories also suggests that they are contained within the specific assemblages of each encounter.

The multiplicity of Parshad responses demonstrates the fallacy of any essentialist interpretation of women's experiences as elected officials. The research shows that caste, class, age, and other factors are just as important as gender in shaping women's activities and the limits and opportunities they face as political leaders. I've sought to untangle some of these disparities, focusing on the ways in which class, and to a lesser extent but inextricably linked, caste, influence the types of encounters and responses that women Parshads face. Again, paying attention to a wide range of male municipal councilors would help us better understand how emotions and effects affect urban governance, and this is an area that needs more research. However, I am certain that this article is not (solely) about women in politics, but rather about how citizens interact with one facet of the state. As noted, the variances and similarities between genders offer an illuminating point of comparison,

which is crucial to Indian studies. Urban women's parshads are not an afterthought; they are crucial to comprehending urban governance and citizenship in general.

Because much of the empirical evidence has focused on women, it's unclear whether there are gender disparities in how males respond and the emotional responses they elicit in others. Emotions are social, and as a result, they are sensitive to gendered identities. Similarly, claims that government efforts to mobilize "ethical citizenship" attitudes motivate women to engage in feminized types of volunteer work and caring. Furthermore, gender determines emotional practise; just as contact between people evokes various affective intensities based on colour, gender shapes social encounters, with people responding to or being impressed by a woman in different ways than a man. Institutional limitations are also a factor. Women's reactions to specific scenarios are shaped by their experiences learning new skills and knowledge, as well as the tacit questioning of their abilities. To remark that women are influenced in various ways is not to subscribe to the notion that women are more emotional and so less (or more) capable of governing. Rather, it is meant to draw attention to how the institutional setting shapes women's life narratives and how socio-historical gender ideas impact emotional configurations.

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