

Playing to the Gallery: Visual-Culture, Aesthetics, and the Spectacle: (Re)Reading Commonwealth Games 2010, New Delhi

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New Delhi hosted Commonwealth games in 2010. It was a spectacular spectacle of visuals, ideas and projections. The cityscape was transformed in accordance with the global audience and expectations. The Commonwealth Games in Delhi 2010 was highly influenced by other sporting events abroad, such as the 2008 Beijing Olympics, China or the 2006 Commonwealth games in Melbourne, Australia. It seems such events, on the one hand, are inspired by global standards at the technological and managerial level and, on the other, by the zeal to project the host nation's image as an integral member of the global commune¹. New Delhi had been preparing hard for the Commonwealth Games 2010 since the arrival of the new millennium, but efforts were intensified from 2004 onwards. The zeal to convert the capital of India into a global city was very visible in the government's actions and communications. Campaigns such as 'From walled city to World city', introduction of 'Ho-Ho' buses for Delhi tour, Commonwealth Games website, and display of big hoardings across the city were some of the many initiatives taken by the government. The state machinery was employed efficiently to execute structural changes and displacements that were justified as essential to host such events. Shanties, slums and hawkers were displaced to 'clean' the city and meet global standards². This whole drive of preparation for Commonwealth Games had been criticized by media watchdogs, civil society, and opposition political parties alike for rampant corruption and ill planning for months that later surfaced allegedly as Commonwealth Games scam worth 80000 crore rupees approximately.

Visuals, Aesthetics and Politics

Sports events have become more spectacular and broader in their scope and purpose in a globalized world. It has become a platform for projecting the nation's image as an abode of a culturally vibrant and world-class tourist destination³. Visuals of these mega sporting events are endowed with socio-cultural panorama and heritage of the host country that consequently projects her politics and policies globally. But this is not a brand-new endeavour as sports events have been used for long as a spectacle to justify society's present and future vision. These visions have strong linkages with their socio-cultural evolution and histories that have been used to legitimize the present and perspective politics and policies. 1936 German Olympics is one of the most cited examples where Nazis had used Olympics to aestheticize their politics. Hitler's controversial call 'I summon the youth of the world' and other propagandist measures to popularize the Olympics were signifiers of German statecraft and vision⁴. Germany won maximum medals in the 1936 Olympics. Hitler was the real winner who had proved the supremacy of the Aryan race and German politics over the rest of the world in general and America in particular. Richard Mandell (1971) shows the organizational roadmap of festivities and symbols in propagating and popularizing the Nazi politics and symbols by the 1936 Olympics as he notes that "[I]n 1935 and 1936 the summons seemed like the arrogant manifesto of a peculiar regime where everything, even sport, was taking on the overweening harshness of totalitarian politics"⁵.

Leni Riefenstahl's film *Olympia* portrayed the 1936 Olympic Games as a ritual for legitimizing Nazi politics and policies. The 1936 Berlin Olympics was projected as a ritual, driven from the realm of history, legitimized by tradition, and appropriated by the state to portray their political discourse as sacred and universal. Visuals of an

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ancient Greek temple, the portrayal of the relay from the temple to Olympia Stadia in Berlin, scores of people who came to greet those athletes on their way and ultimately reverberating reception by the Nazi flag-waving crowd on the roads of Berlin. It was an effort to link the glorious past of the Olympics to the then Nazi politics. One of the most ritualistic events of this whole ceremony was the Olympics cauldron lighting ceremony, which combined technology and tradition. The lighting of ancient Greece temple's cauldron using sun rays and later bringing that light to the Olympia stadia in Berlin was one of the most spectacular rituals. Olympic was signified as a fair battlefield embedded in tradition and history, and from that, only the winner could emerge. In a way, it could be meant that the winner had a natural right to rule the world. As Michael McKenzie (2003) notes:

The most famous and lasting example of the wholesale reintroduction of neoclassical references or pseudo-references into the mass spectacle of the Olympics is the torch relay, in which runners carried the sacred flame from the archaeological site at Olympia in Greece to the titanic ritual tripod overlooking the stadium, thus linking classical Greece and modern Germany through the mystical symbolism of flame... The torch-lighting ceremony and relay was, like the 11th Olympic Games themselves, a modern, technological, mass-media event masquerading as an authentic reenactment of ancient Greek ritual⁶ (sic).

Along with this ritualistic spectacle, the crowd scenes in this film are also astonishing. A multitude of mass rallies, their equivocal sounds and flag-waving hands produce a swaggering aura of Nazi supporters that could easily be perceived as intimidating. The combination of traditions, rituals and aura was all achieved by the technology of representation, and these visuals as a work of art were used for substantiating Nazi politics further. Riefenstahl always defended her film as a work of art as she claimed that she had no idea about the political motive of the film, but unfortunately, it was efficiently employed for propaganda purposes.⁷ But the big question is – could the work of art be produced just for the sake of art?

Walter Benjamin: Aestheticization of Politics

In his seminal essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', Walter Benjamin stresses various connotations and multiple purposes of artworks in the modern mechanical age. He wrote this essay in 1936, in the midst of Nazi politics and propaganda. Nazi used reproduction techniques to represent their popularity and for justification of their policies. Above all, they had used mechanics and technology to garner popularity by portraying a multitude of masses in their

rallies and meetings and brandishing their acceptances and support in that society.

Against this backdrop, Benjamin wrote this essay that questions art's socio-political and cultural positioning in society⁸. According to him, earlier artworks had a ritualistic purpose and were endowed with significant history and aura that made the art profound and unique. Benjamin stresses the aura of the work of art and explains it as the most essential and integral part. For him, the aura is an effect that is produced by the work of art. It is an extraordinary presence or an intangible quality that emanates from the overall experience and surrounds the work of art. It is a combination of authenticity and historicity. As Benjamin (1968) explains:

The concept of aura [...] may usefully be illustrated with reference to the aura of natural ones. We define the aura of the latter as the unique phenomenon of a distance, however close it may be. If while resting on a summer afternoon, you follow with your eyes a mountain range on the horizon or a branch which casts its shadow over you, you experience the aura of those mountains, of that branch.⁹

Aura and ritual sacredness could not be entirely separated from the work of art as their combination exalts art as transcendental. Artwork is profoundly embedded in a society's tradition, history, and culture, and it cannot be separated. Benjamin notices a shift with the advent of industrialization that has enabled reproduction and mass scale duplication and replication of art. He explains the development of photography and later cinema as reproduction techniques to produce artwork at a mass scale. In a similar vein, he decries the shift from visuality to tactility in modern times where people want to hold or possess the work of art for private consumption. With the rise of mechanical reproduction, ritualistic aura, authenticity, and transcendental virtue of art has been depleted and replaced by a new theology of *l'art pour l'art* that is art for the sake of art. It is almost an antithesis of the socio-cultural purpose of art that is challenged by this new "negative theology in the form of the idea of 'pure art', which denied any social function of art and any categorising by subject matter".¹⁰ He further argues that the mechanical reproduction of art has dissolved the historical-spatial significance of the work of art and has denigrated its aura. For Benjamin, it is not the degeneration of aura and authenticity that is at stake but the persistence of ritualistic value of art which is, in the course of time, being devoid of transcendental value and unfortunately replaced by politics. This ritualization of politics is a matter of concern because it imparts transcendental value to politics that uses art for its purpose. Aestheticization of politics only imparts

the right of expression to the public but abnegates other rights that questions existing property relations. Benjamin further postulates that the culmination of the aestheticization of politics is ultimately war because existing property relations hinder the natural utilization of productive forces. War proffers this opportunity as he notes that 'war makes it possible to mobilize all of today's technical resources while maintaining the property system'¹¹. The only way to release the energy garnered by technology is by unnatural utilization in a war. As an alternative to the aestheticization of politics, Benjamin suggests the 'politicization of art', which, in a way, could be pursued by communism. How far the humanization of technology could be achieved through communism could be another topic of debate, but Benjamin's notion of the aestheticization of politics is still revealing and relevant.

Commonwealth Games 2010, Delhi, India

'Ritualization of the work of art' continues in one form or other in many spectacular spectacles. For example, the torch ceremony of the Olympics, which started in 1928 and was further ritualized in the Berlin Olympics, is still performed with all its gaiety and grandeur with some aesthetic changes in accordance with locale settings, demands of time and space and above all politics. It has become an essential part of sports events that no sporting event is imagined without this ritual. There is a stark continuation of ritual and purpose from the Berlin games to the recent sporting spectacle. Recent Olympics games in London in 2012 and Beijing in 2008 are good examples of ritualistic legacy and purpose. London Olympics projected a multicultural, multiethnic image of England by projecting British Asian and black-British athletes as their ambassadors¹². The lighting of the Olympic cauldron was performed differently as the cauldron was designed as a centre linked to its periphery by multiple radial points. It resembled a flower that had a core and petals at the periphery. Young multiethnic athletes ignited the periphery and were enclosed in the core. To a certain extent, it signifies England's quest to project her as a true multiethnic nation where various peripheries ultimately enclose into the core. In a similar vein, Beijing Olympics' visuals were specially crafted to portray China's journey from a communist nation to a global manufacturing giant and powerful economy. In Beijing Olympics, a torchbearer athlete suspended with transparent cables apparently ran in the air above the audience, beside walls of that stadium to ignite the traditional Olympic cauldron. With his every step, there emerged visuals of landscapes, industrial workers, peasants, artisans, and industries. He rose further and ignited the cauldron. His flight above

the ground to reach the Olympic cauldron signified the transcendental rise of humans above the horizon towards the sky. Accompanying visuals signify workers and peasants' historical contributions to building the society and their endeavour to modernize and globalize China¹³.

Almost in the same vein, the Delhi Commonwealth games presented visuals to substantiate their politics and policies. Like Olympics, Commonwealth games do not have a torch ceremony but a different Queen's Baton relay ritual. Before every Commonwealth game, this relay starts from Buckingham palace as Queen's baton left the palace and travels around the Commonwealth nations and reaches the host country, where it is again handed over to either the Queen of England or her representative. So, there is likewise a ritual followed by Commonwealth nations, and it appears that they still cherish their linkages with the colonial past. Baton relay could be seen as an endeavour to redeem the lost linkages of colonial past and legacy in the postcolonial world. In Delhi commonwealth games, technology and mechanics were again used to produce an overarching effect that had almost overwhelmed the audience. The ceremony started at the renovated Jawaharlal Nehru stadium, illuminated with bright blue and white lights. Amid the stadium, there was a fire altar glowing brightly as lights emanated parametrically from it. The altar imparts a sense of ritualistic consecratedness as all ceremonies in ancient Indian tradition start with offerings to gods in a fire altar¹⁴. The ceremony began with traditional harps and huge drums, performed by a conglomeration of artists across the country. Festivities were chiefly marked by various ancient Indian cultural pastiche, including classical dances, yoga, puppet shows, folk dances, music, and two fusion music performances.

Out of many spectacular performances and spectacles, the rise of the world's biggest helium balloon and a medley of classical dances were astonishing. As in India, snake charmers used to present a snake show where they excite domesticated snake by playing the harp-like wind instrument (*been*), and snake (Indian cobra, *Najanaja*) used to raise its head and swings it along. Scientifically snakes are not endowed with incredible auditory receptors, but these snake charmers claim that they could make the snake dance to their tunes. Similarly, snake charmers were employed to present the spectacle where they played *been*, and a giant snake-shaped aerostat helium balloon had risen. The employment of traditional cliché to raise a self-rising helium balloon was surprising, if not spectacular. The spectacle repudiates traditional cultural practice, irrespective of its rationality and further uses this cliché to achieve a feat by raising the world's biggest balloon. It seems an effort to claim the mystic superiority

of the Orient over the rest of the world, as their music has the charm to perform miracles. In a similar vein, there was a medley of Indian classical dances chosen judiciously from various states of India to project Indian cultural heritage and represent unity in diversity. The quest for national integration was undoubtedly there, and again a sports event has been used to aestheticize politics. The ceremony presented an image of India as a culturally diverse but united nation on the one hand and a museum of cultural vibrancy for global tourism on the other. One spectacle addressed both national and international concerns, and in that aura of spectacle, people had almost forgotten their earlier concerns of rampant corruption, financial embezzlement, scams, and inappropriate planning in Commonwealth games. It seems that spectacle opiates people and deviates them from other significant concerns, especially property relations, that need to be addressed. As Benjamin (1968) notices that "the masses have a right to change property relations; Fascism seeks to give them an expression while preserving property"¹⁵.

On the one hand, almost all the spectacles were drawn from ancient Indian culture, and on the other, there was a stark absence of the images of modern India except some fusion music. Even modern technology was used profusely for repudiating the ancient and folk culture, but there was hardly any glimpse of India's achievement in the field of sciences and spacecraft. The spectacle was much endowed with ancient Hindu culture and traditions, and there was a conspicuous absence of other cultures. Why there was so much stress on the ancient Indian culture? Why is India projected as an abode of tradition and culture than as an emerging economy and nation?

Re-Presentation of India as 'the Other' and the Quest for 'Hybridization'

Western academia and Eurocentric discourses of knowledge have been criticized for their bias about the Eastern world as they had imagined and portrayed the East as a binary opposite of the West. If occident is scientific, rational, and masculine, then orient is traditional, spiritual and feminine. Many scholars challenged these prejudiced structures by exposing such biases in European literature, especially of the colonial period, as the strategy of the West to prove their superiority on the East. Edward Said (1978) argues in the same vein and locates binary opposites in the literature of the colonial period that was produced to legitimize colonial rule. He further criticizes Europe's effort to understand the East as a desire embedded in a vicious wish to rule them. He notes that "there is, after all, a profound difference between the will to understand

for purposes of co-existence and humanistic enlargement of horizons, and the will to dominate for the purposes of control and external domination"¹⁶ (p. xiv).

Political decolonization has not marked the independence of erstwhile colonies, and still, they are suffering from various kinds of colonization but direct¹⁷. To a certain extent, the representation of Indian culture in the opening ceremony of the Commonwealth games was strangely marked chiefly by the pageantry of the ancient Indian culture. On the contrary, it was devoid of other modern achievements of India. Snake charmers, puppet shows, classical and folk dances etc., is all India has to offer the world? It could be one of the features of Indian heritage and culture, but it is not India's only cultural repertory. It seems, in the wake of projecting India as a global tourist destination, the opening ceremony has produced a spectacle that would be more relished by tourists¹⁸. India was almost re-presented as the West has imagined it, a binary opposite. The East is spiritual, so there was a spectacular show of *Kundilini* yoga¹⁹ in the ceremony. A yogic image emerged from the fire altar, and following visuals and commentary enumerated the virtues of *kundilini* yoga. In a similar vein, the East is natural, so there were classical Indian dances associated with the six seasons of the country, and it is mystical as the snake charmer's tune could raise the snake and balloon alike.

On the one hand, almost all the ceremony was a spectacle of traditional Indian culture, but the presentation of fusion music marked the last section of both opening and closing ceremonies. This fusion was a combination of western and Indian music. In the opening ceremony A.R.Rehman, one of the great Indian film musicians, sang the 'jai ho...'²⁰ song from his internationally acclaimed and Oscar-winning Hollywood production *Slumdog Millionaire*, released in 2008. It was directed by Danny Boyle and won several Oscars in various categories, including music. Rehman, dressed in white *Jodhpuri bandh gala*²¹, sang along with women dancers clad in white gowns. It appeared as if spectacle suddenly had turned western in comparison to earlier performances. Similarly, many Indian singers sang various Hindi and *Hinglish*²² songs from their albums and Indian cinema in the closing ceremony. Indian and western music were blended to produce a magnificent medley of harmony. These performances of fusion music were strange in comparison to the rest of the spectacle because at one hand, there was a quest to project Indian culture as the almost binary opposite of the West, and on the other, there was an effort to project syncretic process of exchange between binaries by hybrid music.

Homi Bhabha and Hybridity

Many postcolonial theorists, including Bhabha, have questioned the binaries of theoretical discourses, which are fixated in their epistemological frames and impede any fluidity or mobility beyond their stratified oppositions. According to Bhabha, there is always a scope of 'third space', which he calls the 'space of enunciation'²³ between two binary opposites, and this space of negotiation rather than negation would further give rise to hybridization. His concept of hybridity is poised in the transcultural exchange of ideas and knowledge in postcolonial societies.

The hybrid object . . . retains the actual semblance of the authoritative symbol but revalues its presence by resisting it as the signifier of *Entstellung* – after the intervention of difference . . . the theoretical recognition of the split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualising an international culture, based not on exoticism of multiculturalism, or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription of culture's hybridity.²⁴

Bhabha argues in favour of intermixing cultures and ideas that would emanate into authentic international, cosmopolitan cultures over time. It seems that the interaction of different cultures in the globalized world is unavoidable, and it has instead been intensified with shrinking time and space. The above-discussed visuals of fusion music denote this process of intercultural influences wherein closing ceremony vocalists sang 'Hinglish' songs, a mixture of local language Hindi and foreign lingua English. Bhabha suggests that postcolonial social interstices could not be studied in stratified frames of the binary opposite of occident and orient, but we need to locate the sites of negotiation because there is always a presence of ambivalence, indeterminacy and ambiguity in the interaction between two cultures that give rise to hybridity. He further stresses the idea of 'doubling' where there is always a possibility of partial identities rather than a complete singular identity of self and the other. It appears that it is almost impossible to maintain binary opposites and singular identities, devoid of any influence in the present world, where we are so much 'connected' globally to each other. Fusion music is just the tip of the iceberg. There was much stress in the Commonwealth game's spectacle of Indian culture, but one could not deny the presence and quest for hybridization in the ceremonies. Bhabha poses immense hope in hybridity because it blurs the discriminating gaze of self and 'the other' by producing 'negative transparency' and proffers an opportunity of subversion by disavowal. Hybridization is not a happy marriage of binary opposites, but a site of contestation where the dominated asserts by dissolving or diluting the paradigms of discrimination.

Discussion

Commonwealth games ceremonies were marked by visuals that corroborates Benjamin's notion of aestheticization of politics, where visuals were chosen prudently to project the host nation's politics and policies. Like Leni's film *Olympia*, this spectacle is also motivated by technology and mechanics in the interest of the state. Both state and private media channels were employed to transmit the spectacle world over. Rituals were performed diligently to impart historicity to the spectacle and garner legitimacy by showcasing traditional cultural heritage. Benjamin's critique of fascism and their use of technology in propaganda is central to his essay, but it also comments indirectly on the bourgeoisie tendency of appropriating technology for profit motives. To a certain extent, these spectacles are motivated by the bourgeoisie desire to repudiate their culture and values by appropriating technological production for their benefit. But what is the alternative to the aestheticization of politics? Benjamin's suggestion of politicization of art in the form of communism is thickly contested in the post-communist era as suggested by Ziarek (2005) that even politicization of aesthetics in communism could also be reduced to ideology and propaganda. How the humanization of technology and natural utilization of productive forces could be achieved is still one of the most important questions to be addressed in recent times. Similarly, Benjamin's idea of the aura is embedded in tradition and authenticity of the work of art. It would wither by any kind of reproduction and is criticized for the idealistic approach. Ian Knizek (1993) criticizes Benjamin's concept of aura by suggesting that aura could be transferred effectively to reproduction.²⁵ For example, snake charmers were employed to raise a snake-shaped balloon in Commonwealth Games ceremony as a tradition to create an aura of authenticity. Unfortunately, it seems in the modern and technologically-advanced age the 'aura' could be transferred. There is much scope for the state and media to manipulate the spectacle and viewers alike to intensify the aestheticization of politics further.

Similarly, Bhabha's call for the internationalization of cultures for cosmopolitanism and globalization could not be accepted in totality as the process of hybridization is not completely immune to hierarchies. The notion of hybridity is further criticized for denial of socio-historical and materialistic conditions of hybridizing cultures in the wake of supporting globalization²⁶. Moreover, ideas of transculturation and hybridity are indeed not enough to breach the wide between the first and the third worlds. The performance of fusion music could be interpreted as a quest for hybridity and internationalization of cultures but in the midst of these harsh materialistic

realities, how far the idea of hybridity would be able to contend with historic opposition of binaries is yet to be explored. At times Bhabha's excessive engagement with literature and linguistics obliterates materialistic realities as he has been criticized for reducing resistance to sites of ambivalence, ambiguities and disavowal. His attempt to relocate binary opposites in 'in-between' spaces of hybridity is unique, if not problematic. But it seems that Commonwealth Games visuals were more preoccupied with binaries of occident and orient than what hybridization has to offer. As Parry (2004) notes:

Bhabha's take on transculturation is even different than Paul Gilroy and Hall, because in spite of their stress on transculturation they do recognize history and social realities as important variable in the process. While Bhabha rejects any such materiality. Bhabha's notion of hybridity is much hinges on cultural and textual analysis than socio-cultural and historical realities. It seems in wake of producing universal theoretical frames he overlooked heterogeneous developments of societies.²⁷

At times it appears that Bhabha's call for hybridity is motivated by the politics of globalization wherein wake of projecting the world as a united space, his ideas obliterate socio-historical and materialistic concerns of the present world. Re-reading the past as just sites of ambivalence and re-presentation of present materialistic differences as sites of negotiation cannot be justified for promoting globalization. It appears that many strategies have been employed to justify certain universal frames like globalization, and the aestheticization of politics is just one of them.

Conclusion

Visuals of the Commonwealth games ceremony is just the tip of the iceberg of the aestheticization of politics in modern times. Although Benjamin wrote in 1936, his ideas still hold water with all due criticisms. There are contentions regarding his pessimistic take on media and reproduction, but in recent times, how far has media evolved as an independent agency for disseminating information for the people rather than becoming a mouthpiece of some industrial house or political party? Irrespective of cyber, virtual and various information revolutions, apparatuses of information dissemination are chiefly employed to discipline and control society rather than impart unbiased information. Spectacles have still been developed to re-present 'reality to masses and masses to reality' (Benjamin, 1968). Certainly, technology has transformed the world since Benjamin's times, but still, we are struggling with almost similar problems of nexus between ideology and applied technologies. In above-discussed games, it seems that both the spectacles,

either of re-presenting India as a binary opposite of West or the quest for hybridization, were politically motivated and the product of state and media nexus. On the one hand, re-presenting India as the binary opposite seems motivated by a quest of projecting India as a global tourist destination, and the portrayal of hybrid culture appears an attempt to promote globalization, on the other. Both spectacles are embedded in aestheticization of politics. It seems even after almost seventy-five years, Benjamin's idea of aestheticization of politics stands true in present times. Though there still looms a larger question of an alternative of aestheticization of politics, if not communism, as suggested by Benjamin, could be another topic of debate.

Notes

1. Silk, Michael (2011). "Toward a Sociological Analysis of London 2012." *Sociology* 45:733-751
2. Sen-Menon, Kalyani (2010). 'Delhi and CWG2010: The Games behind the Games'. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (3): 677-781.
3. Bhan, G (2009) 'This is no longer the city I knew': Evictions, the Urban Poor, and the Right to the City in Millennial Delhi. *Environment and Urbanization* 21(1): 127-42.
4. Sen-Menon, Kalyani (2010). 'Delhi and CWG2010: The Games behind the Games'. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (3): 677-781.
5. Miller T, Lawrence G, McKay J and Rowe D (2001) *Globalisation and Sport: Playing the World*. London: Sage.
6. Rowe, David (2004). *Sport, Culture and the Media*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
7. Mandell, Richard D (1971). *The Nazi Olympics*. London: Macmillan.
8. Mandell, Richard D (1971). *The Nazi Olympics*. London: Macmillan, p. 129.
9. Mackenzie, Michael (2003) 'From Athens to Berlin: The 1936 Olympics and Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia*', p. 317.
10. Graham, C.G. (1986). *Leni Riefenstahl and Olympia*. NJ & London: Metuchen.
11. Benjamin, Andrew (Eds.) (2005). *Walter Benjamin and Art*. Continuum: London.
12. Ibid., p. 222.
13. Ibid., p. 223.
14. Ibid., p. 241.
15. Silk, Michael (2011). Toward a Sociological Analysis of London 2012. *Sociology* 45:733-751.
16. Zhang T. and Silk M. (2007). Recentring Beijing: Sport, space, subjectivities. *Sociology of Sport Journal* 23(4): 438-59.
17. Basham, A.L. (1954). *Wonder That Was India*. London: Picador.
18. Benjamin, Walter (1968). *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books, p.241.
19. Said, Edward W. (1978). *Orientalism*, p. xiv.
20. Loomba, Ania (2005). *Colonialism Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.

18. Rowe, David (2004). *Sport, Culture and the Media*. Berkshire: Open University.
19. *Kundilini* yoga deals with energy quantum of human body and its awakening through meditation (Newcombe, and O'Brien-Kop, 2020).
20. *Jai Ho* literally means to be a winner.
21. It is a hybrid version of Indian traditional attire *achkan*, which is a long knee length coat and English formal suit. This hybrid has taken place in colonial period in Jodhpur which was a princely state then.
22. *Hinglish* is a colloquial word to denote a mix of Hindi and English.
23. Bhabha, Homi K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*, p. 37.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
25. Kinzek, Ian (1993). 'Walter Benjamin and the Mechanical Reproducibility of the Art Works Revisited'. *British Journal of Aesthetics* 33(4), p. 361.
26. Parry, Benita (2004). *Postcolonial Studies*, London: Routledge.
27. Parry, Benita (2004). *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 108.
- Loomba, Ania (2005). *Colonialism Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.
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