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Center for South Asia
University of Wisconsin-Madison
203 Ingraham Hall
1155 Observatory Drive
Madison, WI 53706

E-mail: info@southasia.wisc.edu
or conference@southasia.wisc.edu
Telephone: (608) 262-4884
FAX: (608) 265-3062
http://www.wisc.edu/southasia/

Produced by Michael Kessler and Heather M.-L. Miller
Ombudsman System as a Tool of Public Accountability

The rapidly growing power of the executive/bureaucratic authority has been one of the salient features of the modern government. As a result of the increasing public pressure and demand, it has assumed, with an increasing number and volume, an enormous multitude of functions and roles especially in the field of socioeconomic welfare of the people which until recently (i.e., World War II) were regarded as outside government concern. Thus there has been enormous expansion in the scope and dimension of the activities of government and of the power and authority of official agencies. Most countries have caught up in a rapid and bewildering growth of bureaucracy which has become complicated and forceful in every aspect of public life --- regulatory, protective and developmental. On the one hand, people have gained access to a wide range of government services and support systems, and on the other hand, they have also become increasingly subject to bureaucratic decisions and discretion. The problem of exercising effective control over bureaucracy in order to protect individual rights and liberties has become increasingly important but at the same time more intractable. Thus the crux of the issue in modern democracy is: how to ensure public accountability of bureaucracy. Various approaches/steps have been attempted with varying success. One of such attempts has been the introduction of the ombudsman system in the relatively recent time. The liberal democratic countries in particular strongly favor this institution as an additional tool for managing public complaints against actions and decisions of the fast expanding bureaucracies, and protecting human rights against bureaucratic excesses and encroachments. This paper looks at, on a comparative basis, the relevance and need for this institution in various parts of the world in general, and in the U.S.A. and Bangladesh in particular.

Discourses of Buddhist Monastic Identity

This paper seeks to understand Sinhala Buddhist monastic identity as a category of shifting meanings within strategic relations between monks and lay Buddhists in contemporary Sri Lanka. First, it briefly sketches the history of the construction of monastic identity as an object of scholarly knowledge and goes on to interrogate governing assumptions embedded in some key academic texts that try to understand and represent Buddhist (monastic) practice. Second, it discusses the controversial cases of two Buddhist monks that demonstrate the strategic relations in which monks and villagers vigorously debate questions of what it means to be a monk in the central province of Sri Lanka. Here what I aim to show is that such debates are rendered possible by specific political conditions and specific times. The debates shift when the political conditions shift. It is in such shifting debates that I suggest we should locate our discussions of "Buddhism," "monastic identity," and "religious change.".
Laura M. Ahearn

In this paper I explore the multiple meanings and values surrounding the presence of "development discourse" in a corpus of over 200 Nepali love letters. After exploring how love is defined and expressed in the love letters as something that "afflicts" people rather than as something that people themselves do, the paper discusses the influence of "development discourse" on letter writers' conceptions of their own agency. Paradoxically, even as love is depicted as something over which the letter writers have no control, it is also the very force that enables them to achieve their goals in life. Sometimes contradictory ideas about progress, development, individual responsibility, and social change are woven into the letters and therefore provide insight into how global economic development impinges upon culturally mediated ideas about romantic love and vice versa.

Hena Ahmad

Conscious of the debilitating effects of the immigrant's inability to assimilate, both Desai and Markandaya problematize the diasporic experience even as they underline the importance of adapting to new ways. Exploring the connection between the immigrant's acceptance/rejection by the new culture and his/her ability to assimilate, i.e., examining exile in terms of the transnational construction of migrant identity, I ask: What do immigrants decide to take with them/hold on to? By examining individual identity in relation to national identity, these texts show how the notion of identity reinforces the immigrant's sense of rootedness in the old culture, thus forcing us to reconsider the meaning of a multi-layered, hybrid identity. At issue, in the portrayals of Hugo and Srinivas, respectively, is a sense of bewilderment in their interactions with cultures they don't fully understand. In both texts, the idea of home is connected to the protagonists' countries of origin, which leads us to ask: How do their negative experiences force us to rethink the connections between how immigrants negotiate diasporic cultural spaces and how they construct their immigrant identities? And: What is it that enables Srinivas eventually to adapt to his new culture, while Hugo remains a misfit in India? How can we explain this difference? What conclusions, if any, might we be able to draw about nation, culture and identity from the similarities and differences between their immigrant experiences?
Agricultural Moisture Deficiency in Bangladesh During the Pre-Monsoon Season

The pre-monsoon climatic season (March through May) in Bangladesh encompasses two rice crop seasons -- the harvesting period of the spring rice (locally called boro), and the planting period of the summer rice (locally called aus). This climatic season is characterized by the occurrence of convective storms, which supplies part of the needed water to the crops. However, the rainfall alone cannot meet the moisture demand of the crops that are grown during this season. Where and when needed, and where available, water has to be supplemented by irrigation.

Crop yield is affected by the extent and duration of the moisture deficiency during the pre-monsoon climatic season. Crop water use and moisture deficiency in Bangladesh during this season have been determined by using a micro-meteorological model which relies on energy balance and water balance. Amounts of water requirement by crops, actual crop water use and the moisture deficiency were determined on the basis of the estimated values of potential evapo-transpiration (PE), actual evapo-transpiration (AE), rainfall amount (P), the availability of moisture in the soil (SM).

Using daily values of temperature, dew point, cloud cover and rainfall at 19 stations, daily values of PE, AE, and moisture deficiency were evaluated for each day of the months March through May for each year, for the period from 1961 through 1998. The spatio-temporal variation of the crop water requirement, crop water use, and moisture deficiency in Bangladesh during the pre-monsoon climatic season are presented and discussed in this paper. The results will be useful to the agricultural planners and irrigation engineers of Bangladesh for the development and adoption of crops that are resistant to moisture stress, and for the determination of supplemental irrigation water requirements in different parts of the country.

Keyword: Bangladesh, crop water requirement, crop water use, moisture deficiency.

Aspects of State Politics in India: A Case Study of Orissa

Regional politics in Indian states since independence has taken various forms, twists and nuances. From being a basically one-party dominant rule in the states coinciding with the national trend in the 1950s and 1960s, a major change has taken place in the subsequent decades. In the 1990s and as India approaches toward the 21st century, there is no one form or set of governing party or coalitions that are even remotely similar or identical that can be applicable to various states. In this paper, an attempt will be made to address the contours of changing political configurations in the eastern state of Orissa. An in-depth study of the following aspects will be discussed and analysed: (a) the political economy of Orissa (b) Salient features of Orissa politics (c) Electoral politics: 1952-99 (d) Orissa's relations with the centre in the federal set up.
Syed Ali

The Variable Meaning of Caste Among Muslims in Hyderabad, India

While much has been written about caste among Muslims in South Asia, I argue that it is no longer enough to merely ask whether Muslims have caste. Caste varies in importance among different communities and for individuals. In this paper, I examine how the salience of caste varies among Sunni Muslims in Hyderabad, India. Caste generally has diminished in importance with the expansion of economic and political opportunities since the merging of Hyderabad state with independent India. For most Muslims in Hyderabad, caste identities are superficial, and are little more than secondary factors in deciding marriage arrangements. But for others, caste continues to be a critical marker of individual identity and social organization. Some subgroups will actively promote their separate corporate identity. Some individuals will make issue of their caste identities while others will downplay or not acknowledge such identities. The paper concludes that the salience of caste is related to the manner in which individuals and groups define status. Where status is rooted in ascribed characteristics, caste will be important. Where status is rooted in achieved characteristics, caste will recede in importance.

Paola Bacchetta

Hindu Nationalist Women's Identities in Domestic/Public/Nation-Space

This paper addresses Hindu nationalist women's identities in their relations to the domestic, public and Hindu nation-space. The author argues that, as Hindu nationalists politicize both the domestic and the public space, the latter fuse and collapse into the overall category of the nation-space. This collapsing and fusion operation impacts upon the entire series of models Hindu nationalists propose for ideal middle class Hindu women's identities: mothers, sisters, daughters, wives, pracharakas (single, full time RSS women workers), warriors and teachers. The Hindu nationalist models are drawn from kinship positions in the domestic space and from roles women have historically played in the public space. As these spaces fuse, however, women's identities expand. Thus, for example, Hindu nationalist mothers in the domestic realm identify as mothers of the nation (rearing their own Hindu nationalist children), but might simultaneously define themselves as warriors (in political events) or teachers (in service oriented work) for the nation. Pracharakas are to remain unmarried and detached from domestic life, but define themselves in kinship terms as mothers of the nation, as married to the nation, as sisters of the Hindu nationalist people, and as daughters of Bharatmata (the territorial goddess appropriated by Hindu nationalists). Hindu nationalist women have recourse to historic and symbolic references to reinforce their identities and practices in the nation-space: Rani of Jhansi and Kali as warrior; Lakshmi and Parvati as mother, etc. Finally, notwithstanding this collapsing and fusion of space, on a day to day basis, Hindu nationalist women's identities and practices in the nation-space remain largely extensions of Hindu women's prescribed roles in the domestic space. Important, striking exceptions to this rule are Rashtriya Sevika Samiti pracharakas and the renowned single women who serve as spokespeople for the BJP, Sadhvi Rithambara and Uma Bharati. The materials for analysis are: publications by the Rashtriya Sevika Samiti (the women's wing of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) from 1951 to 1998 with a focus on the current period; and selected speeches by Uma Bharati and Sadhvi Rithambara.
During 1996-1998, London witnessed a new series of efforts by British-born South Asians at promoting their identities and experiences. These efforts found their shape in various forms of music and print media aimed at entering, and altering, the mainstream through the marketing of Asian "aesthetics." However, these new forms had to vie with previous kinds of Asian-produced popular culture--both in terms of capturing the imaginations of youth and in shaping discursive constructions of "South Asian youth" in public culture and in the public sphere.

This paper will examine two particular forms of print media, Eastern Eye, a weekly tabloid magazine in circulation for over 8 years, and 2nd Generation, a monthly glossy first issued in 1994. How do these magazines differently construct their publics? How, as these magazines and their readership struggle over "authentic" Asian identity, are constructions of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and the relationship to nation being re-configured? How are youth re-inscribing one another within and across these spaces, and in what ways do these readings reproduce hegemonic constructions of who Asians are supposed to be? Finally, how do the different strategies of these magazines (promoting Asian "aesthetics" versus Asian "perspectives") articulate with the politics of class, multiculturalism, and race in post-Thatcherite Britain?

In my paper I wish to look at Cornelia Sorabji's autobiography, *India Calling: Memories of Cornelia Sorabji* (1934), and attempt to trace the complex manner in which colonial subjectivities are negotiated through the twin registers of colonial and imperial subjecthood. Born in Nasik a part of the Bombay Residency, in 1856, Cornelia Sorabji was among the first Indian women to practice law, and indeed one of the first to study law in Oxford in the 1890s. Her father, Sorabji Kharsedji, though of Zoroastrian lineage, converted to Christianity in his youth, and her mother, Franscina Sorabji, who was from a tribal background, was raised as a Christian by an English army officer and his wife. Describing Sorabji's sojourn in Oxford and London, as well as her time spent in India, my paper attempts to elaborate and examine the ways in which Sorabji's Parsiness, Indianness, and her self-avowed Englishness conjoin to form a peculiarly hybrid colonial identity which not only recasts the question of colonial mimicry, but is also unable to lay claim to a legitimate domestic space either in the imperial metropolis or in the colony. Particularly, my paper is interested in examining the ways in which the concept of a "legitimate" domestic space in the imperial metropolis becomes a crucial axis along which the ideas of imperial citizenship are constructed. Emphasizing the manner in which Sorabji is denied the "full privilege" of imperial citizenship while in England, I propose to analyze Sorabji's self-fashioning as an "imperial subject" while in service with the British Government in India, and in doing so, I also intend to extend the discussion to analyze the effects of this "imperial self-fashioning" not only upon the hybrid colonial subject, but also upon the colony which is engaged in trying to script its own narrative of modernity.
As recent historiography suggests the "woman question" in colonial India was closely connected to the construction of the nationalist identity by elite males. Bengali middle class males, one of the earliest champions of women's causes, articulated their self identity through redefining the roles and models of an "ideal woman" who was carefully distinguished from members of lower socio-economic groups. My paper, through an examination of employer- servant relationship in late colonial Calcutta, analyzes the creation of this middle class elite culture in Bengal that formulated the respectable gentleman/woman identity, and the concomitant construction of the "other," namely the urban lower classes. By culling evidence from a variety of literary sources, my paper will show how the Bengali middle class carefully crafted the domestic as the "other" by exploiting the latter's avowed display of sexuality and lack of control that transgressed middle class values. The sexual representations of domesticics in Bengali literature reveal that the process of self-definition of the nationalists middle class was fractured by tensions emanating from the possibility of subversion and transgression of their newly evolved ideals by the subaltern "other." Moreover, it also affirms that the discourse that formulated the distance between employers and servants was predicated on the idealized notions of the 'respectable lady' (bhadramahila) and the 'good housewife' (sugrihini).

This paper explores the tensions and continuities that bind a "classical" Indo-Muslim poetic canon to present-day poetic production and recitation by Urdu-speaking women. I will discuss the relationship between marsiyah poems by several twentieth-century Indian and Pakistani female poets and the nineteenth-century classical marsiyah tradition. Marsiyehs, elegiac laments usually based on the torments of the Shi'i Imam Husain in 680 CE, date at least to the fifteenth century in India, but only gained high literary stature through the works of the (male) Lucknow poets Anis (1802-1874) and Dabir (1803-1875). Few women have attained prominence as marsiyah-writers, although many Shi'i women are skilled reciters of marsiyah or soz (melodic poems that are often extracts from marsiyahs), or writers of "simpler" laments such as salam and nauheh. Both the marsiyahs of Fatimah Zaidi, Shuharat and Tasvir Fatimah, and the very emergence of these rare female poets, reveal cultural systems of poetic validation and valuation. The ways in which these marsiyahs are produced, circulated and published provide insight into the broader workings of literary lineages and circles over time in Lucknow, Hyderabad (Deccan) and Karachi. The data for this presentation is the result of two years of research in India and Pakistan.
Glazing for Social Justice: Ethnographic Study of Dalits in Bihar

The Bhangis (Dalits) are one of the important constituents of Untouchables in India. Among the 23 listed scheduled castes in Bihar, the Bhangi caste is the lowest. The Bhangis are traditionally scavengers, or night soil removers; they occupy the lowest of the low positions. Scavenging i.e., carrying of human night soil is a centuries-old practice.

Gandhi and Ambedkar were activists linked to the Indian social movements within the pre/post constitutional era. Both spearheaded social movements against Untouchability in their unique ways. Their social movements challenged the Hindu system of caste stratification, cumulative inequality and social discrimination of untouchables.

In regard to the behavioral attitude of the scavenger or Bhangi community, the question arises whether the scavengers themselves were willing to be emancipated. Hesitancy is due to social, psychological and economic factors. Scavenging has been a way of life for many family generations. These Dalits have a fatalistic outlook due to lack of education and no need to guide them or make them aware of other openings for employment. Resistance to change is also partly responsible for the extremely slow progress towards the abolition of scavenging. A strong movement for social reform is needed. The government has provided a series of measures for financial assistance, training and employment reservations, but the vast majority of Dalits are unaware of them. Consequently, they cannot be active participants in the struggle for their upliftment. However, the purpose of this paper is to examine the struggle of these untouchables for their emancipation from ethnographic perspective. The paper includes my personal interviews with the untouchables during the course of my study in Patna.

Mapping Nostalgia and the Nation in the Black Hole of Calcutta

This paper examines how late Victorian interest in the supposed Black Hole deaths of 1756 was renewed when Lord Curzon mapped with thin brass lines the dimensions of the old Fort William onto the pavement of Calcutta and then installed a black marble slab over the exact location of the Black Hole prison. I argue that by the end of the nineteenth century the practice of colonial history was in large part directed towards generating a nostalgia for originary moments such as the Black Hole. Moreover, this nostalgia was didactic and often displayed graphically in the form of maps. Such mapping enabled Curzon to educate and illustrate the relevance of the Black Hole to the British colonial national state. Indeed, it was the very manner of representing the Black Hole – as a public exhibit and tourist site – which fused the event onto the exhibit, and permitted the projection of nostalgia onto the site. I conclude by arguing that such nostalgia for originary colonial moments was crucial in the fashioning of Britain as both a colonial and national state.
Tessa Bartholomeusz  
Florida State University

Shifting Perceptions of Peace in Sri Lanka

I intend to explore the relationship between the sangha and the Buddhist laity in Sri Lankan attempts to find a resolution to the ongoing ethnic conflict. The study will focus upon monks who lobby for a "peaceful" solution to the conflict as well as upon some lay Buddhists who support them. Such study will reveal the extent to which Sri Lankan Buddhist meanings of "peace" are negotiated in the context of war and the ways in which monastic and lay identity are constructed in shifting ideas about peace, war and violence.

Srimati Basu  
DePauw University

The Construction of Religious Memory: Imagining Hinduism

As Shalini Puri points out in a 1997 article, "Race, Rape and Representation: Indo-Caribbean Women and Cultural Nationalism," Partha Chatterji's (1989) analysis of gender as a primary site of negotiation between colonizers and native elites, involving the definition of private and public realms and gendered agency within them, can be transposed effectively to analyze the postcolonial politics of race in Trinidad. The Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha of Trinidad is presently engaged in vigorous attempts to delineate Hindu womanhood as part of a religious/political process of creating Hinduism: some sites include the construction of Sita as icon, Divali as religious (not "cultural") movement, and India as holy land. This paper will explore the ways in which these processes of gatekeeping in an ethnically and religiously syncretic cultural space attempt to mark cultural superiority (and hence suitability of political rule) by calling upon India as imagined space as well as upon specific moments and events of Hindutva in contemporary India.
Scholars generally attribute the first 'public orations' (metattamill) in Tamil to Arumuga Navalar (1822-1876) of Jaffna, Ceylon. It is written that Navalar, 'The Able-Tongued,' in the context of a Siva temple recitation of poetic pracankam, commenced a series of prose-based, anti-Christian 'sermons,' called the Salay-Street Sermons on December 31, 1847; they were said to resemble a Methodist 'circuit-rider' in form but in content were scathing attacks against what Navalar characterized as Christian bigotry and hypocrisy vis-à-vis Saivism. In the Salay Street Sermons Navalar began a process that eventually led to the establishment of Tamil as a "public" language in the middle of the second decade of the 20th century when Congressmen first started speaking Tamil (as opposed to English) in public meetings. Looking at Navalar, his practices and times, I will provide an initial speculative discourse on ideas of scripturality and orality in the mid 19th century and how such ideologies of language were implicated in the production of a new Tamil fit for public consumption and, ultimately, new models of democratic communicative practice.

Scholars have studied caste panchayats in India from a variety of angles. One set of authors (cf. Mandelbaum 1970, Hayden 1984, 1987) has considered their role in the redress of ritual lapses and the settlement of civil disputes. Another category has focused on the development of new organizational forms and caste panchayats function in the defense of common economic interests (cf. Hardgrave 1969, Mines 1984, Templeman 1996). Their role in the management of common pool resources has, however, largely been neglected. Several Indian cultural ecologists (cf. Gadgil and Guha 1992, Gadgil and Malhotra 1994) have recently suggested that castes (and by implication, caste panchayats) also have resource management functions. This paper investigates the dynamics of panchayat action among Pattinavar fishermen of the Coromandel Coast. It argues that, despite a number of structural weaknesses, caste panchayats still play a crucial role in the regulation of resource usage in the marine fishing sector. Their continued effectiveness is explained with reference to the specific character and history of fishing communities in this region.
Common to both tourists and ethnographers is that both are “out of place” in another’s world. That is, they move themselves to new or distant locations and through that displacement, use experience as a means to know other people and places. What, then, is the epistemological role of understanding others by being “in their place” when one is “out of place?” This paper complicates these metaphors of knowing by addressing the fundamentally geographic dimensions of participant observation (and by extension tourism) that of putting yourself in someone’s place as a means of knowing self and other. If we can never truly switch places with another person and experience the world as they do because of differences in power, social position, and gendered life experiences, how might we come to understand others across the distances of culture, “race” and status? Using empirical data from a village in Baltistan, northern Pakistan, and the provocative insights of Iris Marion Young (1997), this paper begins to outline an alternative geography of knowing self and other.

This paper problematises the notion that the postcolonial nation-state must always be defined as an oppressive system, especially towards the subaltern woman. The 73rd Amendment of the Constitution of India (1993) empowered the subaltern by allowing her to participate in the rural political structure. In this paper, I examine the nation-state’s conceptualization of the subaltern woman. I present the argument that by distinguishing between intellectual and subaltern consciousness, it is possible to have emancipatory knowledge construction from the outside—knowledge which was not initiated by the subaltern herself. My paper examines ways of conceptualizing the subaltern woman by discussing the theories of postcolonial feminist critics who define subalternity and subaltern knowledge construction, which I regard to be problematic. Instead, I argue for multiple ways of defining subaltern subjectivity and identity.
The author proposed a plan for poverty eradication in 1989. The plan included systemic changes: political and economic restructuring. Political restructuring included decentralization and empowerment of all. Economic restructuring included changes in economic policy and redistribution of assets; self-sustaining employment at the local level; restructuring of services to the poor; and reassessment and restructuring of technology. This paper will revisit and evaluate the plan given the developments in the last ten years. Current macro indicators and policies (economic liberalization and its consequences) will be examined with a view to developing a set of policies for the next twenty-five years in the context of the issues raised in the other two papers in this panel (Romesh Diwan and Suresh Desai’s papers).

Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code: Reflections on Queerness and Decolonization

Section 377, an anti-sodomy statute of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), has been staunchly defended by the Indian State as a necessary legal protection of Indian culture and tradition. In this paper, I outline the context that led to the national visibility of Section 377, and identify some of the actors involved in regards to this code. Furthermore, I examine the conceptual apparatus of this code and explore the ways in which imperial and post/neocolonial notions of nature, culture, normative sexuality, and gender expectations collaborate and embody Section 377. Most importantly, I look at the implications for lesbian identities and realities of the colonial phallic discourse of the code, and how notions of nature and culture are rearticulated within hybrid forms of heteropatriarchy and misogyny, and continue to undermine autonomous modes of female sexuality.
Monolina Bhattacharyya

Changing Ideologies and Architectural Patronage in North Calcutta: The House of Pasupati Bose

It is often believed that the elite residential architecture of colonial Calcutta is a product of the overwhelming influence of European neo-classical styles circulating in the city since the beginning of the nineteenth century. While this may be only partially true, it is also a fact that this period experienced increasingly intense nationalist fervor, which was reflected in its art, as it was in other aspects of everyday life. However, nationalism and indigenous biases in nineteenth century residential architecture belonging to Bengali elites of Calcutta have rarely been considered by scholars as powerful factors in the changing ideologies and aesthetic preferences of these patrons. In this paper, I will examine how nationalism deeply influenced the structure and embellishment of one such elite residence, the 1876 mansion of Pasupati Bose in Bagbazar. By his choice of symbolic elements for its exterior and interior on a layout which was largely rooted in both the historical and contemporary indigenous society and culture, the patriotic Bose draws attention to the many facets of struggle, negotiation and contradiction that underlay the planning and designing of the elite residential mansions of nineteenth-century colonial Calcutta.

Anne M. Blackburn

Reorienting the Sasana: Buddhist Education in 19th-century Lanka

In 1815 Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) came under full, formal British colonial control, a step that created new possibilities for and constraints on the definition of local communities and institutions. This paper examines the creation of new Buddhist monastic educational centers, or pirivenas, during the first two-thirds of the 19th century, exploring the vision of “Buddhist community” that appears to have guided the pirivena founders. I argue that attention to the curriculum and patronage structure of four key pirivenas reveals shifting Buddhist monastic understandings of the geographical and pedagogical center of the Lankan sasana.
James Blumenthal
Oregon State University

The Purpose and Politics of Representation: A Re-Evaluation of dGe-lugs Commentarial Literature

This paper takes a fresh look at the philosophical commentarial literature of the dGe-lugs school of Tibetan Buddhism and offers a new three-fold model through which it is argued these texts can be more successfully engaged. Acting as a corrective, this paper first examines some interpretive shortcomings of past scholar's dealings with this genre of texts. After demonstrating how these interpretive errors usually fall into two opposing categories (two extremes if you will) with specific consequences and also after demonstrating why both sides of this error can be traced back to the same hermeneutical mistake, this paper proceeds to offer a solution. I will argue that the fundamental mistake is in the presumption that all dGe-lugs commentarial literature on philosophy operates under the same hermeneutical perspective, with the same purpose and method of presentation and thus has been misconstrued due to this erroneous basis of engagement. In addition it will be argued that the resulting biases likewise reflect the biases of the investigating scholar. This paper argues that a more accurate portrayal of this body of literature would be to divide it into three distinct sub-genres, each with distinct hermeneutics, purposes and methods of representation. Moreover it is argued that engagement in the literature through this newly offered framework will result in a more accurate accounting of not only this genre of dGe-lugs literature and its contents, but could have implications for how scholars approach such genres in other Buddhist schools as well.

George D. Bond
Northwestern University

Lay Meditation Gurus and Groups In Sri Lanka

Based on fieldwork in Sri Lanka during 1997 and 1998, this paper examines the emergence of a new wave of lay meditation teachers and groups who offer distinctive interpretations of both the path and the goal of Buddhism. Although lay meditation was a prominent feature of the Buddhist Revival, this recent movement represents some striking differences. Whereas before, lay meditation was largely presided over by monks, now a whole group of lay teachers has emerged independent of the sangha. Although these teachers proclaim that their teachings follow traditional Buddhist dharma, this paper examines the interesting blend of traditional and post-modern influences and themes that shape their interpretations of Buddhist practice. Some of the themes we will discuss include globalism, syncretism, social engagement, parapsychology and healing. It is also clear that their discourses about Buddhism have been shaped in certain ways by the political, economic and military context in Sri Lanka. This movement clearly challenges the assumptions of mainstream Sinhala Buddhism and nationalism, as well as the monastic hierarchy. If we compare these developments in Sri Lanka cross culturally, we might even ask whether some of these groups should be considered to be cults that are moving toward becoming "new religions." Here the influence of Indian teachers and models has been important in the formation of these groups. Many of them follow Indian teachers and most of the groups are organized on the Indian model of a charismatic guru who teaches a highly rarefied spirituality to a cluster of disciples.
This presentation will focus on the difficulties of teaching South Asian materials to a relatively homogenous racial student body at a large Midwestern state university. Having taught South Asian texts, and cultural artifacts from the Third World more generally, at Indiana University, I have observed that student reaction to these materials resides on a continuum between a desire to identify completely with the texts, on one hand, and to be alienated from them, on the other. In the first case, students often universalize themes within the work—effacing the cultural and historical specificity which underwrites these texts—in order to affect a personal connection with the work. In the second case, students posit the works as being utterly other and, thus, irrelevant to their own experience. This move is often accompanied by the concomitant valorization of American-style culture, democracy, and capitalism. Moreover, when the instructor manifests some visible connection to South Asia, through her ethnicity or sartorial choices, students often construct her as a native informant imbued with epistemic privilege to declaim about the materials. I will suggest how the use of South Asian diaspora films such as Hanif Kureishi’s *Sammy and Rosie* and Mira Nair’s *Mississippi Masala* can be used to complicate students’ notions of identity, geography, and culture.

This paper investigates the complex ways in which signs of kinship are used to represent and naturalize relations of Muslim identity, exclusion, and belonging in Bangalore, India. Drawing from interviews with physicians and state officials, the paper addresses how Unani (Greco-Islamic) medicine is distinguished as a clinical practice as well as a polysemic operation of discourses about cultural identity—namely, what is “Muslim” about Indian science and medicine. How does Unani medicine acquire particular Muslim qualities not merely according to what is “on the book” but also through complex relations of social and religious beliefs about the family, community, and greater “Islamic world”? I conclude that the polysemic and often competing status of Unani medicine as “Islamic,” Greek, Indian, secular, classical, “pure” and “adulterated” contributes to other models and metaphors of Muslim identity formation discussed in the panel. Significantly, the shifting assembly of signs of what is Unani, or how Muslim is Unani, belies any attempt to pin Unani medicine as categorically Muslim without considering the heterogeneity of Muslim identities in the first place.
Ethel Brooks  
New York University

Child Labor and Gendered Citizenship: Transnational Protest in Bangladesh’s Garment Industry

In recent consumer campaigns against the use of child labor in Bangladesh’s garment industry, U.S. and European activists have forged a transnational politics around discourses of (child) rights and (Third World) development. Within this politics, Bangladeshis have been portrayed as both victims of globalization that forces them to use child labor as a central feature of development efforts, and models for their 1995 Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to abolish child labor in the export garment industry. In the paper, I examine this “transnational solidarity” in light of its relationship to the shop floor. How are notions of childhood constructed within the discourse of (Bangladeshi) child labor? What gets left out of a politics that posits (Bangladeshi) workers as children, as female, and as in need of saving by Western consumers, international NGOs, and members of South Asian diaspora communities? I would argue that such a politics takes as natural disciplinary practices that are outside of child labor. It leaves uninterrogated gender relations on the shop floor, notions of sexuality among garment workers, and various contested constructions of childhood in the particular settings in which they are deployed.

Rebecca M. Brown  
St. Mary’s College of Maryland

Padri ki Haveli, Patna, and the Shape of a Colonial City

In Patna, a provincial commercial town during colonial times, a group of Capuchin Catholic fathers constructed a Ionic church in the center of the walled city. Completed in 1776, this structure predates many of the neoclassical buildings in Calcutta and stands as one of the earliest examples of this type of European classicizing in India. This paper examines the church, known as Padri ki Haveli, and its position on the edge of colonial studies: as Catholic (not Protestant), as Italian (not Portuguese or British), as religious (not domestic or governmental) and as provincial (not in Calcutta or Madras). By taking an approach skeptical of reading this church as purely “colonial,” I discuss this monument in terms of its interruption of the old city of Patna when it was built, its continued prominent presence in the city throughout the nineteenth century, and its problematic relationship to British colonial spaces of residence and worship elsewhere in the city.
Buddhist Deities in the Hindu Pantheon

While Buddhism incorporated Brahmanical and Hindu deities at various stages in its development, it has, in its Tantric form, also influenced the Hindu pantheon. In this presentation I will discuss the adoption of Buddhist deities and mantras by the Tantrasarasamgraha and the Mantrapada of the Isanasivagurudevapaddhati.

The Tantrasarasamgraha (TSS) is a compilation of mantrasastra by Narayana, a Kerala Brahmin. The Mantrapada (MP) forms pada 2, patakas 15-52 of Isanasivagurudevamisra’s Isanasivagurudevapaddhati (ISP). Both texts were written at least before 1483, the year Raghavabhatta completed his commentary on the Saradatilakatantara in which they are cited.

V.V. Dvivedi 1992 (Vasudhara evam krsnayamari sadhana, Dhih 13: 33-44); 35 draws attention to the fact that the ISP describes the worship of the Buddhist deities Vasudhara and Yamantaka. Taking Dvivedi’s discovery as a starting point, I have identified additional material of Buddhist origin in the TSS and the MP of the ISP. I discuss the adoption of the two-armed earth goddess Vasudhara, and the adoption of the god of wealth, Jambhala, widely known as the Buddhist counterpart of Kubera. Finally, I address the inclusion of several Buddhist mantras in both texts.

Autobiography, Autoethnography and Intersubjectivity: Analyzing Communication in Northern Pakistan

I explore how my interpretations of communicative processes in a mountain community in Pakistan have been constituted through important facets of my recent autobiography. Specifically, I show how the efforts of some Shimshali villagers to colonize my subject position by communicating with me in certain ways informs an analysis of communication in their community. My experiences in Shimshal keep returning me to themes of intersubjectivity, despite my sympathy with alternative post-structural readings of the power-embeddedness of all communication. Thus, one of my theoretical challenges has been to conceptualize how communities like Shimshal may nurture a strong commitment to the ideal of intersubjectivity, while retaining a clear sense of the asymmetries of power which contextualize members’ interactions within and outside the community. The paper begins with an overview of my research involvement in Shimshal. I then describe villagers’ attempts to insert themselves into my autobiography by nurturing contingencies that encourage me to (a) create a place for the community in the way I understand myself, (b) create a place for myself in the way I understand the community; and (c) involve myself in the way social and political relations unfold there. Next, I explore villagers’ insistence that I try to understand the community intersubjectively. In particular, I examine Shimshalis’ efforts to involve me directly in their representations of the community to the outside world, and the implications of that for the relationship between my autobiography and their autoethnography. I conclude with a discussion of the analytical implications of my relationship with Shimshals, emphasizing the disquieting effects such a relationship has had for my theorization of communication and resistance in the community of Shimshal.
An examination of the social and political lives of pastoralists helps to explain the historical questions relating to the dynamics of local trade, the most important trade circuit for the majority of South Asians in the early colonial and colonial periods. Most economic historians have described trade in the early colonial period in terms of market towns and the volume and type of goods transacted there, ignoring for many years trade routes themselves. Anthropologists have argued that the pastoralists inhabiting these "empty spaces" could not exist without some form of exchange with settled, cultivating populations. In southwestern Panjab, these exchanges were frequent and tied to relationships of social and political power, yet pastoralists often served as carriers of goods between market towns. Variables such as floods and warfare affected the volume and path of trade in goods, yet social relationships were the most important variable regulating trade in animals, one of the two crucial inputs necessary for cultivation.

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This presentation focuses on the process of creating a performance piece on Roop Kanwar and analyzes some of the problems I encountered therein. On September 4, 1987, 19-year old Roop Kanwar, who had been married only for 9 months, burned to her death on her husband's funeral pyre, in Deorala, Rajasthan. Sati has been illegal for over a century in India, but pressure from women's groups and sensationalized press coverage moved the state government to pass, one more time, a decree banning both the commission and glorification of sati. Initially, I wanted to create a piece entitled "Remembering Roop Kanwar," recalling the horror of that incident and condemning it. However, I realized, after many rehearsals where I created and almost immediately discarded material, that despite the proliferation of literature around the issue of her death, very little is really known about Roop Kanwar. The presentation will use movement and text to raise issues of performative representability and political performance with specific reference to this piece.
This paper will examine the politics of establishing a non-governmental organization in the plantation belt of North Bengal, India. After briefly presenting some of the critiques of external 'development' programs which focus on Third World women's status, it will present the efforts of small community-based, and women/worker-led, organizing in the plantations. Through careful and critical examination of political practice which is (apart from the author's involvement) entirely village-based, the paper will suggest that organic activity and a philosophy of self-sustenance is at the core of potential 'success' and longevity. However, union-politics, perceptions of external and US-based influence, women's marginalization and local patriarchies, not only create obstacles to expansion and growth, they provide significant commentaries about the local, regional and national perception of organizations which struggle to provide alternatives to macro-level and regional development policies. Equally significantly, these are commentaries that force such an organization to think about necessary alliances and compromises within the given political landscape. In so doing, the centrality of women as leaders becomes the crucial factor in drawing out the lines of constraint in organizing as well as the immense potential for challenging and breaking new ground in community-based re-definitions of 'development'.

No other country attaining independence after the Second World War was institutionally as prepared as India for self-government. The institutions of orderly national and state government were deeply rooted elements of India's British heritage. Among developing economies, India was the lone country that had to initiate an economic policy within a democratic set up. India in 1950's inherited an underdeveloped economy. In this paper we will lay down the basic philosophy behind Nehru's economic policy based on heavy industrialization through public sector under the guidance of the state. We will argue that although Nehru's economic policies failed in a few years, the overall thrust of his philosophy still remains alive in the form of national economic policy. Congress at later years used the rhetoric of self-reliance and BJP during its tenure gave the word Swadeshi.
This essay rethinks the ubiquitous figure of the male double—as twin, brother, or friend—in popular Hindi film, commented upon by Sudhir Kakar and other writers in the 1980s, moving from a cultural psychology of Indian absence to a cultural history and politics of contemporary self-fashioning. Central to its method is an attentiveness to the figure of dialogue as both a genre of film and a space of cultural performance by fans. It draws upon recent scholarship on discipline and masculinity in India, and in particular the work of Joseph Alter and Steven Derne. Beginning with the moment of Mother India and working up to the recent films of Shah Rukh Khan, Govinda, and Akshay Kumar, the essay examines the links between homosocial representation, the relation between dialogue and dancing as characteristic of genre, and recent contests over the constitution of an Indian public sphere.

In recent years, no political party in India has won a clear majority in the parliament. Consequently, coalition-based governments have become the norm. The alliances required for the highly fragmented coalitions are quite fragile. These coalition governments often remain in power by the narrowest of margins. Regional or "fringe" parties possess the demonstrated ability to bring down a government during no-confidence votes. Although reform-minded governing parties have continued the economic policies of increased privatization and liberalization, they have found it politically advantageous to accomplish this in a manner acceptable to those less reform-minded parties within the governing coalition. One indicator of appeasement, discussed in this paper, is a diminished level of government sponsorship of the dialogue, essential for the development of sound liberal economic policy, between the private sector and the government. To retain coalition backing, while still preserving this essential discourse, the government has allowed outside organizations, such as the apex Indian business associations and Indian private research foundations, to actively sponsor forums supporting a dialogue between government and the private sector.
This paper presents the results of a text-critical analysis of the Katha-Upanishad. It has been suggested that the Katha-Upanishad is a heterogeneous text, containing passages from various time periods or by different hands. Most of the previous work on this Upanishad has, however, relied mainly on an analysis of its philosophical content to determine which parts are "original" and which parts are later additions. Such a conceptual analysis is highly subjective. A transition from one stanza to another may seem problematic to one interpreter and perfectly intelligible to another. In my analysis of this text, I have chosen to rely mainly on an analysis of the metrical and linguistic forms found in the Katha-Upanishad to determine the relative age of its passages. After conducting such an analysis, I conclude that the Katha-Upanishad was probably originally composed in a mixture of tristhubh-jagati and Vedic anustubh, with a few prose passages interspersed, while the passages composed in Epic shloka without vipulas must be regarded as later additions.

This paper examines constructions of Krishna's sexuality and divinity in relation to the gopis and wives in the Harivamse, the Visnu Purana, and the Bhagavata Purana. It contends that Krishna's desirelessness becomes a definitive aspect of his divinity as the earlier stories are elaborately developed by the author(s) of the Bhagavata. In contrast, it also demonstrates how female desire has here become more intense and passionate, more wild and potent. While the gopis are driven by an irresistible attraction to Krishna which leads to both unspeakable bliss and excruciating tapas, Krishna himself is always smiling, always playing, never disturbed by the passions of others. The paper thus argues that it is precisely women's lack of control which leads to their blissful attainment of Him whose self-control is perfect. And it suggests that the representations of ideal devotion in the Bhagavata are also simultaneous constructions of paradigmatic male and female sexualities -- the former being the ultimate and unchanging satisfaction of the latter, which is defined by intense tapas and shameless passion.
Hindutva's rhetoric and most recently overt physical attacks against Christians are based on “fundamentalist” Hindu projections on Christian missionary activity which, in turn, have their roots in Christian evangelistic movements of the Nineteenth Century and their interaction with the Sanatana Dharma during the European Colonial period.

This scholar has previously treated these issues in the particular to the second decade of the Nineteenth century in a series of papers and articles on Bishop Reginald Heber. This presentation intends to broaden the scope of the findings of the earlier research to determine if they hold up over a larger sampling of data from the last century and to produce more generalized observations.

This exercise intends to demonstrate, first, how the interactions and competition between the two religious traditions spurned on the Hindu Renaissance during the Nineteenth Century and, secondly, how this interaction and competition has developed into the tragic consequences of the last decade. Particularly in the light of a resurgent but aggressive Hindu “fundamentalistic” revisionism which has its roots in the Christian criticism which led to the Bengal revival of the 1820's.

One of the contexts within which White Western women 'know' the South Asian Other is through racist, Orientalist and (neo)colonialist discourses about them. In this paper I use intensive interview and participant observation data to examine how discourses of gender, race, class, sexuality and empire operating in northern Pakistan are manifested in, constituted through, and articulated by White Western women's practiced subjectivities as they work for international development organizations and other NGOs in the Northern Areas. By examining how these women's subjectivities are constituted through the nature of their involvement in these discursive frameworks and systems of oppression, I will explore how they participate oppositionally, complicitly, or in an ambivalent combination of both, in various material and ideological relations of domination in Pakistan. Resistance to discourses of domination, and the subjectivities they produce, alters discursive regimes of truth, thus changing how Western women 'know' the Other.
In March 1998, just after national Lok Sabha elections in India, the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) in West Bengal suggested a reformulation of its English language education policy in the state, specifically, the class level in which English language education is introduced in government run schools by the state. Heated public discourse on this issue emerged largely through print media. While the debate focused on the connection between English language education and economic opportunity, the subtext conveyed shifting cultural values and ideology. Whereas English language education was brought into India under the guise of cultural imperialism with an implicit attempt to engage in economic imperialism, the language debates in West Bengal fifty years after independence focus explicitly on the rhetoric of economic opportunity. English in India, and the discourse surrounding the relatively minor discordance concerning when school children should begin studying the language, reveals the continuation of domination by a small elite (namely the ruling political party and their beneficiaries) and the interests that they are allied with. Post-independence discourse on English education in India reveals not only language attitudes and ideologies, but more importantly, social and cultural ideologies of identity which have continually shifted over the course of the last fifty years.

Anchoring the western margin of the Asian cordillera, the Pamirs form the great complex orographic node where the Hindu Kush, Karakoram, Tian Shan, Alayskiy and Kunlun Shan ranges converge. This illustrated paper will 1) present the major regional biophysical and human characteristics of the Tajik Pamir, 2) examine post-colonial environmental and human changes, and 3) critique various strategies for regional economic development. Defining characteristics include intense seismicity, giant earthflows, ethnic diversity, return migration to the Western Pamir and increasing nomadic pastoralism in the Eastern Pamir. Major income sources are subsistence farming, commercial arboculture, pastoralism, and raw opium. The prevailing development initiatives involve water resources (irrigation and power generation), farming (cotton, wheat, fruits, nuts), minerals (aluminum), and ecotourism (trekking, mountaineering, fishing, hunting, horse packing, etc.). However, ongoing civil turmoil, economic uncertainty, and the regional demographic cauldron continue to throttle economic development and environmental quality.
Like the gift of a ceremonial robe, the gift of paan was a religiously neutral courtly ritual in pre-Mughal Bengal, because it was a ritual used throughout the trading world of the Indian Ocean. This paper will analyze portrayals of royal gifts of paan in middle Bengali literature. It will argue that gifts of paan did not mark recipients as members of a courtly elite. Originally and most generally, it symbolized acceptance of a ruler's command, and then by metonymy, acceptance of a ruler's authority in general, without being limited to any particular command.

But royal gifts of paan also were made to some favored subjects who were not amenable to royal command. Including all subjects in ritual gifts of paan enlarged the meaning of the ritual again. Royal gifts of paan were used to mark proper recipients of the redistributive economy of a kingdom, to distinguish all those who belonged to the kingdom from those who were foreigners. Unlike gifts of ceremonial robes, royal gifts of paan established a direct relationship between the ruler and all of his free, adult male subjects, regardless of their rank.

Ritual gifts of paan thus embedded an ambiguity present more generally in secular gifts: not the "poison" of transferred inauspiciousness (Gloria Goodwin Reheja, The Poison in the Gift [University of Chicago Press, 1988]), but the price of unspecified obligations which attended the promise of continuing largess.

This paper tracks how Partition's bodily violence impacted the production of national identity and belonging in 1947 and after. In the last decade, the topic of the Indian partition of 1947 has re-emerged as an object of study in South Asian studies, particularly in the disciplines of anthropology and history. These studies have tended to focus on the gathering of individual testimony to apprehend the experience of the subcontinent's violent transition to Independence. My paper responds to this focus on individual testimony and the consequent gap in South Asian studies of Partition, by studying literary representations of Partition and Independence in the public sphere. I do this through a study of two novels written by diasporic South Asian writers from 1980 on: Bapsi Sidhwa's Cracking India and Salman Rushdie's Midnight's Children. Through these novels, I suggest that Partition violence plays a constitutive role in the invention of Indian national modernity. In this paper, I argue that Cracking India reveals how communal identities for both men and women are not prior to, but produced through violence. Moreover, Cracking India shows how this gendered production of communal identities - Hindu, Muslim, Sikh - through bodily violence can be both disjunct from, and supportive of the ideas of nationhood. I juxtapose Cracking India and Midnight's Children because while they both reinsert Partition-its mass migration, loss, and violence-at the heart of the story of independence, they address the postcolonial body very differently. Sidhwa shows how male and female bodies become different kinds of sites for sexual, economic and communal transactions during decolonization. For example, this novel's representation of the abduction and rape of Ayah (the working-class woman) by her lover complicates and contests anthropological explanations of sexual violence as being about patriarchal communal honor. In contrast, Midnight's Children turns the postcolonial body into a metaphor for the nation. The violence suffered by the narrator Saleem's body, as he is speremontized, lobotomized, castrated, mutilated, becomes an allegory for the fragmentation of a masculine Indian nation for Rushdie. I conclude by suggesting that Cracking India offers a more potentially radical critique of the nation through its depiction of communal sexual violence as irreducible in the economy of national histories.
Gender Roles in the Early Hindi Literature for Women

Of the early prose tracts in modern Hindi, the only two which laid some claim to be in the newly imported novel form, addressed themselves to women, even to the new women, who were defined by their education. Both stemmed from the pens of authors who were preachers rather than creative writers, who were traditionalist rather than reformist in their affiliation, though both polemicized against the old and the rustic while upholding the newly urban. What was the form this new education was to take, what kind of changes in the household was it to bring about and what new key role was the woman to play now? Wherein lay the urgency of change? What, if any, were the mediating instances between the private and the public?

There is little information available on the details of middle level urban households before the late nineteenth century. It has, in fact, to be largely gleaned from these works themselves. In my paper I shall complement the close reading of the two works with an analysis of the first Hindi journal for women, which appeared from 1872 to 1876.

Natural Frames in Feminist Tourism: Women’s Development Becomes a Tourist Destination

This paper is an examination of similarities, differences, continuities and fissures between ecotourism and the tourism of women’s empowerment. I center the discussion around a women’s development project in Nepal at which traditional women’s ceremonial painting has become the stylistic basis for the production of paintings and crafts made for sale as ethnic art in the tourist market in Kathmandu. In the course of the paper, I attempt to answer two sets of questions. First, what role does the depiction of of natural forms (flora and fauna) play in traditional and commercialized painting, and in what ways do these depictions play into the discourse of ‘developing women’ that underwrites the support given to the project by development (‘aid’) agencies and by tourist consumers of the project’s wares. Second, what is the role of political, in this case feminist, ideology in the production, promotion and consumption of the project itself and the products made there? Is this role similar to that played by environmentalism and conservation(ism?), as ideologies, in ecotourism? Are these ideological influences similarly explicit? Do feminist tourism and ecotourism reflect equally the devolution of 1960s and 1970s activism to lifestyle politics? To what extent are they politically viable alternatives to mass tourism and how do those positioned as the "objects" of that tourism and development engage with these ideologies?
Rahul Deepankar

University of Chicago

Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions: A Study of Religious Conversions in India

For the ex-untouchables in India, the religious conversions has been one of the very few means to escape oppression, isolation and subhuman existence in Hindu and Brahminic social order. However, having been fed up with the denial of their Fundamental Rights by the “oppressive but ubiquitous” caste system, thousands of Dalits have embraced to Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, and Buddhism. But for various reasons the debate of religious conversion has been exacerbated lately. This paper addresses the theoretical and empirical issues of Dalits’ conversions to different religions especially to Buddhism. How and why these conversion movements have been triggered? Did these events have any positive or negative impacts on the lives of millions convert Dalits? Do these conversion events give a new sense of pride and identity to Dalits? The paper also examines the counter events to these conversion movements too.

Heather Dell

Rosemont College

“Ordinary” Sex, Prostitutes, and Middle Class Wives: Sexual Practice, Liberalization, and National Identity in Postcolonial India

In postcolonial India, red light districts are being powerfully affected by the cultural tensions of economic liberalization. The influx of VCRs and blue films into middle-class homes, Calcutta prostitutes suggest, is creating “new” sexual demands and changing the division of labor in the sex industry. Middle-class customers ask not for “ordinary” sex but for oral and anal services, sometimes called “English sex”. While these practices have an Indian past depicted on temple walls, they are being contested as foreign by some wives and prostitutes. The “foreignization” of oral and anal sex is one way in which a nation can claim an identity by projecting beyond its national territory sexual practices it deems unacceptable. The proliferation of sexual acts in a global landscape, by public accounts, has been linked to rising divorce rates and increasing specialization in the sexual marketplace. Nationalism will continue to construct India as an imagined community through the exclusion of non-reproductively oriented sexual practices. Yet, as transnational commodities continue to remap Indian markets, older assumptions regarding the boundaries between national and foreign become more problematic. This paper asks how sexual discourse and practice have been and remain part of contesting national identity in postcolonial India.
Segments of three interviews with Mahasweta Devi, conducted in July 1998, are interwoven with tribal materials collected in Tejghar and Varodhara, and with materials Mahasweta recommends as essential readings for those interested in comparisons of adivasi and Native American literatures. Presentation includes slides of Bhil pithoras, fragments of a Kheria Sabar folk tale, and videotape footage in which Mahasweta defines her current project and adds a specific appeal to American audiences. Mahasweta's work gets mixed reviews from Calcuttans, stronger reviews from those at a greater distance from her. Both classical Sanskrit aesthetics (in its various manifestations) and the more explicitly political aesthetic attributed to South India help to explain this differential: the speculative, meditative quality of Abhinavaguptas rasa is theoretically more easily attainable for sahrydayas not personally involved in the political moment. Mahasweta habitually blueprints socio-political actions which her Bengali readers must take lest they be implicated in the systematic unkindnesses which her art infuses with symbols and heightens into allegory. However, given Mahasweta's identification with the adivasi, it may be more pertinent yet to evaluate her work by the clear moonlight of a carefully articulated tribal aesthetic, one which is paradoxically both subtle and overstated, theoretical and embodied, quick-silver flexible and agonistic.

This paper will examine the principal criticisms that proponents of so-called "Critical Buddhism" have leveled at the doctrine of Tathagatagarbha in the context of early Japanese Buddhism. Historically, Tathagatagarbha thought, which asserts that sentient beings possess an inherent potential for enlightenment, developed, in part, as a "positive" response to what some observers construed as the negative, and even nihilistic, tendencies of the Indian Madhyamakam interpretation of Buddhist doctrine. Although many East Asian Buddhist schools have embraced Tathagatagarbha, a number of other Buddhist traditions have criticized it as no more than an atman dressed up in Buddhist garb. Some of these schools even claim that Tathagatagarbha thought should be denigrated as antithetical to the teachings of the historical Buddha.

Such criticisms have been given a modern voice in academic circles in the work of the Japanese Buddhist philosophers Matsumoto Shiro and Hakamaya Noriaki. Their thought, referred to as "Critical Buddhism," maintains this line of reasoning, connecting Tathagatagarbha to part of a system of thought that is classified as hongaku-shiso, or, "the thought of original enlightenment." Matsumoto and Hakamaya assert that hongaku-shiso, through which there has been no idea that it was possible to attain enlightenment is non-Buddhist doctrine, which makes it possible for matsumoto to maintain his "universal religion" which is not considered Buddhist. This is a provocative statement that attempts to sever the link that Japanese Buddhism has traditionally maintained with the religion's founder. These scholars maintain, moreover, that this seemingly positive, universal doctrine has, in fact, been cleverly manipulated by a succession of power elites in order to maintain the status quo, and has thus exerted a detrimental effect upon Japan's overall religious, social and cultural development. Their theories have created much lively debate among scholars of East Asian Buddhism. My paper will address their claims by examining Tathagatagarbha thought in early Japanese Buddhism, the principal points of their argument, and finally, the critical salvos fired back at "Critical Buddhism."
Often, students get the idea that Indian society is consistent and coherent. Teaching about family life and gender relations often leads students to believe that patriarchy is more pervasive in India than in the USA. By using A. Patwardhan's *Father, Son, Holy War* (1995) in an undergraduate class on the sociology of the third world, I am able to show students that gender is often contested. The film shows both men and women who identify Roop Kanwar's alleged *sati* with Indianess. But it also shows both men and women who contest this identification. It shows men who identify with a militant masculinity, but it also shows men who contest identification of Indian masculinity with aggression.

The paper defines poverty as an extreme form of equity and examines the crucial interrelationship between equity and economic growth. Part I undertakes a brief overview of literature on the subject and suggests that the mainstream argument that treats them as substitutes in the short-run and complements in the long-run suffers from serious analytical weaknesses. Empirical econometric studies, though of limited usefulness, do not validate the mainstream argument. I take the position that econometric studies are an inappropriate tool to examine this relationship. A more fruitful way is to examine them in the context of state-market-society interrelationship operating in a country. We need the adoption of a historical, evolutionary perspective, taking into account institutional, historical and policy frameworks, to assess this issue. Part II adopts such a perspective to analyze the efforts to achieve economic growth and equality in Asian countries. It examines their growth strategies and their policies to attain equality. It assesses their outcomes, with special emphasis on India and China. The paper highlights some fundamental questions regarding our concepts of growth and progress, impact of technology, role of community in attaining the goals of modernization and equality.
A Yolmo Phenomenology of Dying

In this paper I advance some thoughts on the life and words of Kesang Omu, an eighty-five-year-old Yolmo woman who has lived much of her life in the foothills of the Helambu or Yolmo valley of northcentral Nepal. In working to elicit and record Kesang Omu's jibhan-katha or "life-story" in 1998, I was struck by the fact that her recollections largely entailed a theater of voices: when narrating significant events in her life, she often invoked, in vivid, morally significant terms, the voicings of key actors in those events. She also commented frequently on the potential skillfulness of her speech when talking to me and on how others might evaluate the aesthetic value of her speech. What I convey through this paper is how Kesang Omu's take on her life and words related to the culture-specific forces that underpinned her life, from pressing moral concerns to the perceived effects of aging on her ability to remember well or speak skillfully. All told, the paper works toward an understanding of Yolmo lives and self-narrations as being deeply embedded in complex, politically charged fields of inter-subjective relations and voicings.

Religious Aspirations and Sexual Norms: Defining Sexuality in the Mahabharata

This paper is part of a larger work exploring the theoretical grid on which discourses on sexuality are mapped in the Mahabharata. It attempts two things. First, it draws attention to the fact that there exists within Hinduism a well-refined typology of sexuality that is sensitive to both the spiritual aspirations of the individual, and to the variety of roles s/he occupies in society. Second, it provides one sample of the way in which sexual practice is differentiated in the tradition. These are the encompassing categories of pravrtti dharma 'immenent in the world', and nivrtti dharma, 'renunciation of the world'. From these broad primary categories, all other classifications of sexual practice ensue. The paper is based on an analysis of key narratives in the Mahabharata.
In the early part of the twentieth century, the Healing Stones on the Hawaiian island of Oahu, became a site of pilgrimage for people all over Hawaii who believed in its miracle powers. The sites popularity dissipated by the 1930's; however, in the 1980's the Indian community in Hawaii adopted the site and established a Hindu temple, where religious offerings are performed every third Sunday of the month. It is a time for members of the Indian community to gather together in prayer and worship. A time when there is a strong sense of unity and cohesion, when spaces are renegotiated to fit the needs of a diasporic community striving to make the foreign a place familiar and recognizable. Using the Healing Stones in Wahiawa as a site of identity, community and memory I seek to examine the formation of identity and understand the growth of collective memory within the Indian community outside India and in the state of Hawaii. The Indian community in Hawaii does not have visible institutions or neighborhoods that are primarily devoted to the Indian community or culture. Therefore, the Healing Stones and the Hindu temple are significant in contributing to a sense of cohesion and memory of the homeland for Indians in Hawaii. In addition, the research will introduce the Indian diaspora in Hawaii into a much larger diasporic discourse by highlighting and exploring the unique connection between a Hawaiian site and an Indian community.

This paper conjures up the glimpses of a remnant cultural landscapes that had developed in 1930s in a specific location in the state of Bihar, India. This area is located on the bordering region of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, and Palamau districts. McCluskiegunj, as this place is called, is a charming rail-head settlement of colonial style bungalows and housetypes; farmlands and fruit gardens, situated between two Adivasi villages called Konks and Lapra in the interior region of Chota Nagpur uplands. This territory is surrounded by lush green hill tracts. Although small in area (about 10,000 acres), this is a unique realm. This domain was originally planned as a "homeland" for the Anglo-Indian community by Mr. McCluskie in 1930s. From the cultural geographic point of view this terrain is enchantingly characterized by sparsely scattered bungalows and typical colonial house types.

At the present time many large bungalows are bought and occupied either by retired elite Indian civil servants or retired military officers. Some small to medium size bungalows are purchased by other Indians either from large cities like Calcutta or people from neighboring regions. Yet, some bungalows lie uninhabited, uncared for, and in dilapidated conditions. While traveling through this unique settlement, situated amidst the wilderness of the Chotanagpur plateau, one will simply be impressed by the tapestry of remnant cultural landscape. This is a rare example of non-traditional Indian settlement landscape.
The paper distinguishes Mahatma Gandhi and Amartya Sen's approach to poverty as ideas as well as policies derived from their respective perspectives. It identifies three concepts about the poor in relation with the non-poor.
1. Poor as deprived, argued by Sen,
2. Poor as degraded that considers issues of inequality and are well explained by Ivan Illich's concept of "lacks."
3. Poor as dominated identified by Gandhi in his elite-mass exploitation.

It discusses Sen's ideas on poverty as framed in the current literature in economics. Sen's intellectual output is deeply embedded in the liberal ideology, makes a major contribution to many of its plans and suffers from its limitations. Sen contribution lies in the formulation of the concept of capabilities and functionings. The liberal ideology tends to promote abstraction in view of its axiom of ontological individualism; an abstraction that negates Habermas's "lifeworld." Sen's policy recommendations are based on the acceptance and adequacy of the existing state and market framework; appeal to elite, of which he is a member, and involve increase in expenditures on public health, literacy and growth and regulation of the market to avoid gross injustices. Can these policies lead to poverty elimination is an open question. Gandhi's policies are, by comparison, revolutionary, appeal to the masses, and strengthen family as well as community which weakens state and markets structures.

In the early fifteenth century in Tibet any Buddhist scholar of note had to contend with the views of the Gelug sect. One of the most astute critics of these views was Shakya-mchog-idan, who subjected the writings of Tsong-kha-pa, the Gelug founder, to careful scrutiny and pointed criticism. Shakya-mchog-idan disagreed with Gelug doctrine on numerous points but one of the most fundamental was the relationship between "middle way" philosophy and the esoteric descriptions of reality found in the Buddhist Tantras. Shakya-mchog-idan asserts that the highest, definitive Buddhist view is to be found in Tantric texts rather than those of the Indian Buddhist philosophers. He claims that while analysis is a necessary part of the path of transformation it must be complemented, and ultimately superceded, by the realizations won through Tantric meditative praxis which are expressed in Tantric texts. The highest view then is not the philosophical "middle way", but the Tantric one. He claims that this better reflects the overall Tantric orientation of Tibetan Buddhism and also better accounts for the actual attainment of Buddhahood. This paper will examine Shakya-mchog-idan's view and its implications for the relative roles of reason and Tantric practice on the Tibetan Buddhist path to enlightenment.
This paper examines pilgrimage as an instrument for the creation of Hindu sacred space and the cultural transference of a Hindu religious landscape to the United States. The geography of pilgrimage traditionally emphasizes flows and manner of movement, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Structuration theory reconciles the duality of structure, whereby social structures are both medium and outcome of the actions they promote. Viewing space as social product, one can view sacred space as the social construction of place in the religious context. This redefines pilgrimage as a spatial phenomenon whereby the sanctity of the Hindu temple is created and reproduced through the actions of pilgrims. The American Hindu temple, like its Indian counterpart, requires this investment of sanctity by pilgrims guided through their religious practices. Using qualitative data, I explore how pilgrims’ perception of the sanctity of the Sri Venkateswara Temple, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania is reflected in pilgrimage habits. I argue that actions of pilgrimage serve to create and recreate sacred spaces. Likewise, results also reflect continuity and change within Hinduism outside its native land.

Shrines to local saints as well as purported foreign Sufi saints dot the countryside in Bangladesh. In various regions of the country selected shrines are described as "hot", where throngs of worshippers come with special requests. In other districts, locals can guide the outsider to a crumbling vine and weed covered structure where the faithful once sought comfort, but whose efficacy is now vigorously denied. Members of the Tablig organization, primarily the urban educated, have fanned out across the countryside for years preaching the error saint veneration. More recently secular interests and practices are being seen as presenting a serious challenge to the pious. Both foreign and domestic NGOs, or non-governmental organizations, in place to facilitate the welfare of the poor, have been accused by religious leaders of being unislamic. Rural women, especially, have been warned to avoid their contaminating influence. Most recently, labor migration, which in the past ten years has increased almost to a flood, has brought the attitudes of the wider Islamic world in the form of returning overseas workers to even the most isolated rural villages. In my over thirty years of research in rural Bangladesh, from 1988 to 1999, I have observed these influences at work. My research has taken me first to the eastern part of the country where shrines proliferated, but whose influence is now declining. Later I spent time in a village in the west where I came in contact with the Muhammadiyah school of law. In June I am returning to that part of the country for an update on that rather more sophisticated region, last year connected to the rest of the country by the opening of a massive road bridge. Communication, by road, by air, and by satellite, increases the mix of foreign and domestic influences on Bangladesh and Islamic ideology.
C. Christine Fair

The Novels of Bhai Vir Singh and the Imagination of Sikh Identity, Community and Nation

Bhai Vir Singh wrote three didactic historical novels: Sundari, Bijai Singh, and Satwant Kaur. While he wrote them in Punjabi during the Singh Sabha Period, they were published in English by the Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan in 1982 and later re-issued in 1988. This paper focuses on the specific temporal contexts in which both the Punjabi texts and the English renditions were produced.

The paper argues that these texts have had two “lives” in two important political environments. The first was in the Singh Sabha period when new religious boundaries were being constructed, consolidated, and promoted. The second was in a period of consolidation of a global Sikh community and international mobilization for Khalistan. This paper examines the functionality of these texts in both periods. Specifically, this paper explores the means by which these texts both narrate a Sikh Nation that spans different temporal contexts and several nation-states. All three novels figure prominent Sikh heroines within the genre of the historical novel to promote Singh’s didactic agenda. Therefore, I also argue that these novels gender the posited Sikh Nation.

Finally, examining the international processes of producing and disseminating these texts suggests a critique of the notion of “diaspora”: the Punjab is no longer the singular locality of Sikh identity production. Rather, the Punjab is simply one of several such contested loci within the Sikh World.

1. They were also translated into Hindi; however, I have not been able to determine all three of their publication dates.

Munis Faruqui

The War of Succession of 1658: Contesting Power Within the Mughal Empire

The Mughal War of Succession of 1658 ostensibly combines all the elements of a classic pot-boiler: a dysfunctional family, political intrigue, thwarted love, relentless ambition, singular ferocity, betrayal, tragedy and, once the smoke clears, even redemption. The singular circumstances under which it began and ultimately came to be decided in favor of Aurangzeb has inspired no dearth of reactions and ruminations. In distinction to previous writings on the subject, however, this paper will seek (on the basis of a wide variety of Persian sources and 14 months of archival fieldwork in South Asia) to contextualize this moment against a larger backdrop of many “little” and bloodless wars of succession that arguably began as early as the 1630s. Through an examination of the varying efforts, by princes, at retinue construction; attempts at patronizing and manipulating a variety of social, intellectual, politico-military, familial and religious networks; and, the successful creation of a terrain of contested notions of loyalty, legitimacy and, ultimately, imperial authority, this paper will posit that the War of Succession of 1658 was won by Aurangzeb before it even began. Girding this entire exercise, will be the suggestion of a new approach towards understanding the nature of the Mughal state and the manner in which power relations rationalized themselves at various levels within the empire.
This proposed paper will describe and analyze what I call 'discourses of awareness' in relation to the development context in Nepal. The project of development in Nepal has resulted in the proliferation of discourses about the need for new modes of 'awareness' and 'consciousness' appropriately progressive for the changing times. Development discourses have not only insisted on labeling those identified as the 'underdeveloped' part of the population as somehow lacking in consciousness, but also helped create conditions in which people (from political leaders, development workers, school teachers, to newly-literate women in the villages) speak about the state of their own and others' consciousness, while narrating their experiences and discussing the environment in which they live, and the ones in to which they hope to progress in the future. Accusations of others "lacking in consciousness" or being "only half conscious," are common in daily conversations and debates accompanying the implementation of development programs. This analysis will illuminate some aspects of the on-going process of constructions of agencies and subjectivities in a locality saturated by development discourses imbued with narratives of progress.

The current migration of female domestic workers from Sri Lanka to the oil-producing states in West Asia calls into question older conceptions of 'the village'. If a woman spends two years in the Middle East, does she still count as 'a villager'? If not, what sort of social identity and belonging does she don in her absence? If so, how should we think of 'the village' when at any one time a sixth of the adult women may live in another country? In this essay I argue that travel creates a twin dynamic of loyalty to the place one is (either the old or the new), and nostalgia for the place one is not. A transnationally sensitive anthropology critiques assumptions about the bounded, exclusive, and circumscribed nature of 'the village', focusing instead on elastic boundaries, multiple loyalties, and overlapping identities.
Epidemics such as those caused by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and manifested in Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) have strong economic and social effects. India, which is home to 970 million people, is currently facing a massive HIV/AIDS crisis. Since 1991 the country has also been promoting economic restructuring. The high population growth creates conditions such as overcrowding, lack of sanitation, malnutrition, lack of education and employment opportunities, and poverty. This paper will focus on the economic, social, and cultural conditions that are responsible for the spread of HIV/AIDS and will discuss the trends found in India and the correlation to economic restructuring.

The 1980s in India saw a significant increase in grassroots movements about violence against women. These agitations reveal growing dissatisfaction with the pro-women reforms of the 19th and 20th centuries. These reforms were instrumental in creating a new conception of woman for the new patriarchy that was readying itself to inherit power from the British in India. This woman was to be modernized to better fulfill her role in rearing future citizens of the new nation. Only upper middle class women were beneficiaries of such reforms. Poorer women, whether lower castes or religious minorities, were erased. I am examining fiction such as Days of the Turban, Imaginary Maps, In Custody, and English August: An Indian Story, published in 1980s, in which the national liberatory rhetoric about the modern woman comes into crisis and its complicity with state apparatuses is revealed. In these multilocal novels, the construction of the modern woman is critiqued as other constructions of femininity, based on regional, caste, class, and religious differences, emerge. In examining this critique implicit in these novels, I am reconsidering the complex relations between modernity, gender, and nationalism in the context of uneven development.
This paper investigates an enabling moment for progressive literary production in India, the publication of the "Angarey" collection, through the work of Rashid Jahan, the only woman writer to contribute to it. A doctor and litterateur, Rashid Jahan was the primary target of patriarchal ire during the "Angarey" controversy. As several of the stories in this collection as well as the furor over them suggest, not only were gender and sexuality integral to the formulation of the nationalist imaginary, they were also central to the construction of ideologies that were critical of elite nationalism and which offered alternative understandings of cultural and political reconstruction. Reading Rashid Jahan's short stories, I examine the controversial nature of a feminist aesthetic that develops a critical realist understanding of the female body and its relationship to space, especially modern urban spaces. I show how Rashid Jahan's work enables us to think through a question that remains contentious within contemporary feminism in its intersections with ethnic and postcolonial studies: how can feminists appropriate or generate emancipatory thought, including scientific understandings of the female body, without legitimating patriarchal and colonial authority? Writer-activists like Rashid Jahan, this paper argues, initiated Indian feminist attempts to engage with modernity critically and dialogically.

By 1791, Mahadji Shinde was the de facto ruler of much of North India, including the hapless Mughal Emperor, his prisoner. In mid-1791, Shinde received from the Emperor robes with which to invest and honor the Peshwa, head of the Maratha polity. Over the next six months, there was much diplomatic speculation whether Shinde would actually bring them to Pune, on what terms, with what force, and with what larger intention. The documentation is strong in Marathi, plus the English Residency Reports and memoirs of the Europeans in Shinde's service. At Pune, the presentation of the khilat nearly provoked civil war because it forced the state to accept that it still held legitimacy from the Mughal emperor, but brought out the inescapable political reality that the Mughal emperor was Shinde's prisoner. Everyone from the Deccan to Delhi (including the Europeans) well understood the process, the stakes, and the possible strategies. I see this "khilat crisis" and its surprising resolution as an entre into what "realpolitik" might have meant at this time and why some routes were "real" and others were not. As we shall see, religion and the potential ritual pollution of a Brahmin wearing a Muslim's clothes formed no part of the equation.
Recent scholarship has demonstrated how groups construct traditions in the service of group identification. In the context of contemporary South Asia, such research has focused on the imagination of religious national identities. Many scholars have usefully explored the interactions of history and identity in South Asia, but have often not questioned the underlying assumption that 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' represent elementary and non-complementary identities. Research at a village level evidences a more complex dynamic. Through the narratives of the past that they relate, individuals in rural Bihar evidence their multiple identities. Although many residents identify themselves as Hindu and Muslim, they assume many other identities as well. Memories of the past and their association with space play a key role in many of these identities. Analysis of these narratives of memory demonstrates how individuals flexibly deploy different identities in varying contexts, alternately matching, confronting, and complementing the identities of others through religious, territorial, and linguistic associations.

While Gandhi believed himself to be teaching universal spiritual and moral behavior, he had the political goal of an independent India. As such, despite his own denials, he was a nationalist. To those who formed the beginnings of Hindu nationalism, Gandhi was anathema; to those who envisaged and supported a secular India, Gandhi was a threat; and to those who represented non-Hindu minorities (especially Muslims), Gandhi was dangerous. Thus, regardless of his commitment to spiritual, social, and political diversity, Gandhi provided an unintended impetus toward Hindu nationalism.
This paper examines the growth of a secular timber economy in colonial North India. Most environmental histories treat timber within the frozen landscape of a forest and regard its client solely as the Imperial state. However, as this paper argues, it is only in allowing for the mobility of timber from the landscape of a forest to a river and finally to the plains, that the hybridity of timber markets comes to the forefront. Timber was partitioned into various commodities each with a different client base and centre depending on the market it served. While all state transactions occurred at officially designated timber centres, other timber markets operated along different sites, most commonly near river beds in the lower plains. Without the stamp of state approval, these markets formed part of a ‘shadow economy.’ In sum, by highlighting the nodal points and various levels of access to timber, this paper scrutinizes market links as a means to understand the processes of social economic change in colonial North India.

This paper examines the various Christian responses to the writings of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), a leading Islamic reformer in late 19th century British India. The purpose is to demonstrate that the variety in responses tends to reflect the various responses of individual missionaries and their missionary societies to the theological and philosophical trends of that time. The paper examines the early contacts of Ahmad Khan with missionaries, his assessment of the work of the missionaries and their initial response to his thought, especially as expressed in his unique commentary on the Bible and his critical response to Sir William Muir’s biography of the Prophet Muhammad. As the modernist interpretation of Islam espoused by Ahmad Khan spread throughout India, missionaries and converts from Islam took note of his influence and evaluated his approach in media such as missionary conventions, in articles appearing in missionary publications, and in private correspondence. These writings by foreign and Indian evangelicals show: 1) a resistance to modernism in Christian theology, 2) an initial reluctance to permit flexibility in Islam, since its rigidity in cultural and political spheres was considered a basis for discrediting it, 3) an evolution in the thinking of some missionaries as the theological and philosophical trends of Europe and America gained credibility, 4) a growing understanding of the intellectual currents in Islam and of its internal dynamics enabling it to accommodate change.
Over the last two decades, since the global resonance of the environmental movements like Chipko, large numbers of environmental, women's, and development groups and organizations have dotted the Himalayan countryside in India. Backed by the powerful purchase of the rural ecofeminist women hugging the trees à la Vandana Shiva, the majority of non-governmental organizations in Uttarakhand increasingly focus on women as prime actors in the discourses of environment and development. Espousing feminist goals of empowerment, equality, and participation, rural women now bare the responsibility of sustaining the environment and equitable development. In this paper, by focusing on NGOs that focus on women and development, I want to explore how gendered spaces have been carved out by the NGOs for local women and how the local women resist, redefine, and remap these spaces and strategically contest their new roles and identities. Complexly configured around the competing discourses of tradition and modernity, development and underdevelopment, the politics of empowerment unfolds in the everyday struggle for subsistence and marginalization. The paper argues that women participants and organizers defy their narrow categorizations as presented in the development model and force us to rethink the contours of local development and feminist politics. Central to the paper is the examination of the contested and contradictory spaces of empowerment which describe how such spaces are spatially mapped, culturally produced, and historically embedded in the cultural politics of patriarchy, class, modernity, and development.

The Northern Areas of Pakistan - home of some of the highest mountain peaks in the world; the most glaciated environment outside of the polar regions; a 'harsh', 'extremely mountainous', and 'inhospitable' region - has become increasingly an object of tourist fascination and a destination on the global tourist market. The advent of tourism in the 1980s into the Northern Areas and its continuous growth through the 1990s has had a major impact on socio-cultural transformations.

This paper examines how the tourism industry is literally reforming the landscape of the Northern Areas through the encoding of distinct spaces in which socio-cultural transactions are structured. I will question how inter-cultural transactions are being disciplined through the differentiation between tourist spots, truck stops and local spaces and how the transactions occurring in these spaces are reshaping gender, ethno-sectarian, and national identities.
Sarah Halvorson

The Sites and Spaces of Ethnographic Inquiry: Reflections on Identity and Interviewing in Northern Pakistan

How do the sites and spaces of ethnographic inquiry influence the production of knowledge about women in Northern Pakistan? In this paper I problematize the interview site as a geographical and social space within which the ongoing construction of social identities of self and "other" takes place. Reporting on my experiences conducting research on household livelihood and well-being in the Gilgit District, I consider the linkage between identity and geography in women's lives as evidenced by the sites of access and ethnographic situation. The spaces occupied by women as active participants of social groups (e.g., Hunzakutz, Bagroti, Shia, Ismaili) draws attention to women's negotiation of their own identities and situatedness in community and regional-level social relations and gender politics. The interview is described as a site in which the politics of narration and representation intersect with the social positionings of the interviewer and interviewee to influence what knowledge is created, how social categories are conceptualized, and the practices and discourses of academic research.

Gavin R. G. Hambly

The Emperor's Clothes: 'Robes of Honor' in Mughal India

Among the ritual ties which bound Muslim rulers and subjects in relationships of mutual obligation and dependence, none was more ubiquitous than the giving and receiving of khila' (robes of honor). Originating in 'Abbasid Baghdad, and transmitted via Samanid Bukhara and the realms of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids to thirteenth-century Delhi, it thereafter became an intrinsic component of Indo-Islamic kingship. The Mughals themselves had long employed it in their Chaghatayid and Timurid homelands. It was a paradox that, although originating within a Muslim context, this institution never acquired exclusive religious connotations, but embraced both Muslims and non-Muslims, men and women, the free and the servile. This paper will demonstrate by exemplification its extraordinary adaptability in meeting a diversity of circumstances and relationships in Mughal India.
This paper outlines instances of ambiguity, conflict, regulation and resistance as experienced by two components of the multifaceted transnational commercial networks linking Central and South Asia: the nomadic tribal traders known as *kuchis* who operated between and within Afghanistan and British India, and the *kafilabashi* or Afghan official responsible for transmitting state goods purchased in India to Kabul. The relationship between the *kafilabashi* and *kuchis* will be considered in light of an attempted monopolization of commodities exports to British India. Published accounts of the relationship between the British and the Afghan Amir 'Abd al-Rahman (r. 1880 to 1901) emphasize ongoing reconfigurations of administrative boundaries between colonial India and Afghanistan. Colonial and nationalist historiographies glorify these mutually contrived political "achievements," but the articulation of both states' authority and control over the transnational commerce binding them remained highly contested and problematic during this period. This paper relies on archived colonial documents concerning 'Abd al-Rahman's project of monopolizing the export trade in commodities such as fruit and opium from Afghanistan to colonial India. The economic practices of Afghan nomad traders and a government agent responsible for the carriage of state commerce between Afghanistan and British India will be considered in light of those sources.

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This paper examines the impact of mechanization and commercialization on artisanal fisherfolk communities in Kerala. Special emphasis is placed on gender and the impact of economic transformation on women fish traders, and I explore the relationship of women's work in distribution to production and the household economy, examining how this has changed with capitalist development and ecological crisis. Using household survey data and a geographical analysis of fish market development in Trivandrum district, I argue that women's overall experience is of economic marginalization at the same time their labor has become increasingly important for household survival. This marginalization stems from a qualitative change that has taken place in their relationship to production and marketing as a result of capitalist development and the ecological crisis it has engendered.
Ishwar Harris

The Fate of Sarvodaya in the Twenty-First Century

Since the independence of India and the assassination of Gandhi, a frequently asked question is, "What are Gandhians doing today?" It is often and easily concluded that Gandhi has been betrayed in India, and that his legacy is on the verge of dying if it is not already dead. Recent research in India reveals that, to the contrary, Gandhian thought is alive and well within the Sarvodaya Movement. This paper explores the challenges faced by the movement and how it is surviving through numerous constructive programs undertaken by Gandhi’s followers. From their viewpoint, India must embrace Sarvodaya (welfare of all) in the 21st century or face almost certain Sarvanasha (destruction of all), and their work reflects this conviction.

George Hart

Syntax as Poetry: The Kuruntokai and the Kumarasambhava

A careful study of the poems of the Kuruntokai discloses that many of its poetic effects depend on the syntax employed, a syntax very much linked to the structure of Tamil. I will analyze several poems in the Kuruntokai, showing how this is so, and then describe some stanzas from Kalidasa’s Kumarasambhava, suggesting that the very different poetic effects they create depend to a large extent on the syntactic properties of Sanskrit. Topics that I will consider include rhythm, word order, inflection and lack thereof, and compounding. I will suggest that Tamil has a more open, less bounded structure, and that this makes possible strategies for suggestion and subversion of reality that are missing in Sanskrit. On the other hand, Sanskrit has a very tight way of organizing words, and this lends itself to an elegance and formal polish that characterize the better poetry in that language. Some of the consequences of Tamil syntax that are exploited in the Kuruntokai have not been remarked upon - I will show how most of the poems systematically deconstruct the reality upon which they are apparently based.
In this paper, I want to show how far-reaching were the Upanisadic presuppositions. Not only do the Upanisads show evidence of the earliest proto-scientific and proto-philosophical attempts in their construction of categories, but also, with their overall ideology, they constitute the first serious formulation of ideas for compassion and equality (or lack of hierarchy). A later tradition which has roots traceable back to the oldest Upanisads (Chandogya and Bṛhadāranyaka) articulated such ideas in their texts. In particular, a recently discovered Sankhya commentary reflects some of the early need for such ideas. Even though we may no longer describe these ideas as purely Upanisadic, they originated in that very milieu.

Between 1718-1734 Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II of Amber convened a number of conferences intended to establish strict guidelines for Vaishnava communities. He was particularly troubled by the variety of new bhakti sects that had arisen in Mathura, an area he governed as faujdar for some 20 years beginning in 1722. Additionally, Amber itself had become an influential center of Vaishnava sectarian activity. Sawai Jai Singh, as de facto temporal leader in both regions, saw himself as having the authority and responsibility for spiritual as well as temporal leadership. In those conferences and in written communications with the leaders of diverse communities of Vaishnava believers, he attempted to impose his own view of “tradition” and “orthodoxy” upon them through both persuasion and threat.

In his attempts to ban practices he believed to be corrupt, he left a legacy of reform in the history of such sectarian communities as the Dadu Panth. Through a study of Jaipur state documents, this paper examines the emerging picture of a Rajput king intent upon seeing sectarians under his jurisdiction maintain particular practices drawing upon Vedic and Puranic sources in order to preserve their distinctive “Hindu” identities.
This paper explores the formation of markets in the cotton-growing regions of Khandesh district during the first century of British rule. It focuses on the physical sites where peasants bought ordinary consumption items as rural buying-power grew in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It begins by examining the various commercial functions assumed by the Meheji fair, a major 19th century pilgrimage site. It then analyzes the market system that emerged as Meheji declined. The small periodic bazaars where peasants obtained most of their needs and the emerging markets in the small towns of Khandesh is examined. The pattern of market formation in the cotton-growing areas is contrasted to that in the poorer, outlying, tribal areas of the district where peasant buying power remained constrained due to the continued dominance of local moneylenders. The essay thus as a whole relates structure of political power in Khandesh to the nature of market system. The essay is informed by theoretical insights from central place theory, the work of G. William Skinner on traditional China, and the regional analysis approach of Carol Smith.

The Shi'a Muslim women with whom I worked in Peshawar during the Muharram mourning season of summer 1991 had learned about Imam Hussein’s 680 A.D. martyrdom, along with that of his male followers and the capture of the band’s womenfolk, since childhood. While males commemorated the deaths by self-flagellation with chains and knives, women beat their chests with their hands and wept. Women were seen as more emotional and soft-hearted and indeed, spent more time crying and mourning, not only for the martyred saints, but for the suffering and death of friends and relatives. Further, women were more responsible for the care and emotional well-being of family. Taking the Muharram mourning rituals as a resource, women combined their roles of chief mourners and family and group care-takers by applying the rituals to grieve and also take proactive steps to address problems. In this paper, I present several case studies of how Peshawar Shi'a women consigned Moharram mourning to family concerns or concerns of the Shi'a community under attack by the sometimes hostile Sunni majority. Although often lacking access to other types of resources and strategies, the women wielded this one powerful resource to address their responsibilities for family and community.
Democratic Participation in Bangalore: Implementing the Indian 74th Amendment

The passage of the Indian 74th Amendment, also called the Nagarapalika Act, created a new legal basis for urban governance and public participation in planning and service delivery. This paper traces the process of implementing the 74th Amendment in the state of Karnataka, and in the city of Bangalore, between 1994 and 1999. It describes the relationship between the state and city governments, the press, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in revising law and institutions in order to align local institutions to national legislation. The discussion will focus on strategies of NGOs in overcoming limits to popular mobilization and to government responsiveness, progress in establishing new organs for local public participation, and the ability of different actors within the urban environment to affect the public sphere.

New Muslims and Islamic Renewal: The Changing Dynamics of Conversion to Islam in India

The topic of conversion to Islam in India can be taken to illustrate some of the sensitivities of the subject. Islam, as the largest minority religion in India, is arguably an "Indian" religion while at the same time may be construed as the most successful "foreign" religion to make inroads in converting Hindus over the centuries. In this paper I will review Islamic doctrine and strategies about conversion in light of various types of conversion illustrated in Indian history.

Twentieth century movements of tabligh, such as those of Khwaja Hasan Nizami (1955) and Maulana Muhammad Ilyas (1944) principally stressed preserving Muslims from erosion of their religious identity or even from apostasy. Such movements may also be viewed as responses to the threats to Muslim identity of the Arya Samaj shuddhi campaign, Christian missionary efforts, and the incursions of modern secular outlooks. Large-scale movements of Hindus across the boundary into Islam were usually part of gradual Islamization processes occurring in certain regions rather than dramatic shifts of conscience or forced changes of religion. Changes in the twentieth century experience of religious identity seem to have lowered the stakes for conversion in the West while raising them in present day India.
Vyasa: Getting to Know the Author

Vyasa, the "author" of the Mahabharata, is perhaps best known to American readers in Hans van Buitenen's introductory terms as "a kind of universal uncle" whose contribution to Vedic, epic, and puranic texts is "intended as a symbolic authorship" (van Buitenen, *The Mahabharata*, vol. 1, 1973, p. xxiii). We can be a bit more precise than this, but basically van Buitenen points us in the right direction. The premise of this paper is that the Mahabharata poets present Vyasa as a deliberate enigma through whom they have fun exploring the creative processes and literary limits of their composition. Getting to know Vyasa is a way of getting to know the text. The paper will also approach the question of how the "author function" is constructed around Vyasa in relation not only to the Mahabharata, but in relation to the Veda and puranas, and also in relation to the figure of Valmiki in the Ramayana.

Conquest and Credit: Indian Financiers, the East India Company, and the Carnatic Wars, 1746-65

This paper examines the sources and means of funding for military operations during the Carnatic Wars. Three wars with its major European rival, the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, forced the East India Company to maintain a standing army to protect the outposts of the Madras Presidency and the territories of Muhammad 'Ali, the pro-British Nawab of Arcot. Dependent upon the Company's army, the Nawab signed over the revenues of most of the Carnatic in order to pay for British protection. The French, meanwhile, made similar arrangements with their own puppet princes in the region. Yet the unprecedented expense of intensive, European-style warfare quickly devoured available revenues, and both sides were forced to borrow heavily. Powerful Indian bankers began to operate behind the scenes of each military campaign, and their willingness to extend or limit credit had a decisive influence upon the course of the Anglo-French struggle. These creditors included not only the great merchants of Madras and the well-known Anandaranga Pillai of Pondicherry, but also a shadowy, little-known figure named Bukkanji Das, a resident of Hyderabad, said to be the greatest banker in South India. Sometimes partisan, but more often willing to support both sides, the significance of these bankers has never been recognized or analyzed. Financial management rather than generalship and troop strengths determined the outcome of the Carnatic Wars, and the East India Company proved much more capable than the French of bearing the fiscal burdens of prolonged conflict.
In this paper, I will explore the possibilities of microhistorical analysis for elaborating the intricate links between trade and the burgeoning of British empire in the Indian Ocean in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Given the integral role commercial concerns played in the development of British empire, it is important to understand the types of interactions that were encompassed in a framework of increasing British commercial hegemony in the region. While placing my analysis of trading relations in a wider regional and temporal context, I will explore a single, though indeed complex, incident. In 1812, a commercial dispute between the crew of the Anapoorny—a Chulia or Tamil Muslim vessel from the Coromandel coast of India, and the ruler of Aceh—a sultanate perched on the northern tip of Sumatra, led to lengthy sentences in an Acehnese prison for the crew, charges of piracy against the Sultan by the British authorities in the region, and a series of heated disputes and power struggles between East India Company officials in Calcutta, Madras and Penang. The incident, in fact, even incited a civil war in Aceh. Exploring the complex personal machinations engendered by the Anapoorny incident in a framework of broader regional and global political and economic forces, I will suggest that it was precisely because British Imperialism was not monolithic that it was apervasive and effective system of power.

The Pakistan Movement led by the Muslim League, from its early beginnings as a demand agenda for minority rights to its maturity as a spearhead for a separate homeland for Indian Muslims, always embodied an unresolved subtext of politico-economic relations between and among the constituent entities of the newly envisioned configuration. There were vague references to position the polity and the economy in the context of an Islamic framework of justice and fair play. Simultaneously emphatic claims were made that the emergent country will be turned into a modern state anchored squarely in the principles of secular rationality. Given perhaps the amorphous nature of the Movement, there have been many disjointed claims and much sporadic articulation but no consensus was formed around a coherent system of ideas. However, the shifting weight of the arguments has had an enormous impact on a number of debates: the issues of the role of the center versus the autonomy of the regions; accommodation of regional political forces versus their subordination, and the choice of economic development models ranging between planning for growth to a focus on human needs.

In this paper an attempt is made to unravel the threads of these debates from two angles: First—the official view embodied in the planning documents of the state such as five year plans and other planning commission reports. Second—the manifestos of the political parties that embodied an alternative and oppositional view. The comparisons and contrasts afford a tentative assessment of the future directions of these debates.
Gabriela Nik. Ilieva

Decoding Gender in Selected Rigvedic Hymns

The present study represents an attempt to identify what kinds of meanings, social and pragmatic, are encoded in the language of female and male voices in a group of selected hymns from the Rigveda, and to show how these gender meanings relate to possible gender interpretations. The focus of the analysis is first on the dominant features, the relationship with the environment, the roles and the domains in which women and men function as well as their centrality and/or marginality. At the discourse level, several aspects traditional for discourse analysis are analyzed along gender lines, such as topic choice, topic shift, conversation initiation, etc. The investigation also addresses speech function choice, which is often glossed as politeness and which is realized at the lexico-grammatical level. In addition to the expressions displaying modality, the variety of terms of address are closely examined because they provide the most elaborate resource for the linguistic realization of social relations including those between men and women. Certainly, I keep in mind the restrictions imposed to the analysis of language choices by three factors. The first one, register, takes into account the restrictions imposed by the institutional discourse (sacrificial ceremonies); by the conventionalized relationship between the Speaker (the seer) and the Addressee (God); by the particular channel used to communicate (oral). The second factor is genre encompassing the conventionalized form and structure of the language. The third one is the historical macro-context of larger social patterns, which links the linguistic data and the gender identities that they index.

Priya Jaikumar

Empire and Embarrassment: Reading the Indian Cinematograph Committee Interviews, 1927-28

In pursuit of getting special trade considerations for British films in colonial markets, British film producers introduced film on the agenda of the Imperial Conference of 1926. In India, the Conference's appeal to Home Governments to introduce "remedial measures" assisting British films became the motivation for the formation of an Indian Cinematograph Committee. The Committee's extensive interviews with film actors, producers, distributors and exhibitors operating in India makes this period amongst the best documented in Indian film history. However, each successive step in the progress of the imperial resolution to consider a protected market for British films in India demonstrates a dilution of the issue of economic protectionism, primarily because protectionism was met with suspicion and censure from the nascent Indian film industry. The inventiveness attendant upon imperial redefinitions of their regulatory interests, increasingly reproduced as a concern about cinematic content, and the acuteness of the Indian response are elaborated in this paper. Colonial and film historians have referred to these interviews in passing, as a document of Imperial Britain's racial anxieties about the impact of Hollywood films upon Indians. I argue that the interviews serve more as a record of the increasing unnameability of economic and political motives for instituting policies favoring British commodities in the colonies. Into this encounter we may also read the emerging terms of a "modernist" narration of the imperial and the colonial self. A process that deployed the language of slippage and apology, exaggerated notions of colonial interest, and solicited colonial opinion placed the British attempt to regulate the colonial market within the rubric of modernity in that it provided a departure from the posture of assumed authority. Rather than constituting an archive of information irredeemably implicated in colonial forms of knowledge, these interviews disrupt imperial epistemologies because the strategic ambiguity that was necessarily a part of the proposed imperial policy of protectionism was systematically embarrassed out of its subterfuge by interviewees who rendered implicit economic agendas into the open.
Muslims and women in India constitute overlapping yet competing political categories. In the waning days of the Raj, one colonial administrator contemplating the issue of reserved legislative seats actually drew a distinction between "major minorities" (such as Muslims) versus "minor minorities" (women), a mentality that persists today. This paper focuses on current debates in Delhi over the future of personal law and reservation policies. These debates illustrate the tensions between and within legally and politically recognized groups based on religion and gender. Critics of Muslim personal laws point out that they can disadvantage women. Critics of a proposed reservation of Parliamentary seats for women argue that Muslims may be disadvantaged. The public debate over these provocative policies often pits women's rights against Muslims' rights, yet many people identify with both categories. This paper argues that such tensions between Muslims' and women's rights emerged not due to the inherent nature of Islam or Muslim identity, but rather due to administrative, legal and political constructions of a Muslim community. It explores the dynamics of policy debates that pit disadvantaged groups against each other, leaving Muslim women caught in the middle.

Since the end of the 1950s, Gujarat's fishing industry has been increasingly integrated into the global economy. Growing demand for fish worldwide has been a key element of that process, providing the incentive and capital for intensified production. Equally important have been the efforts of the state and fishers of Gujarat to adopt the technologies and capitalist relations of production that have characterized the most efficient fishing fleets around the globe. While raising the material standards of living of fishers in Gujarat, the globalization of fish production in the state has exacerbated caste and class divisions among those involved in fishing. At the same time, there are growing indications that the industrialization of fishing in Gujarat has resulted in resource over-exploitation. Gujarat has reached the limits of extensive growth in its fishing industry. If the fishery of the state is to remain viable in the long-term, it is imperative that further expansion be restrained through the strengthening of institutional structures and controls on fishing.
In a recent article, Arundhati Roy argues that the coming of the Bomb spells the "end of imagination." The cultural (and political) death of India is compared to the systemic breakdown under colonialism: "Nuclear weapons are the ultimate colonizer. Whiter than any white man that ever lived. The very heart of whiteness." My paper discusses Roy's stance of cosmopolitanism and its dependence on older formulations such as "imagination," "world" and "humanity." Does the anti-nuclear stance indicate the emergence of a new cosmopolitanism within the Indian "intelligentsia?" or the persistence of a tired, worn-out rhetoric that cannot withstand the onslaught of postcolonial nationalist discourse? To what extent is Roy's cosmopolitanism also curiously dependent on Orientalist notions of India's spiritual essence? What are the pitfalls of such a consciousness?

I evaluate Roy's positioning vis-a-vis the Bomb by comparing the continuing charge of the "Human" as a postnational category within her arguments, with the brand of "cosmopolitanism" represented in her recent novel God of Small Things, which has been accused of critics like Aijaz Ahmed of flattening the particularity of the Local (Kerala's left politics for instance). In the novel, the appearance of History and Love as capitalized terms signal a departure from self-consciously postcolonial literary texts that continue to contest singular and absolute categories as part of the western agenda of universalizing its provincialism. While this critique has been somewhat deflected in recent years by the simultaneous acknowledgment of the global success of multinational capitalism, and the installation of "transnational cultures," postcolonial critics have been reluctant for the most part to give up the category of the "local" in the name of measuring possible resistances to capital's homogenizing tendency. How do we gauge the new appearance of the "global" or "human" or "world" as categories resistant to the hegemonic use of the "national" by right wing interests? What happens to the "local" in this transaction?

This paper explores the relationship between the political economy of embodiment and the invention of new spheres of urban citizenship through the sports of cycling, swimming and diving. Expatriates, minorities, and the economically marginal populate these sports on the periphery of the local as well as national imaginary.

During the late 1970's, the emergence of active cycling clubs in Bangalore as well as the participation of the public sector in the promotion of local cycling events, led to a vibrant and exciting alternative community for marginal youth in the city. This minor but publicly visible subculture displayed new ways of occupying public space in the city. Comparing this sphere of public engagement with the more privatized sports of swimming and diving, I will consider the changing relations of class, desire and public comportment for youth both men and women of different social classes in relation to the demise of public space in Bangalore today.
It has been something of a commonplace in film studies to claim that mainstream cinema embodies public fantasies (according to which thesis Hollywood is often named as the dream factory *par excellence*). In this paper, I study how blockbusters made in certain turbulent decades by Bollywood, the most prolific film-industry in the world, embody not dreams but nightmares. I am particularly interested in investigating how heroism and criminality were constructed and idealized in popular Hindi film; how certain decades of political and social change subverted, converted, or exerted distortions on what were hitherto fairly stable categories of mainstream cinema.

The argument is premised upon the observation that forms of Hindi popular film (romance and melodrama) at a pivotal moment in the mid-1970s began to present audiences with "ideal" and idealized worlds that, I show, are nevertheless more often bad dreams (nightmares) rather than good ones (wish-fulfillments). Contrasting films such as Raj Kapoor’s *Awara* (1951) and *Shri 420* (1955) from the so-called Golden Fifties with G.P. Sippy’s *Sholay* (1975), I argue that filmic melodrama in a particularly Bollywood incarnation renders an image of its audience's psychic desires. Leaving behind its golden origins, however, post-Emergency cinema began to offer its public fantasies not through visions of wish-fulfillment but through forms of exorcism. In films such as *Sholay*, I argue, the audience's worst fears are confirmed and corroborated in contrast to the more utopian fantasies of earlier film (*Shri 420*) where the audience found succor and solace from a confusing post-Independence modernity.

The paper concludes by interrogating the forms in which popular film has achieved this contradictory success. It proposes that in a dramatic and complex fashion, the manner in which popular film is consumed has reconfigured and reshaped both the production and the contours of the Bollywood industry.

Taking middle class imagination of gender relations in late nineteenth century Lucknow as a point of entry, this paper explores contradictions inherent in the constitution of middle classes in colonial India. Being middle class was predicated on the creation of new norms of social respectability. This construction of respectability entailed drawing on resources of the past and the present. Thus middle class respectability sought to marginalize the famed courtesans of Lucknow by drawing heavily upon ideas derived from Victorian morality. Yet different norms of respectability, based on an older and indigenous patriarchal vocabulary of domesticity were used to control middle class women. A closer examination of these ideas of respectability also reveals “traditionalism” to be very much the product of a modern context, while ‘modern’ ideas about gender relations were shot through with older assumptions about appropriate gender roles. This paper links these contradictions to the efforts of educated men to create a new hegemonic ideology, and it seeks to show that only by melding together sometimes contradictory ideas could these men construct themselves as a new social category, the Indian middle class.
The Vedic saying, "God is one, but is called by different names," seems to be particularly true in the cult of Devi, the Goddess, in popular regional Hinduism. In this paper, I attempt to examine the form and function of the *kutadevata*, tutelary deity of Maharashtra, through the study of popular Marathi devotional songs, with a particular degree of focus on the use of *arti* and *gondhal*. The linguistic structure of *arti* indicates a significant degree of *tadbhava* 'derived from Sanskrit' and *tatsama* 'borrowed from Sanskrit' forms; whereas, not only the constituent structure but also the function of *gondhal* reflects folk elements. The analysis of these song genres will help explain the dual nature and the complexity of the popular tradition, through demonstrating some of the intricacies of its synthesis of the classical and folk cultural traditions.

By the end of 1994 India elected 36,000 women, known as Elected Women Representatives (EWRs), to political office at the Gram Panchayat level. This paper will be an exercise in listening to the voices of some of the women who participated in this political process. I focus on how -- five years after a constitutional amendment reserved one-third of the Gram Panchayat seats for women -- questions of gender, caste-class roles, and the ideal of "Indian womanhood" have been redefined. How, and to what extent, has this new political activity served to empower women? What changes can we trace in the EWR's perceptions of her role as a people's representative, and in society's perception of her role as an elected leader? In what ways has the presence of the EWRs come to transform women, politics, and nation? These questions are particularly important in light of the tremendous upheaval in the top leadership of India over the last five years. I consider this upheaval in relation to the changing fortunes of the EWRs.
The inclusion of gender as a vital, and now essential, parameter within the apparatus of Development has meant a tremendous visibility for women and women’s issues in the Third World, and specifically so, in the South Asian subcontinent. This paper analyzes the specific ways in which this visibility is being ensured within the official discourse of Development. I undertake a discursive analysis of the many reports and training manuals of some of the major development aid agencies based in the West to highlight the particular delineations of the construct of gender, “women’s issues”, empowerment, participation and community and how these are situated within specific social and economic programs. Although it may be argued that the GAD discourse creates some shifts within the discourse of Development, this paper elaborates on how the discourse of “gender mainstreaming” does more to maintain the stability of the Development apparatus rather than challenge it.

India since independence had to face military conflict with Pakistan three times and a border war with China in 1962. These two northern neighbours of India ever since the 1960s have developed one of the best pattern of mutual security co-operation in international relations. If mutual distrust between India and Pakistan in the early decades provided Pakistan and China necessary rationale to come together, Indian inability to resolve her territorial conflicts still helps them to continue their co-operation. It is this collaboration between China and Pakistan that is the national security threat to India at least in the near future. It is in this context of continued co-operation between China and Pakistan in the latter’s development of nuclear weapons and missile technology that Indian nuclear tests of last May and continued efforts to develop a credible missile system has to be seen.

Indian policy makers have characterised their nuclear policy as one of minimal nuclear deterrence. India has ruled out first use of nuclear weapons; reserving it as a weapon of self-defence in second strike. India has also offered to sign a treaty on “no first use” of nuclear weapons and join the global community in its efforts to eliminate all nuclear weapons. This paper will analyse the various compulsions of Indian national security policy and the role assigned to the minimal nuclear deterrence. An effort will also be made to critically discuss the difficulties in operationalisation of minimal nuclear deterrence in the context of national security scenario.
The terms "Matikor" and "Doula" seem mutually exclusive. Matikor refers to the an Indo-Caribbean women’s celebration of dance, song and performance that takes place the eve of a Hindu wedding ceremony. Matikor was one of the gendered spaces for which Indo-Caribbean women fought during and after indentureship as a place of healing from and resistance to the dehumanizing conditions under which they were forced to exist. I have just finished editing an anthology, Matikor: The Politics of identity for Indo-Caribbean Women, by and about Indo-Caribbean women, telling of identity quests, the formation of self, and types of creative and activist expression. Doula refers to an individual of mixed African and Indian ancestry in the Caribbean. The doula has been ostracized by both groups and remains an outsider, challenging, in near silence, the nationalist and ethnocentric discourses that have evolved since independence. The doula is also a grassroots figure, without the privilege of persons of mixed ancestry inclusive of European lineage. I am attempting to theorize a Caribbean doula feminism that draws on the grass roots of Afro and Indo Caribbean women and that demands that Caribbean women be accountable for and to each other across ethnic lines. I am suggesting that Caribbean women, in particular Trinidadian women, are culturally doularized since each group has constructed identity in the presence of the 'other.' This presentation summarizes some of the themes revealed in the anthology Matikor which relate to how Indo-Caribbean women negotiate a feminism that is inspired by the gender roles in their own community, and that also draws on the available models of Eurocentric and Afrocentric feminism. My paper examines Caribbean feminism as it currently exists and explains why Indo-Caribbean women are making the charge of marginalization by Afro-Caribbean women. This paper suggests that the hegemonic position which Blacks hold in the Caribbean is reflected in the feminist movement and offers explanations for the comparatively small presence of Indian women in the feminist movement. Doula feminism requires that Indian and Black women bring ideas and strengths from their ethnic and mixed backgrounds into a feminist forum that can take on the issues of all Caribbean women.

Advocates of globalization argue political benefits of expanding technologies and markets, and attendant burgeoning participation which inevitably results in the enhancement of democratic norms and the creation of institutions of civil society. The argument is that as markets expand, "consumers" (political or otherwise) will naturally gravitate towards more open forms of political expression: global capitalism and democracy go hand in hand.

Pakistan has not escaped the unprecedented rapid cultural changes associated with globalization during the past decade. However, the predicted democratic dividend has not matured. This paper argues that since 1997 Pakistan's fragile democratic system (carefully crafted by jurists, and civilian and military bureaucrats) has actually become unraveled. Ironically, the passage of the 13th Amendment has resulted in what can best be described as the creation of and a civilian authoritarian system, making it increasingly unlikely that Nawaz Sharif's regime can be dislodged except by extra-constitutional (and patently undemocratic) means.

It seems unlikely as well that globalization will reverse this process. Indeed, forces that are unleashed by globalization -- ethnonational, economic, international -- will only provide additional challenges to the integrity of the state, and additional rationales why Pakistan's "experiment with democracy" should be curtailed.
This presentation will trace the theatrical concepts of Augusto Boal, and Bertolt Brecht as translated in the current Pakistani theater scene from the 1980's to the present. The notions of theatre of the oppressed and theatre of liberation and its theatrical application in the context of the Women's movement in Pakistan will also be discussed. There is special focus on the ways this body of performance work has highlighted human rights issues, pertaining specifically to minorities in Pakistan. The theatrical repertoire of The Ajoka Theater Group, Lok Rehas from the Punjab and other community theaters such as Rasti Theater Workshop in Sind are some specific examples that will be used to illustrate the use of theater for political dialog. The presentation will be accompanied by slides and video.

This project has two interrelated intentions: One: to explore the relationship of gender, sexuality, citizenship and the state in Pakistan and its connection to capital accumulation. Using narratives of women incarcerated under the Hadood Ordinance, I examine the cultural and social positioning of women as citizens in Pakistan. Through an analysis of discursive and material conditions which regulate her sexuality and morality, my project explores how women negotiate, collide with and resist regulations of their sexuality and thus contribute to the making of a Pakistani female citizen in the 1990's and beyond.

Two: explode representations in North America of third world woman as spectacle, in particular the Pakistani woman as the victimized other. I argue that liberal feminist frameworks which desire to free women from Pakistani men will no longer suffice. Instead I want to develop a methodological and political space through which, located in Canada, I can speak to the consequences of Hadood laws for Pakistani women and develop strategies for collaborative action with Pakistani activists.
Consensus Building, Political Stability, and Natural Forces

Political stability is a complex concept charged with equally complex values. Does it mean a idyllic state of equilibrium where no change occurs? or, for that matter, only orderly change is allowed? What then happens to conflict, particularly the functional variety that helps humans to perceive different and at times opposing perspectives and gain from it? Granted dysfunctional conflict can be politically destabilizing, but does that justify repression as a means of stabilization? In order to engender a positive spirit of political stability in a traditionally uncertain environment, I believe, it has to be connected with a workable process of democratization. Otherwise the pursuit of stability at any price could lead to a stagnant and/or coercive state of being, ill equipped to meet the challenges of the technoinformational revolution of the next millennium. On the other hand, prematurely demanding for change of decision makers without allowing the constitutionally mandated time to produce acceptable changes could be equally destabilizing. This assessment particularly holds true for poor nations like Bangladesh and West Bengal which run the risk of being engulfed by agitational politics by opposition parties and, at times, by the ruling party, reacting to the opposition’s street politics, delaying if not preventing the search for a common ground on which negotiated settlement of conflict can be achieved. A continuous pursuit for a mutually acceptable framework for agreement on needed changes is the heart of any consensus building process. Without that drastic institutional and behavioral reforms to alleviate mass poverty would remain as elusive as ever. The main focus of this paper is that public attitudes toward progress need to change significantly in order to ensure system stability. For that matter, certain values inculcated through laws by colonial rulers, and certain questionable decisions, including both legislative inaction and questionable laws, by post-colonial leaders that tended to carry on such vestiges must be tackled through new infrastructures. To what extent inclement climatic conditions e.g., prolonged humid heat, tornados and floods, depletion of rain forests, etc., engendering fatalism and dependency, undermining public policies for building effective economic and political infrastructures for poverty alleviation and national development will be addressed.

Gender, Sexuality, and the Distinction Between Asli and Nakli Sadhus

Popular Hindu commentaries about true and false sadhus are gendered. They also have both interpersonal and intersectarian dimensions. Here, focusing on the former, I describe social interactions among various women renunciants (sannyasins), and between them and householders, in order to highlight the sometimes conflicting evaluations that are made about the saintly authenticity of particular sannyasins. The suspicion with which male renouncers are regarded by householders applies as well to their female counterparts. Both male and female renouncers are thought capable of succumbing to greed, egotism, anger, attachment, and desire. However, conceptions of authenticity are gendered in that the single aspect of female renouncers’ character that is most subject to doubt is their celibacy.
In rural North India, discussions of "the developed woman" are a particularly potent site at which multiple and often contradictory discourses of gender and economic development are negotiated. This paper analyzes the use of a category called "women" in a culturally specific gendered development initiative founded in 1946 and designed to train rural women and girls to become community activists. In program pedagogy, this category combines with discourses on "backwardness" and "modernity" to figure prominently in the ways that participants story and experience their training and their later lives. Even so, stories told by program participants defy the reductive classification implicit in regional and transnational categories and discourses of development. Rather, participants narrate the significance of their training in terms of wider social relationships and the material politics of their day-to-day lives. Their stories both make strategic use of and challenge the narrow configuration of a category called "women." This paper examines multiple stories told by two generations of program participants, some of whom are now community activists. Their stories speak to the contingency of gender, subjectivity, and identity, and to the uneven and shifting flows of influence that shape the ways that development is experienced and realized in a specific context.

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Reflections on Queer South Asian-America: Coalitional Politics and Disunity in Community

We attempt to discuss the state of the queer South Asian movement in the United States through a brief and necessarily incomplete rendition of the movement's history, politics and composition and an analysis of the intersections between queer politics and coalitional work as they are manifested in the context of South Asian communities in America. Through an analysis of "community events" in which we ourselves are implicated, we wish to highlight not just the duality of experience in building coalitions between queer and progressive South Asian work but more concretely the nature of the emergent infrastructure of progressive and queer South Asian organizations that allow for the possibilities for building coalitions that integrate race, class, gender, and sexuality.
This paper seeks to contextualize the identity of the 19th century intelligentsia as learners and actors within their communities and families, even as the influence of their schools and professions is acknowledged. This gives us a fresh vision into what goes into the making of the 'new' Indian.

First, the new educated may be seen as 'educated' not only in their schools, but in the home and in the street. For instance their multi-lingualism is not merely an interesting accident, but a site for the construction of a world arguably different from all monolingual ones. Second, these members of the intelligentsia have a consciousness of the past and their 'tradition' fed by different streams, in conjunction with their schooling, none of which are taken seriously enough in our scholarship: folklore, popular performance, family, and environment.

By looking at these extra-scholastic influences on those regarded unidimensionally in our retrospective gaze as social reformers and leaders, this paper argues that 'identity' in modern India can be understood only with a simultaneous look at the multiple sites of learning.

In this presentation, I discuss how the cultural imagery and iconography of music television can be explored in the classroom in relation to complex issues of national identity and cultural differences in India. By deconstructing the text of a popular music video like Alisha Chinai's "Made in India," I point to the strategic potential of radically problematizing the very definition of "India" as a cultural, historical and geographical entity that is at once fixed and unstable. At the heart of deconstruction is the experience of the "uncanny": a moment or a series of moments in a text or a context which lead the reader to an impasse, or an "aporia." Such uncanniness opens the way for at least two things. First, it enables us to understand the dislocation of "our" authority in the "facts" we encounter about "others." Secondly, it allows us to closely examine the problematic images we encounter in the media, and open ways for greater critical innovation in the classroom and in our everyday lives.
In this paper I take a look at life stories, as not just tales about the past, but as creative acts of self-making and culture-making. The paper focuses on the life story of Kayera Bou, a childless Brahman woman who became a widow at a young age, in a village of West Bengal. It also compares her story, and those of other childless widows like her, to the life stories of older widowed women with children. I am interested in these life stories not only for what they reveal to us about these women's "real lives" as older or younger, childless or matrilineal, widows, but also as a means to contemplate the interplay between lives and words—the processes by which women constructed and represented their lives through telling a life story. Kayera Bou's most overt purpose in seeking me out to tell her story is to comment on the condition of widows in her society, and to critique what she terms "Bengali society" for producing these conditions. I explore her story-telling as an act of creative refashioning of her self and world, as through it she makes herself (at least for those moments of telling) into a woman other than that represented to her via her dominant society. I propose, then, that we look at life story-telling—as other forms of communication—as a mode of social action. Kayera Bou produces her self via the existing forms of gender and caste that constrain her; but these are forms that she, as a particular actor, (re-)makes in terms meaningful to her.

One of the main discourses of progress in the last half of this century has been economic development, marked most recently by a focus on integration into the global economy. In the past two decades, Development Economics has sought to increase the export levels of many countries of the South based on trajectories of progress reliant on certain "natural" resource endowments. However, such narratives occlude the multiple dimensions by which global economic participation can and does take place. A case study of India's software industry reveals new directions and types of resource flows—in labor, finance and technology—which are not captured in modern conceptualizations of trade and development. Based on interviews and research conducted in India last fall, this paper will explore these flows, which are otherwise rendered invisible in trade formulas. The paper will then analyze the implications of these flows for contemporary notions of resource endowments and their use in determining global economic roles for the South.
A 17th Century Messianic Movement: The “Great Path” of Mahamat Prannath

Through an examination of Mahamat Prannath’s (1618-1694) religious-poetic writings, this paper will show how the movement he led does not fit into the currently accepted categorization of late-medieval North Indian devotional religions: Vaishnavism, the way of the Sants, Sufism, Ismaili Shi'ism. Yet Prannath's teachings draw from all these religious systems, subsuming and superseding them in an attempt to create a new religious movement. I argue that “syncretism” is an inadequate term with which to conceptualize this movement, as it connotes the joining of hitherto incompatible belief systems. Contrary to this, Prannath's writings reveal that he lived in a milieu where, at the popular level, the integration of various religious traditions was commonplace and taken for granted. Such “inclusivist” traditions developed among groups -- particularly merchants and artisans--outside of the Mughal state, with which they eventually came into conflict. Prannath himself opposed the exclusivist interpretation of Islam upheld by the emperor Aurangzeb. He countered the emperor’s religion with a Vaishnav-Bhakti, Sufi and Ismaili influenced esoteric interpretation of the Vedas, Puranas and Quran. Finally, Prannath’s beliefs led him to a dramatic confrontation, when he proclaimed himself to be the Messiah, and alongside his followers joined hands with king Chhatrasal of Bundelkhand in a rebellion against the Mughals.

Globalization and the Advantage of the Already Advantaged

Globalization is commonly equated with modernization. An implication of this equation, often voiced but seldom justified, is that globalization is therefore the equivalent of development. Even better: it is development without effort. Where development required enormous exertion, globalization is happening virtually by itself. Much the same argument has also been made for liberalization. Why do something, when doing nothing will suffice?

None of this is so. Globalization is a much more specific phenomenon than its name implies, and does not reach many of the problems of development that have long been identified.

This paper describes a series of long recognized barriers to opportunity that are especially important for the 70% of the population of South Asia that live in rural areas. The argument is that these require legislative change. However, the legislative apparatus has been and continues to be in the hands of an urban elite, and under present conditions globalization provides strong differential advantages to precisely that same elite while making the necessary changes would lessen that advantage. Thus globalization not only fails to create development by itself, but actually provides a powerful disincentive to it.
Christopher Lee
Syracuse University

"Urdu is like a woman without support": Banarsi Muslim Poets' opinions on the status of Urdu

"Urdu is like a woman without support! Everyone takes pleasure from her, but who loves her?" is one of many poems on the status of Urdu that was quoted to me while doing fieldwork in Varanasi, India with Muslim poets. These poets - not the nationally known poets of the mushaira circuit, but lesser-known, "everyday" poets of Urdu - use poetry to talk about things they can not or do not say during normal discourse. This paper, after a brief look at the history of Urdu, examines the status of Urdu in contemporary India through the poetry and life histories of several Banarsi Muslim poets.

Lauren Leve
Wellesley College

Situating and Historicizing Human Rights in Democratic Nepal

This presentation analyzes everyday appeals to international human rights by ordinary citizens and political activists in urban Nepal, and the structural possibilities that these entail for democratic state-building. In particular, we are interested in the mobilization of the ideal of religious and cultural rights among Nepal's non-Hindu minorities. First we explore the rhetoric of human rights as it is invoked in daily discourses on political representation and repression. We then track the global political and economic frameworks within which the rubric of human rights emerged, not from the 17th century French intellectuals, but from the 1940s meetings at Bretton Woods, the United Nations, and the eventual formation of the World Bank, the IMF, and the Bandung project of postcolonial national-building these spawned. This history poses questions about the possibilities for extra-national instruments (like those deployed in the United Nations) to account for and address situated, local problems of politics, religion, and representation. Do the language and instruments of international human rights offer disempowered religious and cultural groups critical legitimization in the context of a contested democracy, or do they undermine the possibilities for democratic formations by effacing the local, religious character and needs of practicing members of these groups?
Hindus Beyond the Hindu Kush: Indian Moneylenders in Early Modern Central Asia

This paper will discuss the commercial activities of the Indian merchant Diaspora in Central Asia, existent from the mid sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. These multi-ethnic communities were dispersed throughout the region and were generally comprised of agents from a number of family firms, largely centered in Multan, the early modern financial capital of northwest India. Whereas they are known to have been important import-export agents responsible for bringing large quantities of Indian cotton and cotton textiles to Central Asian markets, this paper will argue that their most important function was the agents' money lending activities, a business which they nearly monopolized in Central Asia's urban markets as well as throughout the countryside. By functioning as a premier source of investment capital and rural credit, thousands of agents of Indian family firms active constituted an element crucial to the Central Asian economy which, despite their unpopularity among the majority of Central Asia's Muslim population, earned them a position in Central Asian society protected by successive Bukharan Khanate state administrations.

Class as Cultural Practice: Middle-Class Experience in Kathmandu

Although people in Kathmandu often speak of class in everyday discourse, there is no real consensus on how different classes, or membership in them, might be defined in objective terms. Rather than seeking to define middle class in terms of income, occupation, lifestyle, and so on, this paper examines how class is constructed in linguistic and material practice. It asks how people in Kathmandu speak and think of themselves and others as class-bearers in everyday life.

People construct a sense of "middle-ness" between social others who are characterized by a variety of contrasting values and behaviors. Being middle class also means participating in the ongoing struggle to reconcile the apparently contradictory (even oxymoronic) terms "Nepali" and "modern." Rather than a thing, the middle class is a project aimed at opening up a middle space between the urban poor and the national elite, a project that rescues a "suitable" Nepali ness from its negative association with the "traditional" poor, and a "suitable" modernity from its association with the corrupt lifestyles of elites. The outcome is a class cultural experience unmistakably tied into global cultural processes, yet unmistakably Nepali in its content and expression.
This paper is an analysis of Aitareya Aranyaka (I-II.3) in comparison with the Aitareya Upanishad (II. 4-6). I will examine three themes in AA and AU: food, sacrifice, and "deities" (devas). The approach is threefold: (1) a structural analysis which explores the ways in which these three themes are interrelated both within and between texts; (2) a historical investigation of the textual position of AA/AU in the late Vedic milieu; and (3) what this textual interaction can tell us about the genre formation of the Upanishads.

Textual comparison suggests that the three themes of food, sacrifice and "deities" are reinterpreted in the AU in a self-conscious manner. I will argue that the creator in the Upanishad (Atman) is a self-conscious reinterpretation of Prajapati and prana from AA. Further, I will argue that food (annada), one of the principal goals of the mahavrata, is incorporated into AU as sacrifice, through the "deities" of Hunger (ashana) and Thirst (pipasa).

I will then examine what the above analysis can tell us about the early formation of an Upanishadic genre. The fundamental assumption of this project is that genre is both a literary and social construction, that is, it is "social practice". The conclusions, while tentative, open new avenues for the study of the history of Sanskrit genre.

This paper examines negotiations of private and public among young people in Kerala, India by examining the management of romance and friendship with the imperatives of family and marriage. I specifically focus on the language of romance as the enactment of a public intimacy. The space of youth, understood as a moment of transition between one's own family and marriage, is structured by the public spaces of youth such as cinema halls, restaurants, colleges, buses and trains. These spaces of youth exist at the intersection of class and gender-specific understandings of the public in which middle class gendered identities are privileged. The paper foregrounds the way in which a middle-class model of romance which has companionate marriage as its horizon is negotiated by differently placed caste, class, and gender subjects. In this way, the paper explores the production of specifically middle class gendered identities.

Young people's imaginations about romance are explicitly and crucially mediated through narratives of films. In addition to an examination of narratives collected from interviews, the paper also analyzes a student performance of Indulekha, one of the first 'modern' novels of Malayalam literature written during the 1880's by O. Chandu Menon. The novel itself is a romance, one of the first in Malayalam to articulate middle-class notions of romantic love and companionate marriage. This performance stages the novel through the lens of a recent popular film and reveals the public mediation of notions of intimacy.
In his 1975 introduction to the Mahabharata's Sabha Parva ("Book of the Assembly Hall"), J. A. B. van Buitenen noted the aptness of the book's Sanskrit title and discussed its architectonic imagery; e.g., the five heavenly halls of the gods that are recapitulated in the Pandava heroes' "conquest of the directions" and establishment of a semi-divine audience hall of their own in Indraprastha. The present paper extends this argument by considering the book's depiction of a dangerous and inauspicious third hall, the gaming hall in Hastinapura, in which cosmic designs both come undone and (paradoxically) reach their fulfillment. It argues that the book's tripartite framework significantly alludes to and comments on the cosmology sketched out in Book One, which itself forms the Mahabharata's foundation or "overture." More broadly, this extension of van Buitenen's insights aims to make a modest contribution to recent scholarship that has stressed the overall elegance and coherence of the vast epic's design.

Annually on 14 April in Agra, U.P. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Birthday anniversary is celebrated by a massive, Dalit parade that begins about 7:00 p.m. and after wending its way through the city's main streets ends about 9:00 a.m. the next morning. Today it is the city's major public event in which politicians from all parties attend, prizes are given for the best floats depicting scenes from the life of Ambedkar or the Buddha, a massive police presence is mobilized by the state to see that it remains peaceful, and the city invests major resources in cleaning up its streets and Ambedkar parks, statues, and neighborhoods. This paper traces something of the parade's complex and highly contested history. Then through an analysis of its floats and other symbols it explains how its assertion of Dalit identity has affected the cultural and social life of Agra city itself.
Poststructuralism has complicated the concept of 'the field' by challenging 'researchers' to reflection on the role of power relations in constituting and bounding 'the field' and delimiting 'fieldwork'. In this paper, I attempt to address that challenge and rely on personal reflections over 10 years of 'fieldwork' in a Karakoram mountain village - and recent self-defined crises in relationships with inhabitants of that place - to offer some thoughts on the process of constituting and bounding 'the field', understandings of otherness and the politics of research, the role of identity and selfhood in constructing the field, and the role of 'field experiences' in constructing identity and selfhood. I focus particularly on how the shifting webs of power relations that constitute 'the field' through time and space continually structure a realization of self-identities and reveal them as multiple, shifting and often contradictory. Finally, I reflect on how incidents that have highlighted this realization lead to questions regarding praxis and the limitations and partiality of research yet also expose the power relations that structure these limitations as a necessary point of departure for research investigating the constitution of 'the field'.

This paper links analyses of the "woman's question" in post-colonial contexts to the particular ways in which notions of female heterosexuality uphold "chaste traditions" in the diaspora. Based on an ethnographic study of Indian American youth in New York City, the paper argues that a fundamental tension in discourses of the recreation of culture in the second generation is the presumed polarity of pure/authentic traditions and polluted/hybridized popular culture. Yet the study also suggests that discourses of essentialization and authenticity are negotiated in complex ways by social actors, and cultural theorists may underestimate the complexity of strategies used by second-generation youth.

The paper links these findings to debates about authenticity and border-crossing on the disciplinary level, arguing that the value of South Asian American studies lies in its potential to counter disciplinary nationalisms, to propel paradigmatic shifts, and to embody the strategic coming out of a "queer discipline". As an inter-disciplinary project, South Asian American studies can offer more complex understandings of cultural phenomena whose workings exceed the bounded subject areas and methodological approaches of traditional disciplinary perspectives. Desire not only underlies the negotiations of authenticity and sexual politics in diasporic youth culture; it is also a powerful metaphor for the imagining of alternative ways of knowing.
In this paper I will discuss the reasons for the Indian Left's inability to adequately respond to the emergence of communalism. How is it, I ask, that when faced with religious fundamentalist forces the Left remained so ineffective, especially in a society where values of socialism and secularism have, arguably, also enjoyed a general cultural acceptance. Any answer to this question necessitates, first, an analysis of the reasons behind the success of the fundamentalist Right. I argue that the fundamentalist Right's invocation of separatist identities has functioned as an answer to the material and spiritual poverty unleashed in the wake of economic liberalization. While the Right has thus aligned itself with the dominant politics of economic liberalization, the Left's task has been a different and harder one. It is different because the Left needs to expose the connection between the material and spiritual poverty of the people and the workings of economic liberalization. Such a direct confrontation with prevalent power structures also makes the Left's task a harder one. I will attempt to evaluate the Indian Left's "failure" within the contemporary context of the communal offensive in terms of its different and harder political goals.

This paper examines the Miss India-USA beauty pageant as a site for the contested construction of inter-generational national, sexual, and racial subjectivities. I discuss the pageant not only through the specific performative acts of its young female contestants, but also with reference to the historical and political-economic contexts that produce the spectacle of Miss India-USA while beauty pageants follow standard templates of performance, and may be considered easily "readable," I suggest that it is precisely through the hegemonic form of the pageant that South Asian youth reflect and refract notions of community, citizenship, historical memory, and national culture. At the site of the 1999 Miss India-USA pageant, held in San Jose, I examine the show as a response to the desires of an Indian immigrant community located at the vanguard of Silicon Valley. With reference to the young South Asian men and older generations of South Asians who attend and participate in the show, I demonstrate that the beauty pageant celebrates the reproduction of a heteronormative model minority that elides differences of class, regional culture, and histories of migration. In this context, I attempt to locate the difficult agency of the female contestants through performative acts which interrupt the production of a gendered and sexualized "Indian America." On and off stage at the Miss India-USA pageant, I argue that the diasporic South Asian is figured as the Non-Resident Indian who is loyal to the Indian nation-state and simultaneously disciplined by the racialized discourse of U.S. multiculturalism.
Radha Tantra is a Bengali shakta text of uncertain provenance and date of composition whose author very ingeniously uses locally familiar Vaishnava imagery and stories to perpetuate a decidedly non-Vaishnava view. That author does not, like many South Asian producers of religious material, even make overt claims for subsuming one religious group (Vaishnavism) under another (Shaktism), but simply appropriates Krishna and Radha without comment into a new world wherein Kali is Krishna's mother, and Radha, an emanation of Kali, becomes his tantric guru. Unlike many Bengali texts that fall into the broad category of "tantra," Radha Tantra was composed in Sanskrit, albeit a very markedly Bengali Sanskrit. That choice of language is in itself a statement about the author's intended audience, and also about the community using the text.

Colonel Colin Mackenzie (1753-1821) is best known for his role in surveying British territories in south India immediately following the wars with Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. As the first Surveyor-General of India, Mackenzie was central to the expansion of colonial knowledge in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. His official duties took him to the far reaches of the Madras Presidency from Mysore in the west to the Nizam's territories in the north. Throughout his forty-year stay in India, Mackenzie pursued an extensive collection of historical materials with the belief that a more complete understanding of Indian society and culture can be achieved through local forms of knowledge. His collecting/research practices brought into the state's purview what was seen to be the prime native repository of knowledge, the literary text. In the eighteenth century, there is a shift in orientation in knowledge production from 'eye-witness' accounts of missionaries and travelers of native practices to indigenous textual evidence brought on by the new discipline of Orientalist scholarship. Before the founding of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, scholarship on the Orient was primarily located in the intellectual milieu of Europe. By the end of the eighteenth century, there was a momentum towards a more systematic study of India through its own texts. Mackenzie appears on the scene precisely at this juncture with a coterie of native informants to collect textual and oral materials for the purpose of opening a "new avenue to Hindoo knowledge".

In this paper, I focus on the collecting practices of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century colonial south India and the successive processes of cataloging and constructing textual traditions. Colin Mackenzie's collection contains the seeds of a process of textualization that is unleashed in the early part of the nineteenth century in the Madras Presidency. Tracing the history of the collection, from its formation to the subsequent attempts to evaluate its contents and its contribution to a wider intellectual community (involving both British and Indian scholars), will enable us to understand the emergence of literary histories in the first half of the nineteenth century. The regional focus of this study is Colonial Andhra, where the earliest histories produced during the colonial period were literary traditions. What is interesting about this trend is the centrality of a literary tradition in the formation of modern cultural identities. Through the study of the Telugu language and its literature, British scholars strung together the different regions of Andhra and gave them a common literary/cultural past.
Lives, Stories, Poetics and 'Authenticity'

We produce and read life histories for many reasons: to know what other peoples' lives are like, to understand what matters to them, to explore what personhood and life mean to them... In the richness of the last twenty years' of cross-cultural life history work, including the many outstanding words from South Asia, we have learned to understand life history as a project of 'dual biography,' producing, above all, a record of multiple-person interaction(s)—among original teller(s), reteller(s) and reader(s)—and not a transparent or translated first-person account. At the same time, we remain attracted by the possibility of indigenous self-conscious and poetic constructions of personal identity and experience, perhaps less altered by the ethnographic encounter. This paper explores the prospects (and limitations) for identifying, recording, interpreting, translating and sharing these more apparently 'authentic' accounts by looking at bomsang—a Tamang genre of sung personal laments.

From Isolation to Regional Renown: Biraha, A Folk Music Genre of the Bhojpuri Region of North India

Biraha, a folk music genre of the Bhojpuri region of northern India, has experienced a major transformation over the last 100 years, beginning this period as a form confined to the cowherd (Ahir or Yadav) and two or three closely related castes and emerging by the 1970s as the region's most popular folk music, enjoyed by a broad section of the region's lower castes. The transformation has included an expanded performance ensemble, new performance contexts (including entry into the world of records, cassettes, and most recently, television), and new poetic and musical structures. In its present form, the genre quotes musical repertoire of a variety of castes, regional epic traditions, women's folk songs, seasonal folk songs, and Bombay film melodies. As such biraha performers have successfully shifted the genre's identity to a pan-caste celebration of Bhojpuri regional and Indian national identity. In this paper, I will address analyze strategies used to propel the genre to its position of renown.
The India Day Parade in NYC provides us with an interesting metaphor to locate the central question of this paper: How is the South Asian "community" located in relation to the forces of a religious right wing movement - Hindutva. Where does the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Council - VHPC) stand in relation to the whole medley of organizations that participate in the parade and the hundreds of people who stood along the sidelines? How and to what extent are they connected or disconnected to these multiple forms that constitute the Indian community in the US? What are the contours of the community and how do its members see themselves in relation to the small but well defined right? In a novel formation, Arvind Das argues that the Indian American bourgeoisie extends support to the Hindu Right 'in a curious assertion of post-nationalist ethnic identity'. This essay will pursue Das' remark as I acknowledge the complexity of the political geography of most Indian Americans. To pursue Das' remark is to acknowledge that the 'post-nationalist ethnic identity' crafted in America is to be understood in its specificity - as a Hindutva that is both connected to Hindutva in India and different in as much as it responds to the contradictions in American social life. In other words, the infrastructure of American Hindutva is to be understood in the context of racism and multiculturalism in America and the heterogenous locations of the South Asian-American population in the United States.

In texts such as Bharati Mukherjee's *Wife* and *Jasmine*, as well as Chitra Divakaruni's *Arranged Marriages* and *Sister of My Heart*, the experience of South Asian women's migration to the United States is represented in terms of a narrative of liberation. Whether it is through marriage or individual initiative, the arrival in the United States of these women begins the process of breaking through the shackles of traditional Indian patriarchy that continues to confine their sisters who are left behind in the homeland. As Chitra Divakaruni says, "We came with dreams of instant riches, / Hollywood or millionaire husbands," and even though these dreams were not always fulfilled, "We learned, / in this country, to stand straighter, / speak up for what we want" ("We the Indian Women in America").

The prominent position of these authors in the emerging canon of "minority" literatures of the United States colludes with existing orientalist notions about victimized third world women (in their native locations) to make this narrative of liberation the dominant paradigm for South Asian women in the United States. Such a reading, however, largely ignores the reasons that bring these women to the United States in the first place; by representing migration as a moment of complete rupture, it erases the scripts that carry over and continue to overdetermine women's sense of selfhood in their new locations. In this paper I will problematize the representation of South Asian women's migration in terms of a narrative of liberation by foregrounding the patriarchal scripts, such as marriage, that structure these migratory journeys. Meena Alexander's memoir, *Fault Lines*, for example, provides multiple examples of this "feminine form of transportation" and its implications for women's sense of selfhood that is fractured by multiple overlapping uprootings (natal to marital family, native country to foreign land, majoritarian identification to minority status, etc.). And in this context of marital migrations, I will argue that the narrative of liberation that dominates South Asian women's writing may be read as a complex strategy for dealing with this process of migration rather than as a straightforward account of lived experiences.
The recounting of a life history can be seen as a kind of narrative construction of self. In this paper, I will discuss the life of a Gurung woman from a Buddhist community who renounced her position as a householder to become a sannyasin. Her story involved a lengthy narration of loss. In it, she described the reconstruction of her life after the deaths of all the members of her immediate family, drawing heavily on Hindu mythology. Motifs in the myth speak strongly to more general South Asian constructions of personhood, which are also reflected in the Buddhist mortuary ritual typically performed by Gurungs. Here, too, a self destroyed is re-created, in that an effigy that serves as a temporary body for the spirit of the deceased is constructed and celebrated. This involves another kind of re-creation of the self (as well as a willful deconstruction of it) and shows how certain meta-conceptions about fragmentation and relatedness cut across religious frameworks and may be reflected more widely in South Asian understandings of the self.

Anant Pai founded *Amar Chitra Katha*, the leading comic book series in contemporary India, in 1967. As of 1995 over 78 million issues have been sold, and over 436 titles published, in as many as 38 languages. Comic books in India are a booming phenomenon; yet scant attention has been bestowed on them by the academic world. Aside from the sheer popularity of *Amar Chitra Katha* comics, they are deserving of our attention for a second reason: Indian comic books are an important medium for the definition of a modern Indian identity.

Indian comic books construct an ideal moral universe within which a national identity is constructed in opposition to an “other” and notions of tradition and modernity are negotiated. Following in the footsteps of the *Hindutva* movement of the early twentieth century, these comic books have consistently defined the Indian citizen as a middle-class Hindu male. Yet despite this uneven gendering of the national citizen, women play a crucial role in the construction of this national identity.

In this paper I explore how this popular medium has resolved the woman question through a study of the two types of female ideals that are posited in these comic books: the mythological, self-sacrificing, traditional wife (such as Savitri and Sakuntala) and the historic, militant, independent queen (such as the Rani of Jhansi and Sultana Razia). At first glance these two types of women appear to be evidence of a contradictory response to the woman question. I will demonstrate that an analysis of these comic books, which have been produced under the guidance of a single editor for over 30 years, dispels this contradiction and reveals a more unifying theme regarding the role of the ideal woman in Indian society.
Poets and bards of the Punjab since the 16th century have sung the story of Hir-Ranjha. The best known of all versions is the Hir of Varis Shah, written in 1768. Varis Shah was a follower of the Sufi pir Makndum Qasuri and a devotee of Sheikh Farid Shakarganj. While Varis Shah is grounded in the Sufi tradition, he has not lost his taste for the sensual world.

Varisa, Shaha janvani di umara guzar/ aje tala nah hiras thi baza/

Oh Varis Shah! The time of youth has past, but the stamp of desire still remains.

In the renditions of Hir-Ranjha before Hir Varis Shah the lover’s story is a mystical metaphor for the reunion of the soul with God, through the ideal union of male and female. Varis Shah’s Hir far surpasses all previous and subsequent versions in richness and complexity, touching on nearly every material and ideological component of Punjabi culture in the late 18th century. While Varis Shah still plays with the mystical metaphor, his treatment of the story includes graphic descriptions of sensuality and occasional examples of rural Punjabi scatology. Denis Matringe tells us that “the sensual aspect of the relation between Hir and Ranjha is not in contradiction with spiritual purity [but instead] partakes of the ironical world view which runs throughout the qissa.” Fastidious translators, rendering the poem into English, have edited out some of the more earthy banter, imposing an uncomfortable propriety on the poem, doing violence both to the mystical and secular themes. The importance of paradox in mystical union has a long tradition in Sufism. This paper argues that Varis Shah’s frank carnality is an integral part of his poetics of paradox working throughout Hir Varis Shah and that any translation of the poem must recreate that poetics in the target language.

What happens to history revisited? “Myth is the twilight speech of an old man to a boy... they start by inventing this event which none have witnessed, which still remains a mystery. They initiate the history of their race with a fiction... myth is the facts of the mind made manifest in a fiction of matter... The speech of the elder is not his history, but his legacy, he speaks not to describe matter but to demonstrate meaning... (in) the prejudice of his memory, he remembers, he sifts, rejects, elaborates and combines... he creates a metaphysical processional”. (Maya Deren, The Divine Horsemen, 1953)

Using both primary and secondary sources, this paper investigates the historic memory of two diasporic communities in Trinidad, the Indian and the African. The paper will address how several significant moments in the island’s history are interpreted in contradictory ways by these cultural groups who are competing for limited resources. It also reflects on conflicting realities that have been constructed as a result of this selective process.
Monika Mehta

A Certification Anomaly: Censoring Bollywood's "Sacrificial Woman"

Released in 1989, after two years of shuffling in the corridors of Indian bureaucracy, Pati Parmeshwar became a hallmark supreme court case. Albeit a mediocre film by Bollywood standards, Pati Parmeshwar is an anomaly in the history of Indian censorship. The examining committee had generally deployed the rule stating "scenes to degrading or denigrating women in any manner are not presented" cut sexually explicit scenes, including close-ups of bosoms, thighs, gyrating hips. In the case of Pati Parmeshwar, the examining committee used this rule to ban a film which employed a ubiquitous Bollywood trope: the good, sacrificial Indian woman. This anomalous act and its subsequent consequences reveal the ambivalent nature of state practices. At first, the reviewing committee, the Film Tribunal, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting supported the examining committee's decision. When the case was appealed, the Supreme Court overruled this decision and granted the producer the permission to release the film. The official documents revealed that "Hindu woman" was seen as the bearer of Indian values. Using Pati Parmeshwar as a case study, I would like to trace the links between "Hindu woman", "Indian culture" —and at that time—the nascent Hindu nationalism.

Vincent H. Melomo

Marriage and Identity in Late Modernity:
How Second Generation Indian Americans Negotiate Identities through Marriage

Although marriage and marriage choices are much discussed within Indian communities in the U.S., these topics are yet to receive adequate attention from academics. This paper will attempt to address this gap by discussing how second generation Indian Americans are negotiating their identities through their choices about marriage. Many second generation Indian Americans grow up with essentialized models of dating, marriage, and sexuality provided by their parents and their community, which contrast with the models presented by the more dominant American culture. As a result, for many, the struggle over choices about marriage becomes a struggle over cultural and ethnic identity. This paper will analyze some of the choices about marriage being made by second generation Indian Americans, and discuss how these choices are tied into questions of ethnic and cultural identity. These ethnic and cultural identities do not, however, exist apart from class, gender, national, and religious identities. This paper will thus show how these various identities intersect at the point of marriage, with special attention paid to gender and class. These choices made by the second generation are occurring in the context of diasporic communities in late modernity. Thus, whether deciding to have an arranged marriage or marrying a non-Indian, the second generation is carving out new identities for themselves, identities that are neither fully "Indian" or "American," "modern" or "traditional." Finally, the paper will consider what are the implications of some of these marriage choices for both national "Indian" and "American" identities. The paper is based on two years of fieldwork conducted in North Carolina, with data taken from interviews, informal discussions, as well as participant observation.
Sridevi Menon

Hindu and Muslim Orient

Edward Said's "Orientalism" provides a theoretical framework within which the dynamics of British delineations of Hindus and Muslims in colonial India may be understood. Said establishes the identity of not one, but two Orient. West Asia constituted one aspect of the Orient while the Indian subcontinent (and the Far East to some extent) embodied another. This paper examines the basis for the distinctive colonial responses to Muslims and Hindus, and the relationship between the two Orient, the Islamic and the Hindu, within which these communities were located. Although the critical distance between Arabia and India was often blurred in representations of the Orient when it was placed against Europe, in the colonial discourses of British India this distance was not only recognized but also reinforced. Moreover, as this paper argues, such emphasis on two inimically alien worlds was crucial to colonial perceptions of "natives" in India, dictating British policy and action in the subcontinent.

John J. Metz

Promoting Forest Improvement in Nepal:
Community Forestry as Challenge to State Bureaucracies, Local Elites, and Mountain Farmers

In response to perceptions that deforestation was causing accelerating erosion and flooding, international donors began in the late 1970s funding projects to plant new forests and to improve watershed management. The most successful project was the Nepal Australian Forestry Project. Their success was due to staff who 1) realized that local communities must benefit from plantations or they will destroy them; 2) established a working relationship with a District Forest Officer who had independently realized the need for local control and, more importantly, was willing to bend the law to give control to forest users. The success of the Australian project led donors to pressure the Nepalese government to change its forestry laws and bureaucratic practice, giving forest users legal control over forest management. Meanwhile, by the late 1980s, research seeking to specify the deforestation and environmental degradation processes revealed that the earlier formulation was incorrect in most of its parts. Perhaps the most commonly held view today is that subsistence and social processes are so complex and locally specific that generalizations are impossible. Nevertheless, development projects have continued to invest in forestry, based on the following assumptions: 1) because geological and meteorological processes overwhelm human land cover impacts, forest plantations are unnecessary; 2) improved forest management is essential to preserving biodiversity and providing subsistence farmers with essential products; 3) the key to improving management is to make local forest users managers. However, the devolution of power inherent in community forestry poses critical, though differing dilemmas for the forest bureaucracy, local elites, and ordinary forest users. This paper seeks to explore those dilemmas.
In 1814, the two expanding states of Gorkha (present day Nepal) and the English East India Company entered into open conflict. Studies on this Anglo-Gorkha war have often approached this event from nationalist, diplomatic and military perspectives. This study attempts to use this particular moment as a window to understand issues of space and state formation. For this reason it will explore the disputes over territory and revenue administration that occurred on the Gorkha-Champaran frontier between 1730 and 1814. Using archival materials spread over North India and Nepal, this paper seeks to understand issues of space, statemaking and illegibility that marked the historical geography of these two states. The paper concludes with the finding that precolonial fiscal divisions such as tappas and parganas need not always have been organized around neat notions of kinship or administrative convenience. Though possessing a fairly composite body, these divisions when historicized, reveal ambiguities, inconsistencies, blurring, disorder and illegibility. This caused problems of spatiality and illegibility for officials of the Company state. In this sense, these events mark a prelude to the subsequent efforts of the early colonial state to reorder territory to create the state as we know it today - spatially distinct, occupying a determinate portion of the earth's surface, and compartmentalized into non-overlapping sub-divisions.

As the British gradually conquered North India in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, they reduced the Mughal Empire to a shadow of its former self, and the Mughal Emperor to a mere pensioner. In the course of these events, the British East India Company made the transition from subordinate to ruler, and the Mughal Emperor from ruler to subordinate. This shift in power relations was symbolized by rituals of sovereignty, with the British at first making offerings (nazrs) and receiving in return titles and robes of honor (khilats) as signs of submission. Gradually, however, the British withdrew from these rituals, first forbidding East India Company officials from accepting titles, later banning the offering of nazrs, and, finally, dispensing with ceremonial robes of honor as representing an obsolete power equation. The story of this symbolic shift is also the story of gradual British assertion of their power in North India, and their increasing reluctance to participate in forms of ritual subordination that were at odds with political reality. After the 1857 revolt, the British crown assumed power and asserted sovereignty using its own ceremonials, incorporating Mughal symbols and generating some of its own.
The history of Urdu poetry, like the history of most traditions, has its share of the voice of the rebel. The colonial occupation of India produced strong protests from the poets of the land along with frequent and trenchant calls of rebellion and revolution. The early part of the 20th century saw the onset of a new mood, one that Jan Nisar Akhtar calls Awami Bedari ki Lahar (the Awakening of the Masses). The poetry of this period demonstrated a socialist sensibility that actively sought to reframe the anti-colonial struggle as one between the exploiters and the exploited, the zamindars and the landless farmers, the sarayadars or capitalists and the mazdoor, the laborer. The formation of the Progressive Writers Association in the mid-1930s and its subsequent hegemonic hold over the realm of Urdu literature ensured the continuation of this perspective.

In this paper, I examine the process by which Urdu poetry of this period sought to recast a variety of different struggles against fascism, imperialism, and the state in terms of the struggle against capitalism. Through a reading of the poems of Mohammad Iqbal, Josh Malihabadi, Asrar-ul-Haq Majaz, Ali Sardar Jafri, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Sahir Ludhianvi and Kafi Azmi, I seek to appraise the establishment of the philosophy that shaped and guided this outlook. I also focus on the effort of these poets to expand the context of their campaign by forging links of international solidarity with progressive struggles in various parts of the world such as the liberation movements in the Middle East, socialist experiments in the Third World, and race politics in the US.

My paper will explore the publishing arena in late nineteenth century Punjab. While publishing in the Punjab took place in various languages, be it Urdu, Hindi, Arabic, or Sanskrit, I choose to concentrate on those textual materials produced in the Punjabi language. Punjabi is traditionally seen, by both European and South Asian scholars, as primarily an oral tradition or solely as the medium of Sikh religious writings. Yet evidence suggests that there was a prolific, if struggling, publishing industry in Punjabi in the late nineteenth century. Of the various genres of material published in the language, the publication of folktale was likely most widespread. Often published in chapbook form (cheaply printed editions of 8 or 16 pages), these published folktale have a two fold historiographical significance. First, they are our closest indigenous record of the Punjabi oral tradition, a tradition which enjoys a centuries old history and which was, at the time, vibrant and widespread. These published texts worked within the parameters (meter, style, narrative content) erected by this tradition and yet were also particular to their late nineteenth century context. Second, without being self-consciously political, these texts engaged with social issues (such as notions of morality or gender) which were germane to the day. The thrust of my paper will delineate the manner in which the arena of Punjabi publishing, composed of various actors – writers, editors, publishers, and an audience/readers, was a discursive terrain which has hitherto remained largely unexplored. I place this terrain in contradistinction to that of Urdu language publishing which, as Urdu was the state recognized official language of the Province, was the dominant force. Unlike Urdu, Punjabi was not a language of the elite or even the upwardly mobile. The dissemination of materials in Punjabi constituted a sphere in which participation was not dictated by class or creed. In this arena, grounded on a shared aesthetic sensibility, issues of the day were being raised and conventional wisdom was sometimes being flouted, sometimes upheld. My goal is to delineate the tenor of debate in this arena, using the folktale as a primary example, and to examine the manner in which it contributes to our current understanding of late nineteenth century Punjabi society.
Woh yaar hai jo khushboo ki tarah, Jis ki zubaan Urdu ki tarah:
The Friendly Association Between Urdu Literature and Hindi Cinema

Woh yaar hai jo khushboo ki tarah, Jis ki zubaan Urdu ki tarah" (A friend is like fragrance, with a voice like Urdu), sings Shahrukh Khan in the 1998 Hindi blockbuster movie Dil Se. And indeed, Hindi cinema is a space where Urdu continues to be celebrated in India, even while it is subjected to interrogation in other spheres, sometimes as a language associated with Muslims and Pakistan, sometimes as a tongue that fosters an anti-national agenda.

In this paper, I examine some of the intersections between Urdu literature and Hindi cinema. I assess the contribution of the poetry of Sahir Ludhianavi and Majrooh Sultanpuri, the novels of Rajinder Singh Bedi and Premchand, the legends of Ratannath Sarshar, and the ghazals of Meer and Ghulib to Hindi cinema. I examine the process by which Hindi cinema became a loyal companion to Urdu literature, investing it with a much-needed political legitimacy and serving as a vehicle that has fostered a language which has suffered a significant erosion of political patronage. I will also substantiate my contention that the easy association between “Hindi” and “Urdu” in this performative arena reinforces a secular understanding of the relationship between Hindi and Urdu and offers us a glimpse of their vast corpus of shared linguistic resources and social traditions.

Nayantara Sahgal: Evolution of a Political Identity

This essay examines Sahgal's representation of her self in her political writings, especially in her early memoirs Prison and Chocolate Cake (1954), and From Fear Set Free (1962), and in her critique of Indira Gandhi's politics, Indira Gandhi: Her Road to Power (1982). Tracing the tension between her "selfless" devotion to the political ideals on which India's national identity was founded and her "self-ish" love for her adored uncle, I argue that Sahgal's own political identity rests on a conflation of nation and family on the one hand, and a separation of family and political power on the other. She repeatedly evokes images of India as a family—her family—with Nehru as the benevolent, paternal guardian of the country's political ideals. At the same time, she is acutely aware of the contradiction between the vision of a pedestalled Nehru and the democratic ideals she ascribes to him. This essay examines Sahgal's attempt to carve out a self image that is consistent with her stated political commitments.
Sahgal's most recent novels, *Plans for Departure* (1986) and *Mistaken Identity* (1988), turn to India's colonial past in order to re-envision India's national identity. My essay examines the way in which Sahgal opens up the past to retrieve from it a hope for India's present troubles. The novel is set in 1929, a tumultuous year in the history of India's struggle for independence, when many of the volatile issues surrounding India's national identity were debated and resolved (or left unresolved), often with disastrous consequences. The increasing politicization of the Hindu-Muslim divide weakened the national struggle, as did the divergence of the progressive elements from the conservative leadership of the nationalist movement. Sahgal's novel re-visits those crucial disjunctions in the formation of India's national identity in order to examine the persistent failures of the country's founding ideals. In her narrative resolution, she projects an idealized vision of how India might have forged a more enduring national identity, one less riven by communal strife.

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Since the nineteenth century, Bengal has been saturated by constellations of violence that derive from state, and religious conflicts; at the discursive level, violence has been performed on the critical culture around women's literature--through both formal and informal censorship. This paper explores how in writing on the subject of gendered violence in its most extreme form--rape, Jyotirmoyee Devi and Mahasweta Devi break the silence regarding sexuality, in women's literature in Bengali--enforced through discourses on feminine modesty and refinement; and through a political engagement with feminism, map histories of violence and pain. I examine through a reading of selected texts, the different rhetorical strategies they deploy--for instance, Mahasweta Devi's use of numerical data on rape to enhance the feel of the horrific, or Jyotirmoyee Devi's utilization of the symbolic--by which the private pain of the victim is embedded in the history of the collective.
Sujata Moorti  
Old Dominion University

Prescriptions for Patriotism: Indian Women's Magazines Advice for the Modern Female Subject

This paper explores the development of the Indian women's movement during British colonial rule and the specific ideologies that were articulated between national identity and women's rights. Through an examination of the Indian Ladies' Magazine and Stree-Dharma, two English-language magazines published by women at the turn of the century, this paper explores the constitution of the modern female subject. Further, it examines how Indian women deployed print technology to develop a public voice under colonialism. Using feminist post-colonial theories I examine the manner in which imperial culture shaped discourses of Indian female sexuality, particularly those promulgated by the women's magazines. Both magazines self-consciously positioned themselves as promoting the "uplift" of Indian women. Stree-Dharma, in particular, was the official newsletter of the first national women's organization and claimed to address a broad segment of the population. This paper examines the advice columns these magazines printed and their prescriptions for appropriate female patriotic behavior. The columns provide compelling evidence of the ways in which turn-of-the-century Indian women were urged to present a "modern" Western self. Yet the writers constantly reminded readers that this modern self must be bounded by the parameters of Indian femininity. This paper explores the specific injunctions these advice columnists offered. It explores the manner in which these magazines, through their advice columns, participated in the regulation and containment of female sexuality. Further it examines how this panoptic gaze was recoded as a patriotic act.

Frank Morales  
University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Goddess Sarasvati: An Ontological Reconfiguration

There are several aspects of Sarasvati that make her quite a unique figure in the populous pantheon of Hindu goddesses, and therefore a worthy subject of exploration. Sarasvati is, first of all, one of the most ancient goddesses still being worshipped by modern day Hindus. Reverence to Sarasvati is to be traced back as early as the composition of the Rg Vedic hymns. Another interesting dimension of Sarasvati which I will explore is how this goddess became transformed over several millennia from a deity primarily associated with a river to a goddess with powers and attributes of cosmic proportions. An additional fascinating aspect of Sarasvati that I will bring to light in my paper is this goddess' unique position as a being situated in, and personifying, a state of transcendence. While most Hindu goddesses - indeed, most goddesses who are found in a wide variety of cultures - represent such forces of nature as fecundity and growth, Sarasvati personifies the human attempt to transcend the natural realm via art, culture and reason. The most significant aspect of Sarasvati that I will explore, however, is her position as an overtly Vaishnava goddess. Though there is much clear evidence of this aspect of Sarasvati, this is an area which has been only explored in the most cursory of manners by most modern scholars.
Sripad Motiram  
University of Southern California

Globalization and the Shape of Agrarian Conflict in Telangana

This paper will try to understand the nature of agrarian conflict in Telangana, how it has changed over time and what shape it might take in the era of globalization. Telangana has witnessed tremendous amount of agrarian conflict since Indian independence and prior to it. We will try to conceptualize conflict in Telangana using some frameworks that have been developed to understand peasant resistance and rebellion in other parts of the world and other regions in India (e.g., moral economy, traditional Marxist analysis, recent conceptualizations of peasantry as an "awkward class" etc.). We will examine the insights that can be obtained from these frameworks and the limitations in applying them to a region like Telangana. Using these conceptualizations, we will try to reflect upon what might ensue as Telangana continues to get linked more and more to global markets.

Ananya Mukherjea  
Graduate Center of the City University of New York

"American" Macho: Negotiating Nationalism and Masculinity in the Desi Scene

This paper draws on interviews conducted with promoters and deejays in New York City's subcontinental party network and on participant observations done at parties throughout the scene to consider the production and performance of a culturally-specific masculinity. It considers the ethnic, national, religious, sexual, and class divisions within the loosely unified group of young men who populate these events, and how those divisions shape the ways in which machismo is understood and constructed. These divisions are often rooted in or give rise to animosity that is usually mild but can sometimes be quite virulent. Because the personal identities and inter-personal interactions of these young men are contingent on their varied experiences as first- or second-generation immigrants, I examine, also, how they employ machismo to gain power with respect to these contentions and to empower their immigrant positions. What social function does the party scene fulfill for their experiences as young immigrants? And what is the relationship between the network and the production of masculinity within it?
Sunita S. Mukhi

Performance as Empowerment: "It's a Drag Being an Indian Woman"

Not being Indian born, but of Indian descent, my engagement with Indianness has acquired multiple refractions and a double distance. Being Indian is not "natural", it has to be put on, it cannot be taken for granted, a phenomenon. But even before that it has to be constructed, learned, authenticated, looked for, discovered, and then performed. In grappling with the problem of being Indian outside India, and being constrained further by gender rules, I composed a performance piece to express ambivalence and, therefore, a critique of some kinds of Indiannesses that I have encountered in New York City. The performance entitled it's a Drag Being an Indian Woman is parodic, and is done in 'drag'. Judith Butler's discussion of the meaning of the ironic imitation of the cultural construct of woman via the genre of drag is the impetus to understand, though in hyperbolic terms, the put-on-ness of Indianness. Through video footage and actual enactments, this presentation reveals how performance allows a liberation from the constraints of an essentialized and monolithic ethnic and gender identity.

Paul Mundschenk

Gandhi's Swaraj: A Tonic for Inner Growth, but Socially and Politically Irrelevant

Gandhi was a strong proponent of swaraj, or self-rule, but because he was misunderstood so often and so fundamentally, his enthusiasm for its promotion frequently got him into trouble. Part of this misunderstanding was due to the nature of the situation in which he lived and worked — i.e., people assumed he meant political freedom when he talked about swaraj, for he was a central character in India's decades-long struggle to free herself from British colonial rule. Of course Gandhi did want the British out, but he first wanted the Indian people to become sufficiently transformed within themselves as to be worthy of political freedom, and able to create a truly just, free, righteous, virtuous, and morally upright nation. Swaraj, then, was self-rule of the individual by that same individual. The paper explores the ways in which Gandhi's ideas in this area have timeless power and worth, but are irrelevant in trying to shape a nation.
Scholars of globalization conceptualize it as either an economically rational action by states or as an inevitable response to objective pressures on policy-makers. This paper argues that such explanations are inadequate in accounting for the politico-economic policies of states such as India. It demonstrates how a historically institutionalized postcolonial nationalism has strongly shaped India’s internal and external economic strategies. Considerations of national identity rather than national interest are therefore critical in accounting for how globalization manifests itself in the Indian case. Drawing upon the debates on economic policy in India, I show the systematic links between India’s postcolonial identity and its recent economic policies. The theoretical argument is concretized through an empirical analysis of contemporary Indian policies in information technology—the most advanced sector of the global economy.

Who created the “voluminous” folklore collections published by colonial British administrators in the second half of the nineteenth century India? The folklore scholars for a whole century have lauded these administrators as scholars, linguists and as those who “established the cause of Indian folklore”. Post-Edward Said doubters may be quick to assume that Indians were involved in the generation of this knowledge, as some collectors have mentioned the names of narrators and “assistants”. However, the question is: What was the nature of this assistance/association? Neither this question nor the answers have been the search of even post-colonial folkloristics. However, the manuscripts of probably the single biggest folktale collection, undertaken by famous ICS officer—William Crooke—between 1880-96, remained unpublished and untested until 1996. These manuscripts not only answer all the above questions, but also bring forth their actual collector, translator, commentator and scholar—Pandit Ramgarhia Chaube—in whose handwriting the MS are. And from these emerges the world of a late nineteenth century Indian scholar. His intellectual expression and personal tragedy show that colonialism drained not only material wealth but also the intellectual labor of many. And the implications of this for folkloristics are manifold. This manuscript collection, edited and introduced by me is to be published later this year. A preview for Asian Studies Conference 1999.
Kirin Narayan

Narrating Selves in the South Asian Diaspora

The border between personal narratives and cultural narratives has been called into question by scholarship indicating that personal narratives are culturally shaped, and cultural narratives are personally adapted. How do these insights translate into a diasporic situation? I draw on life-stories of second generation South Asian Americans to explore how narratives—family history, folktales, mythology—identified as "Indian" or "Pakistani" are adapted within the horizon of American lives. I argue that even when these narratives are partially known or are fused with American motifs, they are key ingredients in asserting multicultural selves.

Walter C. Neale

India and Globalization: False Premises and What Not to Do

At this conference last year mentions of globalization usually referred to the adoption of ideas, institutions, tastes, aesthetics and so on across cultural boundaries—a far broader classification than that used in economic discourses, where globalization is an assertion of the inevitable spread of a set of universal rules governing economic activities. These rules govern international finance and investment and proscribe national adoption of such policies as subsidization, government budget deficits, national regulation of economic activities, and so on. The discourse combines a faith that these rules should be adopted with a view that their spread is as uncontrollable as el nino.

This paper will first present, briefly, an argument that this view of globalization is largely ideological, strongly pushed by multinational corporations, the government of the United States, the IMF, and multinational financial institutions and corporations. It is grounded in few facts and no ethics and should be ignored. The paper will then discuss some aspects of India's economic problems and policies to argue that India should resist the movement toward globalization.
In 1950 the 104 year long autocratic rule of the Rana family ended, and Nepal established a parliamentary type of democratic political system. King Mahendra terminated this system in 1960, and in its place introduced a non-democratic political system, generally known as "Nirdaliya Panchayati Byabastha", under which all political parties were banned. During this palace oriented and controlled rule, basic human rights such as due legal process and the right to form political parties as well as freedom of expression were abrogated. Attempts to establish a more open democratic political system were unsuccessful until the broad-based People's Movement of 1990, which brought together various otherwise separate groups - political, occupational, ethnic, religious, etc. The new constitution transformed the absolute monarchy into a constitutional one (with the King as the nominal head of state), fundamental rights of the people were established, and a democratic, multi-party, parliamentary polity was reinstalled. The political change of 1990 not only provided people with basic rights such as freedom of expression, but also provided them the opportunity to engage in the national political decision-making process.

This paper examines the way that differently-positioned Muslims define and revise notions of their own and others' identities within what is both an ordinary and an extraordinary event: the annual festivities surrounding Moharram in Ajmer, Rajasthan. Divergent practices distinguish self from others not only along sectarian lines, but also in terms of class and family background. Considering views articulated about others' practices during Moharram in light of interactions throughout the year reveals a complex, slippery and contradictory set of relations. It also raises questions about who is, and when and how others become, the other. Finally, at the same time that the practices engaged in (and observed) by people from different backgrounds mark layers of difference, they also reveal a complex history of interaction that blurs simple divisions, such as Shia-Sunni or even Muslim-Hindu. Distinctions and interrelations during Moharram demonstrate the multi-layered, fluid and often contradictory nature of community identity as well as the way that differences are both created and transcended in time.
Recent transformations of the sacred urban landscape and buildings of the Kathmandu Valley have come about through international and local preservation initiatives on the one hand, and local devotional practices on the other. This paper examines World Heritage Sites and other centers of religious practice as sites of struggle where those who seek to manifest their devotion in traditional ways find themselves at odds with national and international preservation initiatives.

In the contemporary discourse of women in India a "new" woman is emerging. Being educated, aware, professional and self-confident, in every sense she is projected to be a modern and liberated person. In the last couple of decades women are increasingly taking up higher education, they are more visible in the fields of engineering, public administration, management and other professional fields. As a result, women's situation is changing rapidly as a bread earner and a successful participant both in the private as well as public domain. The image of this 'new woman' is of course derived from the urban educated, middle class career woman. Keeping this in view, I intend to discuss the dialectical relationship between the changing role of women and their portrayal in the Hindi films and state sponsored television in India. The film and TV media are portraying the image of a "new" Indian womanhood as a new merging of two polarities, a combination of tradition and modernity, self assured, economically independent as a career woman, on the one hand, and sacrificing, giving and truly feminine in the role of a wife and mother, on the other. In the 1990's the visual media have increasingly focused on the successful combination of the domestic roles of wife, mother and the public roles of professional woman with the reconstruction of Indian myths from Ramayana, Mahabharata and other puranic sources. The most popular television serials on the great religious heroes like Hanuman, and the trinity Gods, Siva and Vishnu among others capture the imagination of women both in rural and urban India. Goddesses in the roles of wives and mothers reconfirm the ideals of femininity and subjectivity for the "new" womanhood in India. Also the recent blockbusters that have been smashing hits in India and the Indian diaspora in the UK and USA, tend to be heroine oriented focusing on the sensitive side of the hero. To quote a popular dialogue from the biggest hit in 1998, Kuch Kuch Hota Hai, the hero tells the heroine that "a man only bows before the divine (happen to be in front of a goddess), his mother, and the woman he marries."

In my paper I would like to focus on the changing role of films and television reconstructing the Indian womanhood ideally depicted in Indian myths and religious texts in combination with the portrayals of westernized, educated and liberal woman. Since films and television programs are censored by the state in India, I will discuss the role of state in defining the ideal woman through the media. Also, the impact of Hindi films and state sponsored television on the construction of gender identity will be discussed.
Sameer Pandya

University of Wisconsin - Madison
28th Annual Conference on South Asia

The National Autobiographer: Gandhi's Experiments with Truth and Self

In recent debates, historians and political theorists have examined Gandhi's contradictory role within the elite and subaltern movements of Indian nationalism. In this paper, I use these historical contradictions as the point of departure in my analysis of Gandhi's An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth. I argue that Gandhi established his simultaneous allegiance to various groups within the nation through the use of self-portraiture.

I discuss this self-portraiture through two main points. At the center of the autobiographical genre lies the elusive concept of self and, at the center of Gandhi's text, this self is specifically national. I examine the term "nationalist self" and consider the different ways the Gandhian self has thus far been theorized. I am particularly interested in how this national self relates to the "modern" concept of the multiple, decentered self and how it creates a space where Gandhi can forge a political relationship with the nation's elite and dispossessed. Second, the "or" that separates the two parts of the title of Gandhi's autobiography represents the conflict that runs throughout the text: between the narration of an individual's life and those experiments with spiritual truth that occupied that life. I use this tension in the narrative to demonstrate how the Autobiography produces a national subject.

Radhika Parameswaran

University of Wisconsin - Madison
28th Annual Conference on South Asia

Indiana University, Bloomington

Diversity, South Asians, and Media Representations: South Asian Women in the News

Courses on diversity and multiculturalism generally focus on African-Americans and Black-White relationships. In teaching courses on race, gender, and media to undergraduates, I have introduced material on representations of South Asians in United States' media to broaden the scope of students' vision of race relations. This presentation will address the potential as well as problems in integrating South Asians into existing academic and popular discourses on Black/White relations. Some questions addressed by the presentation include: Why do students experience difficulty in acknowledging and explaining racism towards South Asians? What kind of historical knowledge can we provide students to equip them with the critical skills they need to deconstruct media images of South Asians? How can we as responsible academics teach racism towards South Asians without conflating our experiences with the histories of oppression of other people of color? The presentation will engage these questions by elaborating on students' reactions to my research on the representations of Indian women in the news. Using Chandra Mohanty's pioneering essay on the ways in which Third World women are represented in Western writings, I will suggest a framework to model class discussions on South Asians in the media.
Fire: The Trials and Tribulations of Sexuality on Film

Fire, the film made by Canadian-Indian filmmaker Deepa Mehta opened in theatres in India last October after a long successful run at alternative, art, gay and lesbian theatres and film festivals in the West. Following an uneventful opening and a peaceful initial reception in India, it was suddenly assailed by Shiv Sena and Sainikas who attacked theatres, disrupted showings and destroyed property in Bombay and then in Delhi. The attacks prompted a range of responses to the film (left-wing, right-wing, feminist, lesbian, popular): some valorized the film, some criticized it for its inadequate portrayals of Indian lesbians, and some (the most notorious) accused it of despoiling Hindu womanhood. My paper will look at engagements with the film, (including the Supreme Court and parliamentary discussions represented in the news) treating it both as a diasporic production, as well as a site wherein the nation gets negotiated through questions of sexuality. I will attempt to site the film in the political economy of its reception. I will look at its reception in one site in the US, and engage with its multiple readings in the Indian context. In the process the paper will elaborate the places that sexuality gets articulated, as well as disarticulated (when and where does the desire between the women become an issue, and when is it dropped?). The paper will address desire between women, how it is seen and not seen, hedged, reconstituted, detoured, in the various responses. The paper will also engage with the production of diaspora and nation which the film forces to the surface.

Desh and Perdesh in Tod's Rajasthan

This paper explores the relationship between indigenous Rajasthani discourses on desh and perdesh and James Tod's construction of the Rajput nation in his famous Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. Nationalist discourse has long been portrayed as one of the most significant, if most pernicious, achievements of the European Enlightenment and social theorists have charted ways in which this discourse was then 'exported to' or 'pirated by' non-European peoples with various pathological long-term consequences. While this proposition no doubt holds true as a general characterization, this paper explores how local discourses on country and homeland, revealed in Tod's correspondence with his native informants and 'Native Princes', intersected with early European notions of nationalism in order to produce peculiar formulations in his magnum opus. Significantly, I shall suggest how some of these hybrid ideas produced on the 'periphery' then entered the 'mainstream' of European political philosophy through J.S. Mill's reading of Tod's publications and official correspondence at India House in London.
This paper examines the ways in which an 18th century Tamil literary genre draws on elements from older Tamil literature in order to encompass material of new, heterogeneous cultural origins within a 'Tamil' literary-cultural universe. The Kuravanji is one of several Tamil genres that flourished under the patronage of elites of varied linguistic (Tamil, Telugu and Marathi) affiliations in the Tamil region between 1700 and 1850. Focusing on the activities of a nomadic female fortune-teller of the Kuravar tribe, the Kuravanji drama offers a complex portrayal of the Kuravars. On the one hand, they are depicted as exemplars of ethnic 'otherness', people of mysterious origins and exotic occupations and customs; on the other, the fortune-teller is identified as a descendant of the soothsayers of archaic Tamil tradition and celebrated as an icon of 'Tamil' culture. Focusing on the persona of the fortune-teller, I have argued that the Tamil Kuravanji drama, itself of heterogeneous (Telugu-Tamil) generic origins, deploys conventions and ideal types from classical (Sangam) and medieval Tamil literature to present an 'indigenizing' artistic response to the migrant tribes of non-Tamil ethnicity who were increasingly present in the Tamil region from the 17th century onwards.

In this paper I will examine the interpenetration of Hindi, Persian and Arabic languages, as well as Indic and Persianate poetic conventions, in the literary culture of Mughal India with a larger aim of capturing some complexities of linguistic identity. By examining the Persian and Arabic marginal notes in the earliest surviving manuscript (1675) of the Hindi romance *Padmavat* I will describe the process by which elite Mughal readers extended the allusive range of a work conventionally accepted by the contemporary academic community as simply and exclusively a 'Hindi' classic. I will focus on the scribe Muhammad Shakir's extensive use of remembered fragments of Persian poetry by Hafiz and Arabic *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) in commenting on the *Padmavat* which he was copying and simultaneously translating into Persian. When examined in light of the macaronic reading and commenting practices of its actual readers *Padmavat* seems no longer to be so solidly and unproblematically a cornerstone of the Hindi literary tradition but, rather, to participate in a wider cosmopolitan world of Persian and Arabic learning—a world generally ignored, or deliberately erased, from discussions by the Hindi academic establishment with its attempt at defining a largely Sanskritic Hindi canon commensurate with a Hindu Indian nation.
Melinda Fay Pilling

University of Chicago

The Lay of The Land: Demonesses, Dakinis, and Tibetan Women in Exile

In this paper, I speculate why Tibetan women have been largely ignored in U.S. Tibetan studies scholarship, and I advance a framework for theorizing Tibetan women's roles in Tibetan nationalism. The first part of my paper consists of a cursory discussion of published U.S. Tibetan studies scholarship on women. While a number of books have been published on the lives of various female Tibetan adepts and goddesses, very little scholarly work about Tibetan women from non-religious studies perspectives has, to date, appeared. My critique of existing U.S. Tibetan studies scholarship on women is grounded in my belief that Tibetan studies harbors immense potential as a forum for analysis of the global and local forces through which Tibetan national identity is articulated. I argue that Tibetan nationalist discourses, as situated expressions of the struggle against Chinese imperial domination, are articulated in gendered terms and so cannot be understood without considering questions of gender and power. The approach to studying Tibetan women that I advocate in the first half of my paper is tested in the second half, in which I outline a framework for the study of women and Tibetan nationalism. This framework consists of a threefold process for examining the roles of women in the nationalist project and the gendering of this project in its various articulations: 1) investigating the gendered formations and discourses of Tibetan national identity in religious, historical, and political sources; 2) exploring women's roles in the construction of Tibetan identity and in resistance to imperial domination in historical sources and through interviews with Tibetan women living in exile; and 3) considering critically the relationships among women, Tibetan nationalist and religious institutions, the institutions of the countries in which Tibetans have taken refuge, and global structures of power and domination.

David Pinault

University of Wisconsin - Madison
26th Annual Conference on South Asia

Santa Clara University

Transformations in Lamentation Ritual and the Internationalization of Shi'a Identity in the 'Horse of Karbala' Procession in Leh District, Ladakh

Annual processions organized by the Shi'a Muslims of Leh district honor the Imam Husain's seventh-century martyrdom at the battle site of Karbala. These processions feature Zuljinah, a horse representing that ridden at Karbala by Husain. During Muharram, Zuljinah is led riderless through the streets of Leh, while participants crowd forward to pay homage, strike themselves in the act of matam (ritual self-mortification), and recite poetry thematizing Zuljinah. In Leh district these observances are the object of criticisms linked to charges of idolatry and the public shedding of blood during self-flagellation. Until the 1980s participation in Leh's Horse of Karbala procession was largely Shi'a and scorned by Sunnis, the predominant sector of the Muslim minority. With the 1989 Buddhist-led 'Social Boycott,' however, Sunnis joined the procession in large numbers. Leh's Sunnis perform the ritual in such a way as to demonstrate pan-Islamic solidarity while modifying the ritual in such a way as to distance themselves from "heterodox" aspects of Shi'a lamentation. I also document recent attempts by Iranian proselytizers to introduce the "internationalized" version of the mourning promulgated in fatwas by Seyyed Ali Khamenei.
My paper examines the theory of the dialogic imagination proposed by M.M. Bakhtin and applies relevant portions of it to the novel *Rich Like Us* by Nayantara Sahgal. Because the novel deals with Indira Gandhi’s Emergency, the opposition of the first person narrator’s voice and thoughts to those of other family members and bureaucrats is an important tool in ferreting out the truth of what is happening at the government level as well as within the family. The dialogic novel, featuring two distinct narrators and sound bites from six other voices, serves as an ideal vehicle to convey the growing awareness of a character whose role strongly resembles Sahgal’s own, as an insider to the Nehru family but also an outspoken critic of Indira Gandhi’s repressive regime. Bakhtin’s notion of polyphonic voices proves itself highly appropriate to describe a political novel which attempts to make sense of a shift away from Gandhian values and Nehruvian socialism toward power and the accumulation of wealth.

A dizzying volume of folklore collections characterized late nineteenth-century colonial ethnography in the subcontinent, emerging as an unofficial part of a larger ethnographic project sanctioned by the colonial administration. Produced under dubious circumstances (as evidenced by their own prefatory remarks and notes), shot through with intellectual agendas dictated by imperial theories of race, and guided by varieties of colonial missions, these collections generated (and expeditiously rested on) many divisive constructs of genre, religious practice, occupational identity, and so on. I examine how colonial ethnography, exemplified by works like Thurston’s *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (1906), or Temple’s three-volume *Legends of the Panjab* (1884–1900), ascribed cultural identities to regions so that geographic concepts such as “the Deccan” or “the Northwest Frontier” were rendered objectifiable and “knowable” (and “possessable”?) cultural and religious domains. While scholarship has critiqued colonial projects of linguistic and geographic mapping in the subcontinent, I am interested in exploring how collections of folklore implicitly and explicitly “participated” in mapping and consolidating cultural zones, and also in sustaining constructs like “village republics.” I will focus on the conceptualization of the “Deccan” in E.J. Robinson’s *Tales and Poems of South India* (1885), Kingscote and Sas dri’s *Tales of the Sun or Folklore of Southern India* (1890), and Kincaid’s *Deccan Nursery Tales* (1914).
Through a detailed analysis of recent efforts to craft a link between Dalit scholars and Afro centric scholars in the United States, this paper attempts to imagine the potentialities of Ethnic Studies as different from area studies. Such an "Afro-Dalit adventure" works out from the necessity of political alliances but falls into traps of inventing blood lines between African Americans and South Asian Dalits. My effort is not so much simply to point to the inadequacies of such scholarship but to point to the different aspects of ethnic studies and area studies that allow for such scholarship to emerge. This connection is an interesting one, because of all the different axes of connectivity between the US and South Asia that become possible within the context of globalization and the pre-eminent status of the upper caste-middle class within the South Asian diasporic community, this relation is politically the most challenging one and its failures should inform us as we create ethnic studies and/or re-imagine area studies in the US academy.

The mass conversion to Buddhism of Mahars and other ex-untouchable Hindus since 1956 has been hailed as a movement of social liberation among India's most downtrodden (Dalit) people (Zelliot, 1992; Sponberg, 1995). Commentators have pointed to the social, economic, and political advances of the new Dalit elite, and the psychological benefits of the neo-Buddhist worldview articulated by their late leader, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar (1891–1956). Recent scholarship has raised questions about the breadth and depth of these gains, however, showing that most new Buddhists in Maharashtra, the seat of the conversion movement, experience a new form of cultural marginality (Shastree, 1996). In this paper I compare these findings with studies of Buddhist conversion among affluent North Americans (Williams and Queen, 1999), who also express and reflect an experience of cultural marginality and intellectual dissent. The question is raised whether the chief variable in these studies is the Buddhist worldview itself, and not the social or cultural location of the new Buddhists.
Gloria Goodwin Raheja

Honor, Irony, and Violence in Partition Narratives

The idea of "honor" has figured prominently in narratives of Partition violence, especially in narratives recounting the killing of women of one's own family. Generally it appears as an "explanation" for the violence, as the narrator produces what he may regard as a justification for such killings: women had to be killed or the honor of the family would be at risk. In such situations, it serves a supposedly exculpatory function, one that is congruent with fairly pervasive notions about women as the repositories of a family's honor. In some narratives, however, the idea of honor is deployed in an ironic fashion, and it serves a decentering function, at once questioning the gendered aspects of the notion itself, and questioning too representations of the danger posed by the Hindu or Muslim Other. And perhaps more significantly, the irony signals the impossibility of an "explanation" for such violence.

Junaid Rana

The Struggle Over Ethnic Studies in American Universities: Coalitions Along the Margins

This paper grew out of some recent experiences at the University of Texas, Austin as students united to struggle over Ethnic Studies in the university. As African American, Chicano and Asian students created coalitions in the process of this struggle what also became increasingly visible to scholars of South Asian-America, such as myself, is the differential location of the South Asian-American community in the US and how that effects our participation in the creation and building of ethnic studies/diaspora studies. My effort in this paper is to develop two of the multiple contradictions that face us as scholars who study diasporic populations - first, the relation between the emergence of ethnic studies and globalization and second the contradiction between a specifically South Asian-American identity and the political and moral necessity to create coalitions. Both these are extremely relevant given the South Asian communities class composition and its relation to race and racism in America.
This paper brings a Foucauldian 'governmentality' framework to bear on the study of development, construed here as highly contested planning activity through which global economic processes articulate with local cultural-political practices and structures. It considers the multiple spatial scales of governance in development through an examination of financial restructuring in the country of Nepal. The paper demonstrates how Nepalese planners' enduring concerns about rural development intersect in surprising (and gendered) ways with the present focus of foreign development agencies on deepening financial markets. In the resulting 'microcredit model' of rural finance, the onus for rural lending is devolved from commercial banks to state- and donor-subsidized 'rural development banks' and women borrowers become the target of an aggressive 'self-help' approach to development. As a mechanism of governance, the microcredit model can thus be seen to constitute social citizenship and women's needs in a manner consistent with a neoliberal economic agenda and at the expense of a concern with social protection.

In the light of the two master processes viz. commercialization and globalization, this paper will study changing agrarian and gender relations in the last fifteen years in the region of Telangana. While women have always been crucial to subsistence activities in agrarian societies, in Telangana they have also historically had a substantial involvement in production processes such as sowing and harvesting. Changing cropping patterns have thus directly affected the gender division of labour in agriculture in the region. Simultaneously privatization of common property resources has reduced women's access to fuel and water even as the shift away from subsistence agriculture has reduced access to food. The consequences for the reproduction of households will be explored in the paper.
This paper is about how domestic servants in late twentieth century Calcutta negotiate their identities as men and women, and about how they evaluate their embodiment of those identities. It explores the way male and female servants imagine and articulate their lives as gendered beings, given a) that they perform, on a daily basis, the most undesirable tasks of society and b) that their daily work puts them outside the idealized notions of masculinity and femininity that prevail in Calcutta today. The paper begins with an exploration of the distinctive caste and gendered class culture of Calcutta's employer class the bhadrak. For the bhadrak, hegemonic masculinity is defined as not doing menial labor, and as being educated, and independent. Idealized femininity, on the other hand, involves being protected and staying at home. Those who do paid domestic work cannot achieve respected masculinity or femininity since the very definition of these terms is designed to exclude them. Under these conditions, domestic servants try to define their masculinity and femininity against their employers, partially accepting, rejecting, embracing and modifying the way others see them as men and as women. Male and female domestic workers seek, on the one hand to appropriate bhadrak ideals, and to deny their employers the monopoly of being "bhadrak". On the other hand, they seek to redefine what it means to be a good man or a good woman, bringing these definitions closer in substance to the lives they lead.

Critics and analysts of religious politics in India have described the Sangh Parivar variously over the years: as fascist, fundamentalist, right-wing, Hindu nationalist, extremist, and ethnicist. The already large corpus of writing on the ideology and activities of the Sangh Parivar continues still to describe the serious threat of communal thinking to the secular/liberal character of the modern Indian state. What is missing from this discourse, however, is an interrogation of the very concepts on which both critiques of communal politics and defenses of secular-liberalism are based. What does it mean to understand fundamentalism as the cultural "other" of such liberal virtues as secularism and tolerance? What are the implications of constituting ethnicist movements not merely as obstacles, but as threats to the project of modernity? And finally, what does it mean to use concepts which are applied equally to "right-wing" movements in the United States and the Middle-East, for example, also to describe religious politics in India? I propose here an examination of such concepts as fundamentalism and fascim as these emerge from the Indian discourse on communalism, in order to better understand how these are specifically constituted in the Indian context. This paper will argue that narratives of ethnicism and extremism are created not only from within, by the ideologues of the Sangh Parivar, but also from without, paradoxically by the very liberal discourses that describe communal threats to secular modernity. I hope in this process to move away from a framework of simplistic oppositions - secularism versus communalism, liberalism versus fundamentalism, tolerance versus intolerance - and to explore more complex involvements in the production of this discourse.
Ayurveda and the American New Age: Saints, Scholars and Scientists

Ayurveda, the classical South Asian medical tradition, was introduced to American audiences in the mid-1980s as an exotic alternative to biomedical orthodoxy. This paper argues that Ayurvedic practice in America is shaped not only by aspects of American medical culture, but by the millennial, Gnostic, transcendental elements of American religious culture. For Ayurveda in the 1990s, ideological contests with biomedicine and dialogues with holism are less important than dialogues with unorthodox religious beliefs and practices such as the American New Age. Through an ethnographic focus on Ayurvedic practice in New England, the paper shows that Ayurvedic ideology and phenomenology – its formulations of body and illness – are fundamentally transformed by encounters with the New Age. Far from being a monolith, New Age Ayurveda reveals a wide-ranging plurality in practice. The paper uses detailed case studies to show that these plural ‘sub-traditions’ reflect different points of engagement with the New Age – ranging from the naturalistic to the scientific to the religio-moral. Taken together, these sub-traditions suggest multiple ways in which Ayurveda is reinvented in the American New Age – as a system of neo-Orientalist holism, as an original proto-science, as naturalistic massage, and as Vedantic talk therapy.

Organized Labor and the Prospects for Economic Reform: Democratic Corporatism in India

Since independence, India has maintained a dual commitment to organized industrial development and political democracy. The economic protectionism, which was part of this approach, has helped to insulate India from various economic crises. However, decades of economic inefficiency led to serious problems. Nowhere is the need and the challenge for liberalization more apparent than in the situation of surplus or redundant labor in India. Most of these organized labors are in the public sector. This paper deals with the problem of organized labor and the prospects for economic reforms in India within an indirect control system of “democratic corporatism.”
Paula Richman
Oberlin College

Seeing the Mahabharata Through the Ramayana Tradition: Indian 'Epic's' in the Classroom

The issues analyzed in this paper emerged from a semester-long course I taught on the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. I will examine the logic behind some of the questions raised in our discussion of the Mahabharata that seem to have been prompted by the previous experience of reading various tellings of the Ramayana. The three examples I'll examine are 1) how students responded to Bhima's relationship to Hidimba in light of the Surpanakha episode in the Ramayana; 2) how they responded to Bhima's blow to Duryodhana in the thigh in light of the Valli episode in the Ramayana; and 3) the kinds of questions they asked about whether the Mahabharata was as "religious" an epic as the Ramayana, given the limits to the role of Krishna (except in his theophany to Arjuna) in the plot.

R. Thomas Rosin
Sonoma State University

From Garden Suburb to Olde City Ward: The Social Processes Generating Incrementally the Built Environment

In Nehru's vision for a modern India, the garden suburb fulfills the dream of responsible government serving an educated citizenry that seeks through science to integrate technology and nature into the very construction of their daily life. Yet, one such colony of bungalows and gardens begun in Jaipur in the 1950s, after two generations of incremental building, has become similar to an old city ward with towering courtyard houses (havelis) abutting the property line. This longitudinal study compares the middle class occupants' initial aspirations with real outcomes in built form. A cultural politics, focused on how class identity is constructed, proves less insightful, than an objectivist's investigation of the home as a dynamic site for implementing economic and professional goals, planning for the development cycle of the household, and managing relations with one's neighbors. The built environment is not simply an outcome of regulation, design, and willful intent, such as might be inferred from textual and discursive analyses. The levels of agency and the variety of actors in the social fields that generate the material environment are multiple and complex, demanding an analysis of social interaction and the assessment and representation of aggregate outcomes.
Bengal's topography with large rivers like Ganga and Padma and their numerous tributaries, its climate, with distinctive seasons, and its people, highly emotional and individualistic, have had a tremendous impact on the Bengali writers throughout the ages. From Dineshendu Mitra's *Nil Darpan* to Bankim's *Anandamath* to Narendra Mitra's *Palanka*, Bengali literature is replete with compositions that are a direct response to political situations in Bengal. Rabindranath's songs, poems, plays, etc., bear testimony to the influence of climate on writers.

This paper examines the psychosexual, ethical, and political economies of carnophilia, masculinity, and renunciation in Gandhi's *Autobiography*. Gandhi is almost as noted (or notorious) for his alimentary and gustatory experiments as for his political and sexual ones (and it is hardly difficult to see that they form part of a single associative continuum). As a boy he transgressed caste taboos on both meat-eating and commensality by sharing carnivorous repasts with his friend Sheikh Mehtab. He appears to have developed a certain carnophilia that he associated--in common with many of his contemporaries, Muslim and Hindu, Indian and British--with nationalist duty; meat eating, or a kind of culinary virility would nurture, in the most literal sense, not so much Indian resistance to British rule as an entry into (post)colonial modernity (indeed the two objectives were quite compatible with each other). Meat, in other words, became a sacrificial substance whose introjection and assimilation enabled an address to and a parity with a figure both superior and Other. (In later years Gandhi was to renounce this carnophilic mandate--he himself became a vegetarian of the most ascetic and Tolstovan sort, and on at least two occasions, refused beef broth and eggs for the treatment of his ailing wife and son--but not the terms of this symbolic carnocentric economy.) However, his renunciation of meat eating, at least temporarily, until the death of his parents permitted him to be a public carnivore, also underscores the anthropophagic (and parricidal) scaffolding of meat eating. I hope to use this first account of the eating and abjuration of meat as a point of entry into the investigation of two linked loci of Gandhi's dietary practices: the question of meat and modernity, and the question of meat in the family romance of the patriarchal vegetarian household. My analysis also addresses later developments in Gandhi's philosophy of carnality, including his highly public fasts.
This paper examines the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Indian independence in 1997, focusing primarily on the activities organized by the Indian state. I argue that the construction and legitimation of an institutional identity for the state, and the specification of a particular hierarchical relation between the state and the nation, were the dominant imperatives of the celebrations in the golden jubilee year. I develop this argument through my study of official commemorative practices in 1997. I show that the organizational approach, the discursive conventions, and the thematic content of the fiftieth anniversary celebrations construct a particular statist edifice, and in the name of the nation and national identity, speak of the role, attributes, and relations of the state. I supplement my study of official nationalism with an examination of corporate/commercial commemorative practices in the same period. I show that despite fundamental differences in form and approach, the content of corporate-produced public-sphere celebrations is marked by an institutionalist understanding of Indian identity that mirrors the official nationalist definition of Indianness. This overlap suggests that the genre or convention of nationalist commemorations may well be one in which such formalized and centralized understandings are necessarily reproduced.

This state-centrism of nationalist commemorative practices in India allows me to develop an argument about the broader categories of nationalism and national identity, and to suggest that the ideological work of nationalism is marked by a strong institutional impulse. The nation thus embodies both an expression of identity or sameness, and an expression of subjectivity or the sense of being subject to the power of the state-institution. Consequently, to imagine the nation is also, and equally, to imagine the state.

From the ancient reclamation of low-lying agricultural lands through dikes, rivulets and sluice gates, fish farming in many South Indian coastal villages was a “by-product” of the water management system for subsistence rice production. As it developed over centuries in Goa, this system of fish farming cum agriculture was ecologically balanced. On a rotational basis, some agricultural land was flooded during the dry season for fish and prawn production. Traditional fish farming not only maintained a supply of cheap, local protein, especially during the monsoon, but also assisted in the elimination of weeds and fertilization of fields. Access to ponds and fishing at sluice gates was auctioned to the highest local bidder; other ponds were common resources of tenant farmers entitled to shares of the local catch.

This paper explores the impact of the rise in global demand for shrimp and local fish prices in Goa on these agricultural/fish farming systems and community relations of production. Now subsistence production is in reverse. As fish farming has become more lucrative than rice cultivation, agricultural land has been left fallow or illegally flooded for permanent ponds, creating environmental problems and social tensions in many villages. The recent transition to modern prawn aquaculture has exacerbated ecological imbalances and conflict between villagers, traditional fishing peoples and “outside developers.”
In the last two decades, a number of Pakistani politicians, diplomats, senior civil servants, military officials, social critics, public thinkers and litterateurs have written their autobiographies. Characterized by a mixture of pride, deceit, defensiveness but also remorse, learning and even insight, these self-centered narratives are implicated in the story of a whole generation. Common to these autobiographies are critical evaluations of the various concepts of state, ideology, national identity, religion, democracy, and authority.

These autobiographies (and counter-autobiographies, as in the case of Generals Chisti and Arif) have become specialized modes of testimony, historiography, public debate, institutional analysis, and cultural contest. Taken together these polysemic texts constitute a reasonably coherent national conversation in which everyone is looking for a second chance; a chance to redeem and be redeemed. The confiding eagerness – in Dostoyevsky’s apt phrase – of these elite voices points towards a common pattern of learning and (a vaguely) shared sense of pain. I plan to read some of these autobiographies to look for common patterns of discovery and learning that may hint at new forms of self-understanding and national consciousness.

Since the early 1980's, the Indian party system has undergone a number of significant transformations. Three of these changes are: the rise of a Hindu nationalist party, the growth of caste based parties and the rise to national importance of regional parties. Conventionally these phenomena have been studied in isolation from each other. I will argue that they are best explained if seen in a mutual interrelationship to each other. My analysis will attend throughout to the logic of intentional action on the part of strategic political entrepreneurs, working within a given set of political institutions, giving rise to a process of dynamic party competition. In doing so, I offer a unified framework to understand seemingly disparate phenomenon. Equally crucially this will enable us to understand the evolution of the Indian political system from a one-party dominant system to an era of multiparty coalition governments.
Joined by the philosopher Vallabha Charyya in the early part of the 16th century, the Vaishnavite devotional community known as the Pushti Marga grew by the end of the 17th century into an extremely powerful and wealthy religious community that enjoyed close ties with Rajput kings and the wealthy mercantile community of Gujarat. This paper seeks to argue that the late 17th century marked a crucial point in the institutional development of the Pushti Marga for it was during this period that this community was concerned with trying to consolidate its religious authority and also meet the theological needs of a rapidly growing membership base. This period of consolidation within the Pushti Marga resulted in the production of hagiography known as varta literature which laid out a worldview that stressed the Pushti Marga as a self-sufficient, well-knit community whose members derived their uniqueness from being the recipients of Krishna’s divine grace. The varta literature’s emphasis on divine grace not only fostered a sense of uniqueness among devotees, but it also served to legitimate the claim of Pushti Marga spiritual leaders that, as Krishna’s earthly intermediaries, divine grace could be enjoyed only by their favor.

The connection between space and identity are inter-related processes in Assam. In the 18th c. the penetration of Brahmanic Hinduism attached the people and place of Assam to Hinduism, and following it under British rule the label Assamese was created and entrenched. The recent attempts of the Indian government to construct a homogenous body of “Indian” citizens have led many groups in Assam to question the labels - Assamese and Indian. Alternatively, the label Tai-Ahom has emerged as the identity of people living besides the Luit river (also known as Brahmaputra). Tai-Ahom is deemed as an emotional understanding linked to notions of inferiority in the Luit valley. Notwithstanding, the exchange sphere of the label Tai-Ahom has expanded to include transnational consumers, particularly a powerful group of Thai academics. This paper will document the different labels that emerged and circulated in Assam from 18th c. to now, and identify the different levels of transactions.
Vajrayogini: The Many-Faced Goddess of the Sadhanamala

The goddess Vajrayogini is one of the most fascinating deities of Indian and Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism for a number of reasons. Throughout the history of Mahayana Buddhism, she has been one of the most powerful symbols of the "female" aspect of enlightenment, in some cases being considered near or even equivalent to a Buddha in terms of her level of spiritual attainment. She also is identified with many other important divine and human figures who have played a significant role in Mahayana Buddhism, and thus is considered to have been present in many of the most significant moments of its religious history. The goal of our paper is to investigate the manifold nature of the image of Vajrayogini by examining the portrayal of her in an important Buddhist sadhana (visualization-practice) text from the 12th century, the Sadhanamala. We will discuss the two primary images of Vajrayogini found in this text, and how they are tied to a broader range of both Hindu and Buddhist goddess-imagery. Through this process, we hope to demonstrate the nexus of mythological images that surrounds Vajrayogini in the Indo-Tibetan context.

Madhvacarya on Women, Shudras, and Brahmabandhus, Unworthy Brahmins

Madhva Vedanta, the 13th century school of Indian philosophy founded by Madhvacarya in medieval Karnataka, posits elaborate rules regulating access to certain texts and the transmission of sacred knowledge. Madhvacarya thus allows only a select group to access these texts. In this paper I examine these restrictions and transmission rules as they apply to women, shudras, and brahmabandhus, unworthy brahmins.

The establishment of the doctrines in Madhva Vedanta restricting accessibility centers around Madhvacarya's commentary on the first sutra of the Brahma Sutras of Badarayana; "atha ato brahmajijnasa," "Then, therefore, the inquiry into Brahman." The doctrines found in Madhvacarya's commentary (and the subsequent sub-commentaries) as they pertain to women, shudras, and brahmabandhus have implications with regard to literacy and other social and class oriented matters in medieval Karnataka. These doctrines, moreover, are also linked in an unusual way to myth. Madhva philosophical speculation often seems to be a reaction to (or against) controversies generated by the mythological. This paper, then, is an in depth analysis of several of these restrictive doctrines established by Madhvacarya and his followers and their implications.
Laxman D. Satya

Rolling Local Markets in the Villages of Colonial Berar, 1850-1900

This paper looks at how the local village markets survived despite the constant efforts made by the colonial state to curb them. The tremendous diversity and the rotating nature of these rural markets eluded the strong arm of the state. What was the nature of these village markets which gave them the staying power during the high noon of colonialism? This question will be examined as the main thesis of this paper. How did these rural markets frustrate colonial efforts to control the local economy even though Berar was incorporated into the London based world economy of the nineteenth century. The fascinating story of local economy, society, and culture will form the main body of this paper. Some theoretical formulations on market structures made by Kenneth Hall on Java for classical Southeast Asia and William Cronon on mid-western United States during the nineteenth century will be tested against the evidence from Berar.

Sabina Sawhney

Articulations of Love

Amrita Pritam’s Pinjar is an extraordinarily deft and moving story of a young Hindu woman, Poroo, who is abducted by a Muslim admirer, Rashida, on the eve of her wedding. The novel explores the conflictual emotions of Poroo after her marriage to Rashida and after she gives birth to their son. Poroo’s initial devastation over her abduction and her repulsion towards her husband and son are gradually transformed into an uneasy acceptance of love and family.

My paper explores the way in which Pinjar moves away from a traditional structure of romance towards a more complex delineation of love and belonging. This change is articulated partly in terms of the historical conditions of pre and post-partition Punjab. The motifs of romantic love that Poroo had associated with her Hindu fiancé (before her abduction) continue to surface through the novel, denying Poroo any secure sense of serenity or peace in her married life. In other words; even her later, resigned attempts at translating the imagery of young, romantic love into the formulations of “wedded bliss” are continually frustrated. The heroine’s treacherous emotional life is paralleled by the horrifying events of Partition. Poroo’s story is now endlessly repeated in the innumerable abductions of Hindu and Muslim girls. While doing her utmost to help some of these girls, Poroo is still filled with resentment at the ease with which the recently abducted girls are now accepted by their families. I read the story along with Veena Das’s analysis of the politics of “abduction” during the Partition in order to highlight how such concepts as theft, plunder, and abduction oscillate violently between the politics of gender and the politics of the Partition.
Poetry, perhaps more than any other literary genre, has always taken upon itself the baffling task of representing both the particular and the general, the local as well as the universal. To study the work of Shiv Kumar 'Bateelwi' (1936-1973) is to encounter anew the enigma of this dual movement. While the themes of his poems present a certain universality and bring together different traditions (as in the case of the verse play Loona), their language is strongly rooted in the culture and rhetoric of rural Punjab. The pervasive strength of this attachment becomes most apparent, of course, when one undertakes a translation of the work. In my reading of these poems, I address more generally the place of regional ('minority') literature in the modern world and its paradoxical relation to translation. On the one hand, such work is more or less dependent on translation in order to survive in an increasingly global literary context; and on the other, translation stiles precisely the most compelling aspect of the work. I suggest that the concept of love, as articulated in Shiv Kumar's poetry, might be analogous to the structure of translation: both become at once nectar and poison, that which gives life and that which kills. Like the lover, the translator faithfully follows the path of the beloved, and yet constantly exposes the resilience of alterity. More importantly, both 'love' and 'translation,' as romantic metaphors, hide the political ground on which they act. Shiv Kumar's poetry continually draws attention to the inequality of gender which shapes the form of love as we know it. Correspondingly, the task of translation, for all its worthiness, cannot but participate in the increasing anglicization of the international literary world. The same labor of translation that arises from a love of regional languages also implicitly announces their subordination to a hegemonic and historically oppressive language. Whom or what do we really love when we translate, or conversely, what do we translate when we love?

In the colonial period, the British discourse of religion was often intertwined with that of materiality, blurring the boundaries between colonial conquest and the promotion of faith. For instance, popular British Evangelical literature of the 1850's and 1860's often used the trope of the Christian missionary martyr. After 1857 however, the term "martyr" was used with reference both to Christian missionaries and to arms-bearing British soldiers who died in India during the hostilities. While at one level this change reflected the general moral indignation in Britain over the "Mutiny", at another level it was a stroke of public relations genius which, for the first time, gendered missionaries as positive, manly figures. Our paper discusses two missionary tracts (The Martyr of Delhi and The Martyr of Allahabad) which in contributing to the evolution of "muscular Christianity" in Victorian Britain can also be read as examples of colonial constructs of both self and other that deploy colonial knowledge differently at home and abroad to suit their goals related to this world and those of the next. While the metaphor of soldier as martyr legitimized British political control over India, the metaphor of missionary as soldier conflated moral authority with political authority, thus legitimizing the ideology of the "White Man's Burden."
A Crane is a Crane is a Crane:  
Issues of Form, Meaning, and History in Prakrit and Old Tamil Short Verse

Various comparative studies of early poems composed in Maharastri, Prakrit, and Old Tamil suggest certain aesthetic relationships between these two traditions. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the distinctive similarities found between the Prakrit "Gathasaptasati" (ca. 1st century C.E.) and the Old Tamil anthology "Ainkurunuru" (ca. 4th century C.E.). There are marked "affinities" between these two collections which manifest not just in structural issues (such as meter and stanza length) but also in matters of style, authorial choice, and primarily, in ultimate poetic effect. I will begin my analysis with a Prakrit couplet found in the "Gathasaptasati," and also later reworked in Tamil in a collection of stray verses from a later period. I will then broaden my analysis and compare poems from both anthologies to explore issues in reading and interpretation, ending in speculations on what these issues and affinities might allow us to say about trends in early Indian literary history.

A Venerable Past: Early Nationalist Histories of British-India

"That, which describes the life-story of a nation, is true history," wrote Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay, literary critic, essayist and historian on the publication an early school history textbook in Bengal. R. C. Dutt, a prominent member of the Indian National Congress, researching the Hindu antiquity of India, echoed a similar sentiment: history was an essential exercise that "formed a nation's mind, and a nation's character." M. G. Ranade drew true moral lessons of Indian history from the Marathi Hindu political and cultural effulgence, comparing it to the contribution of Protestantism to the rise of civil liberty in Europe.

Colonial historians of India had endowed her with a history while also condemning its insufficiency. Such allegations were inherited and contested by the early nationalist and middle class literati, spokesmen of a truly Indian heritage. In this paper I outline the beginnings of this rewriting of Indian history, particularly in relation to two major regions and the communities Bengal and Maharashtra. How did the search for a national, moral heritage dovetail into a search for a reliable historical record? How did it subtext a quest for a respectable historical self-image that would identify an educated middle class?
Explanations of Consumption, Commodities and Style Among South Asian-American Youth in Queens

Colored contact lenses, Tommy Hilfiger apparel, beepers... are they worth laboring evenings and weekends as cashiers and fast-food workers? One look at desi youth in Queens, New York confirms that they must be. But why? How do youth make sense of these commodities and technologies, and how do they encompass a spectrum of shifting meanings as teenagers move through various realms of school, family and community? This paper explores some of the links between the everyday lives of desi teenagers and their cultural practices of consumption. The public culture of New York city provides a distinctive set of resources from which youth produce their culture and imparts local character to the often over-generalized notions of diaspora and community.

I will foreground consumption as an active process in which youth are also producers and examine the range of cultural productions of music, dance, and style that emerge from youth engagements with commodities, media and technology. The inherent tension of youth constructing identities through consumption while being targets of innumerable niche markets will also be analyzed. Through these examinations, I will interrogate and extend current arguments about youth culture, subculture, as well as the South Asian diaspora. Rather than analyze the cultural practices of youth exclusively through the lenses of class and ethnicity, or by rigid categories such as "second-generation," I will illustrate the intersection of gender, ethnicity and socio-economic positioning of desi teenagers in Queens through their consumption practices.

Hindu Attitudes Towards Conversion

Part of the current tension among religions in India derives from their differing attitudes towards conversion. The purpose of this presentation is fourfold: (1) to identify the full range of attitudes towards conversion in modern Hinduism; (2) to specify the most influential attitude (or attitudes); (3) to discuss its implications in the context of the attitudes of other religions towards conversion in India and (4) to analyze the significance of the Hindu attitudes to conversion in relation to the provisions of the Indian Constitution in this regard. An attempt will be made in the concluding remarks to move towards a possible solution of the "problem of conversion" from the Hindu point of view.
Migration Across the Southern Border of Nepal

Migration of people across the southern border of Nepal has been a continuous process throughout history. In historic times, people from India moved into the present day Nepal in waves to find haven from social, religious and political persecutions. As the population grew and agricultural land became scarce in Nepal within the last two hundred years, people start moving to the South. An open border and close social and economic ties between India and Nepal have facilitated the continuous movement of people from both sides of the border. The 1961 Indian census recorded 493,400 Nepalese working in India. Within the last thirty years, this number has increased three-fold. In the mean time, people from India also have steadily migrated into Nepal. The Nepalese census of 1961 recorded 337,600 persons as foreign-born, and 96 percent of them were from India. In 1981 there was a significant drop in the number of immigrants to Nepal, which could have been basically due to the misclassification by enumerators and/or willful distortion on the part of respondent to avoid identifying themselves as foreigners. In 1991, the total count was a little less than half a million. Among the foreign-born, more than 40 percent indicated marital relations as the reason for migrating to Nepal. Trade and commerce, agriculture and service were cited as other reasons for migration. This paper will further analyze the source and destination of these international migrants both in Nepal and in India; and will discuss some of its social and economic implications in the nations' economy.

Oppositional Strands in the Literary Discourse in Pakistan: A Study of Iqbal and Faiz

The poetic tradition in the sub-continent, like anywhere else, has served both as a sword and a shield. This is especially so when it forms part of the opposition literature. It acts as a sword when the poet seeks to attack the prevailing political power but dare not do so for fear of serious repercussions. Therefore, one can afford to wield this weapon of the substance of his ideas from behind the cover of one's shield of the poetic form. The poetry of the Pakistani poets, Iqbal and Faiz, are excellent examples of this dual use without violating, even in the least, the beautiful linguistic and literary traditions of Urdu. They both participated in the current discourse on societal issues of their respective times. Prior to the formation of Pakistan, the renowned Urdu poet Iqbal chose the same strategy. On the other hand, he assailed the slavish tendencies of the South Asian masses manipulated by the regressive forces of mysticism and static religious traditions. While he appreciated the concept of equity and justice in socialism, he condemned its secularism and stark materialism. His concept of human development is characterized by the Quranic perspective of unity, balance, justice, and dynamism, and is opposed to any injustice from any source, internal or external. Faiz truly flowers after the formation of Pakistan. His poetry reflects an intense feeling of frustration with the so-called freedom of his country. He is bitterly critical of the lasting exploitative socio-economic structures of the pro-Western Pakistan, which failed to attain the "justice" ingrained in socialism. This paper offers an in-depth analysis of the tradition of oppositional literature, by comparing and contrasting the dynamic philosophy of Iqbal with the static communist ideology of Faiz.
Expanding on Gauri Viswanathan’s recent exploration of the relationship of religious conversion to nationalism in Outside the Fold (Stanford, 1998), in this paper I approach the question of the articulation of nationalism, caste and race in Rabindranath Tagore’s 1913 novel Gora. Tagore’s novel narrates a struggle between competing nationalist strategies: the anti-caste, reformist efforts of Christian converts and Brahmo Samaj, on the one hand; and the more conservative, caste/race-based model of Hinduism (organized by the concept of “jaat” in the novel) in which nationalist momentum comes from the desire to expel outcaste (“mleccha”) westerners, on the other. How does Gora himself fit into this debate? In particular, how does his status as a racial other complicate his self-discovery as an outcaste because of his Irish parentage? The novel’s conclusion indicates that caste is the major barrier to ‘Bharatvarsha’, while race is no barrier at all. However, in a manner strikingly similar to American novels of racial ‘passing’ (such as Nella Larsen’s Passing), Tagore emphatically racializes (or ‘others’) Gora in many places in the novel. Gora’s personality, his body, and especially his name, sharply delineate both his whiteness and his foreignness, even as he is represented as having a particularly intimate connection to the developing Indian nationalist movement. In other words, the text of Gora would seem to ironize its conclusion, while the intricate logics of caste and race, in evidence in the novel as well as in the broader cultural history of the time, show themselves to be deeply intertwined and mutually reinforcing.

This paper will attempt to expand the terms of this ‘caste/race problematic’ out from Tagore’s novel, in order to see how it might pertain to the history of the movement for Dalit identity and empowerment, as well as to the problem of communalism, both of which continue to complicate articulations of Indian nationalism to this day. I am primarily working from the new translation of Gora by Sujit Mukherjee (Sahitya Akademi, 1996), with reference to the original Bangla where warranted.

J. B. Jackson (1997) defines landscape as a collection of man-made spaces on the land. Reading the cultural landscape involves ascertaining social and religious influences in organizations of spaces. I suggest that place archetypes may be a useful way to do this reading. The paper develops this concept in the context of the Indian subcontinent. Place archetypes are defined as places that are repeatedly found through time in a civilization, that are symbolic of its most cherished ideals and are therefore experienced as meaningful. Brill (1994) believes them to be charged, resonating with an inherited memory. According to Jungian theory, they are created from templates deeply embedded in the collective unconscious. Place archetypes are a consequence of human efforts in imposing order upon the natural world. Significant place archetypes in Indian landscapes include—resting places under shade trees kunds (water tanks), ghats (steps) on the banks of a river or lake, pradakshina (circumambulatory) paths, courtyards, and temple shrines based upon mandala plans. Examples from different regions in the subcontinent show that these forms have remained quintessentially same through time. Their universality and constancy are reflective of deeply held cultural values towards nature. Place archetypes are discussed in mythology and legends, expressed in paintings and sculpture and given an architectonic form in house, temple and city.

The 'woman question,' as it had appeared hitherto in the discourses of both British colonialists and Indian nationalists in India, underwent a critical transformation in the decades of the 1920s and 30s in late colonial India. British imperialist-feminists and Indian nationalist-feminists competed with each other for the reappropriation of the 'woman question.' The nascent all-India women's movement with its predominantly elite and middle-class membership, as I will demonstrate, was the more successful in refashioning the 'woman question' in late colonial India. My further point, moreover, is that the success of the early women's movement in India depended not so much on the assertion of national and/or cultural difference, but on the claims of an internationalism based on the essential unity of 'women'. It was, indeed, the internationalism of the early women's movement in India that was crucial for its contribution to the nationalist project in India.

This paper examines the relationship between the symbolic politics of language and the practical pedagogical import of minority language use in education in the context of North India. Two cases of minority language demands will be compared and contrasted: those of (1) Nepali-speakers in the Darjeeling area of West Bengal; and (2) Urdu-speakers in Uttar Pradesh. In both cases, the symbolic politics of seeking official recognition has taken precedence over minority language use in education. But the trajectory of demands and accommodation has differed between the two, with Nepali receiving state level recognition decades before receiving federal (Union level) recognition, and Urdu following the sequence in reverse, with federal recognition preceding state recognition. It will be argued that these two North Indian cases reveal much about the political context of language policy in federal liberal democracies. The administrative unit responsible for language policy (federalism), the ideological context in which the policy is justified (liberalism), and the process through which the policy is formulated (democratic) all temper the strategies adopted by linguistic minorities in India to safeguard their interests.
In 1996, the Miss World Beauty Pageant, held in Bangalore, India, for the first time, was transformed into a global media spectacle for more reasons than the most obvious one. Protests from groups of various stripes—diverse women’s groups, right-wing and left-wing political groups, religious groups, rural groups, and so on—constituted multiple voices in constructing the Indian “woman” and “nation” against the backdrop of globalization, or contesting such essential constructions. These voices were heard, in a rare orchestrated instance, in the global public space constituted by the various global media.

This paper explores the constructions of woman and nation in the news coverage of the pageant. Newspaper coverage in India (host), Britain (where the international pageant idea was born in the early nineteen eighties), and the United States (where the pageant idea was refined) are examined. An interplay of three noticeable features of globalization was apparent in the coverage—(1) space—the city, the territorially bounded country, public and private domains of the home and the outside, (2) time—invoking the colonial past, appeals to modernity of the present, future-oriented thinking, and (3) capital—the city and country as potential global investment draws, drawing on cultural capital through appeals to the exotic in foreign audiences. It is argued that these features served to produce multiple identities of the “Indian woman” in relation to the idea of the Indian nation, and to circulate this identity in the global symbolic arena.

This paper examines the ways in which marriage was mobilized in the service of nationalism in colonial India. Specifically, I focus on the marriage reforms instituted by the Dravidian movement in the Tamil speaking regions of Madras presidency during the early decades of the 20th century. Leaders of the movement, including E.V. Ramasami, sought to develop an entirely new ideology of marriage—an ideology which was caste and gender egalitarian, and which rejected Hindu ritual practices. This ideology was institutionalized in the context of a new kind of wedding ceremony, known variously as a “Tamil wedding” or a “Self Respect wedding”. Shorn of any religious ritual or symbolism, these wedding ceremonies insisted on the equality of the bride and groom, eliminated the mediation of a Brahman priest, and relied on Tamil rather than the Sanskrit language. I will consider how these weddings functioned as a powerful symbol for Dravidian nationalism in order to argue that the new relationship between husband and wife became a foundation for social relations within the Dravidian ‘nation’ as a whole. At the same time, I investigate to what extent the wedding served literally to create a Dravidian national community—a community which transcended localized boundaries of caste, kinship and endogamy to participate in a wider, national arena of politics and culture.
Audiences of popular Indian cinema practice a viewing style that is overtly participatory and interactive. In the public setting of the cinema theater, viewers not only whistle and cheer frequently, but routinely shout out to characters and stars as they repeat on-screen dialogue or improvise dialogue in response to on-screen events. As all popular Indian films are musicals where the narrative is punctuated at regular intervals by operatic song and dance sequences, viewers frequently sing along with the soundtrack and may dance standing up in their seats or below the screen. Such activities transform the collective experience in the theater. However such elaborations by audiences are not restricted to the screening setting or the moment of viewing. Fans garland the plywood cut-outs of stars erected outside the theater and may decorate theater exteriors. Fans also organise and participate in processions complete with fireworks and drums to celebrate a newly-released film featuring their idol. Such activities on the part of audiences reveal that they are involved in contributing to the meaning and experience of cinema and therefore in its production. Compared to their western counterparts, Indian audiences are less distant and alienated from the cultural product. They provide a strategic site for examination of de Certeau's (1984) rather abstract critique of consumption as a "silent" or hidden production.

The relationship of contemporary religious movements and Hindu ideologies to the South Asian City in the post-independence period has been extremely ambivalent. On the one hand, there has been a multiplication of urban-based cults, but on the other hand, there are highly differentiated paradigms about the city and its social fields: a celebration of the rural alongside a hyper-masculine, urban, blatantly violent vision. The cult of Sathya Sai Baba (d. 1926) is perhaps unrivaled among modern South Asian religious movements in terms of its spread and the well-established nature of its cult organization. This paper analyzes the Sai Baba movement and its vision of and relationship to the city. It will focus on neighborhood centers and one of Sai Bab's main ashrams in the Bangalore metropolitan area. It will outline the structure of knowledge and practice of his urban following and its millenarian vision. The paper proposes to understand this movement as a model of citizenship and suggests that in contrast to Hindutva models, it deploys another set of representations about modernity and the city.
In this paper I discuss my experience of preparing the book I edited *Facing the Mirror: Lesbian Writing from India* (Penguin, 1999). Among other methodological issues, I discuss questions of anonymity (most of the writers used pseudonyms), identity (the book includes writings by bisexuals, married women, and transsexuals), and “authenticity” (I received writings from several men who claimed to be lesbians trapped in male bodies). I also discuss the reception of the book in India, reviews, readers' responses, and the way this reception was impacted by the contemporaneous controversy around *Fire*, wherein some organizations and individuals had characterized lesbianism as a Western import, prevalent only among the urban decadent elite.

One of the topics of discussion in recent philosophy of religion has centered around the concepts of 'Pluralism,' 'Inclusivism,' and 'Exclusivism.' Proponents of Pluralism like John Hicks and others have very often included aspects of Indian [Hindu] Philosophy, especially Vedanta Philosophy, as part of their arguments for Pluralism in religions. This paper considers how a 'generic' and 'composite' form of Indian Philosophy is substituted for Hindu religion in the discussions of Pluralism in the North American context. Such representation does not aid in a rigorous philosophical discussion of Pluralism, nor would it contribute to promoting Pluralism. On the other hand, strict adherence to the Vedanta Philosophy in all its variations offers a better point of departure for a discussion in philosophy of religion for Pluralism.
This paper analyzes the critical role played by James Tod in the transformation of Prithviraj Cauhan from a heroic Rajput ancestor into a Hindu nationalist icon. On the one hand, Tod helped perpetuate a highly romanticized portrayal of this twelfth-century king which had been transmitted in the medieval Prithviraj Raso ballad. Because Tod took the ballad’s account for truth, Western scholarship accepted its characterization of the king as historic fact throughout much of the nineteenth century. When early Indian nationalists looked back into their past for authentic patriotic models, the larger-than-life attributes Prithviraj Cauhan had acquired in the ballad made him a logical candidate. Furthermore, Tod provided much of the stimulus for the nationalist metamorphosis of Prithviraj Cauhan into a representative of all Hindus in their age-old struggle against foreign oppression. Tod not only repeatedly described the king as the “last of the Hindu emperors of India” (because Prithviraj’s defeat in the 1192 Battle of Tarain to Muhammad Ghor led to centuries of Muslim rule), but he also cast Prithviraj as a founding father of the Rajput nation. The dialogic relationship between indigenous and Western constructions of the Indian past is hence well illustrated in this case study.

In his autobiography, Dalit writer and activist Daya Pawar describes his surprise when, at a Marathi literary conference in the 1970s, a person came up and asked him not about his recent book but whether it was really true that he, and other Dalits, ate the flesh of dead cattle. Pawar added that it was not the kind of question he was accustomed to confronting, and he attributed it to the space of the conference itself where he was present both as a writer and as a Dalit. As Baudelaire says of the modern boulevard in Western Europe, so too, I believe, the literary gathering has been a crucial site of the face to face meeting of previously segregated social groups in India in a context where these groups are symbolically equal as modern literates. At the same time, these gatherings have also reflected the invention of past traditions, in their choice of location and in their formal presentation. During the first Marathi Sahitya Sammelan organized by M. G. Ranade in 1898, mostly higher caste Marathi literates and activists from across the Bombay Presidency met under the rubric of the language-based ethnic politics that emerged from colonial education practices and that were eventually incorporated within the nationalist movement. As Chatterjee reminds us, however, the nationalists produced their particular narratives of the Indian past, present and future by suppressing possible internal challenges to these narratives. Amongst these challenges, B. R. Ambedkar and the subsequent political and cultural work of “untouchables” are especially significant; today, the problem of caste and the location of the Indian Dalit in the national imaginary, I argue, continue to burden the Indian nation-state. This paper will explore how the problem of caste becomes manifest and is enacted in collective events such as the annual Marathi Sahitya Sammelan and other smaller urban literary gatherings. I use the arguments and deeper contradictions within the Marathi literary sphere (both past and present) as a point of entry into a discussion of the changing role of the Dalit writer in contemporary Marathi society, and of the changing critiques of nationalism they have inspired and also self-consciously articulated.
Legalizing Patriarchy

The emphasis on the "legalization" of women's rights in Nepal (for example the bills for equal property rights for women and limited rights to abortion currently being presented in parliament) are usually read in the context of the official rhetoric of the march to modernization and progress - the steady accumulation of rights that is leading to the erosion of the power of traditional patriarchy. In this paper I will show how a closer examination of the rights that have been accumulated by Nepali women reveals the need for a more ambiguous reading that problematizes any straightforward claim of a legal discourse of progress. More specifically, the historical progression of legal rights can be seen as mapping a shift in the forms of control under which women in the political community of Nepal live. With this in mind, the strategies undertaken to further women's rights need to be more rigorously thought through for their implications.

International Law and Prostitution in Early Twentieth Century Bombay

This paper charts the rise of the discourse of trafficking in legal debates on prostitution in India, with Bombay as the focus. The language of trafficking came to prevail at the turn of the century in internationalist anti-prostitution initiatives. The adoption by India of international conventions on the 'white slave traffic' had curious repercussions in local legislative and enforcement contexts. Prostitution had long been considered a social problem, but the turn towards trafficking significantly informed legislative debates and enforcement practices in the 1920s and 1930s. Negotiations of international prescriptions will be examined in the context of Bombay. International law has often been synonymous with idealist positions; in the case of international laws on prostitution, something other than progress has resulted for those most affected by these laws. The discourse of trafficking lingers till today in global initiatives; its early history in a specific context will be elaborated here.
Anupama Taranath

The Documentation of Desire: Photographic Practice and Sexual Discourse in Colonial India

This interdisciplinary paper examines visual and historical representations of the Indian prostitute during late-nineteenth century colonial India in order to investigate how modernity's representations of the "diseased female body" took shape in the expanding market of photography. As urbanization and industrialization created unprecedented growth in cities throughout Britain, prostitution and the numbers of reported venereal diseases skyrocketed; corresponding anxieties about the sexual female body worked its way into repressive legislation such as the Contagious Disease Act of 1864. The CDAs were exported to the Indian colony soon after their implementation in England. The exportation of legislation targeting Indian sexuality, I argue, corresponded with the exportation of the mass culture of photography into India. British and Indian photographers were constantly seeking new objects of study; my paper explores how the codification and legislation of Indian sexuality produced such a new object for visual consumption. I investigate how visual representations of the Indian woman shifted as the CDAs in effect "created" an sexual object of study, discipline, and photographic representation. How did modernism and changing notions of Victorian sexuality get written on the body of the Indian woman? As the discourse of sexuality exploded during this era, did Indian images with erotic content noticeably challenge previous images, or were the shifts more subtle and less obvious? Such are the questions I seek to explore in this paper.

Gary M. Tartakov

Navayana Architecture

The Navayana Buddhists have developed two important architectural forms, based somewhat on previous Buddhist precedents: a vihara-meeting hall and a stupa-monument. A study of these forms reveals both the uniqueness of the Navayana path, with its very concrete expression of contemporary Dalit interests, and the nature of its roots in earlier Indian Buddhist traditions. I will discuss both the contemporary vihara type and the key monuments at the Diksha Bhumi in Nagpur, site of the beginning of the great conversion movement, and the Chaitya Bhumi at Worli, Mumbai, the site of B. R. Ambedkar's cremation.
Arundhati Roy's first novel *The God of Small Things* has garnered a lot of attention but few engaging critical discussions since it came out in 1997. Most of its reviewers focus on the Indian author's style, comparing it to Salman Rushdie's magical realism. In my paper I want to propose a reading of Roy's book as an answer to Bruce King's question: "Is this the age of post-modernist post-colonialism?" (1996). Roy's choice of John Berger's statement "Never again will a single story be told as though it is the only one" as an epigraph to *The God of Small Things* indicates at the start one of the novel's main concerns—the production of history as an ideological enterprise, which becomes particularly oppressive in the context of an ex-colony. Situated at the intersection of postmodernism's preoccupation with historical narrative and postcolonialism's concern with power, Roy's book is particularly suitable for an investigation of the relationship between the two major theoretical paradigms. I will argue that Roy complicates the postmodern opening up of the grand narrative of History by positing the ethics of love from the Great Indian Stories as an alternative to global History's oppressive "Love Laws." Thus, the author answers the postcolonial need for what Kwame Anthony Appiah cells "an ethical universal" that can prevent (neocolonial) exploitation from being "understood, legitimated, in its own local terms" (1991). In a reality haunted by social laws and (post-) colonial power structures, the protagonists of *The God of Small Things* can function as "real" human beings only by believing in a relational ethics based on love.

This paper draws attention to two aspects of merchant capital. Firstly, it encourages commodity production while it fails to revolutionize production or its capacity to profit through unequal exchange without entering directly into production. Secondly, merchant capitals continued dominance in the periphery, even after industrial capital has assumed its rightful position at the helm in advanced capitalist societies, results in crises in the periphery and creates hurdles in the path of capitalist development.

The paper addresses the articulation of merchant capital in Goa, India. The paper explores the conditions in the colonial Goan economy and the Portuguese empire at large during the 19th and 20th century that contributed to the emergence the Hindu mercantile elite. The second section analyzes the political alliances forged by the Goan elite to sustain their dominance over the post-colonial Goan economy. The paper contributes to our understanding of how colonialism influences the of post-colonial societies and its location within the hierarchy of today's global economy.
Jyotsna Uppal  
City University of New York, Queens College

Consumption and Corporeality:  
Diet and the Configuration of Arya Manhood in the Writings of Dayananda Saraswati

The notion of individual and collective degeneracy is a central theme in the writings of Dayananda Saraswati and the Arya Samaj. This discussion resonates in polemics on the need to maintain an equilibrium of bodily fluids, guard against sexual impropriety, and preserve a relationship between ascetic ideals and alimentary regimens. Dayananda and members of the Arya community sought to resuscitate the dying social body of Hindu society by restoring to the individual authority over his body and life through the moral imperative of self improvement. The Arya formulation of a corporeal ethics sought to link the practices one exercised over one's own body to a conception of Arya manhood and the common good.

In this paper I will examine the discipline of the male body in the discussion of dietary standards. In the texts of Dayananda and in the Arya Samaj reform agenda we see the emergence of a corporeal ethics at the nexus between food, health, sex and the body, which seeks to define an ideal of regenerated Hindu masculinity and nationhood. The new bodies that emerged from the disciplinary regimen of care found their moorings in evocations of the past or a sense of continuity with an imagined tradition born from the politics of nineteenth century reform. Arya men, through prescriptive forms of everyday living, defined a normative Hindu male culture which was to be responsible for the terms of a revitalized Hindu civilization.

Vamsicharan Vakulabharanam  
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

The Dark Side of White Gold: Globalization and Agrarian Change in Telangana

This paper will study the changes in agrarian structure in the last fifteen years in the region of Telangana in the context of two large-scale changes. Starting in 1983, there has been a significant shift to cotton (also known as white-gold) cultivation from other crops such as food grains and millets. This new phase of commercialization of agriculture in Telangana has been accentuated by the introduction of globalization policies since 1991. While commercialization and globalization have been expected to improve the conditions at least of cash-crop cultivators, Telangana has recently witnessed a spate of suicides - 400 cotton farmers killed themselves in 1998. This is the paradox that will be analyzed in this paper.
How Does Modern Schooling Shape Caste Practices Amongst Nepali Youth?

Based on ethnographic material collected regularly since 1994 in an urban squatter settlement in Kathmandu, this paper addresses the relationships between the process of formal schooling and caste identity of urban Nepalese children. When talking about caste, children as well as adults often reject traditional caste values and norms. However, when it comes to the influence of caste in everyday practice, there are significant empirical differences between children and adults. Children are taught and learn the practice of caste from an early age, they know caste rules and restrictions, yet they often act and interact across traditional caste boundaries, for example in relation to commensality, and contrary to the prescribed rules to a degree which is seldom seen among the adults. The aim of this paper is to analyze these changing caste practices in relation to children's experiences of modern schooling. Even though school enrollment rate and attendance is still relatively low in Nepal, there has been a significant increase in the number of children attending school, particularly in the urban areas, compared to their parents and grandparents generation. Not only does the school occupy an increasing amount of children's time, it also provides new opportunities for social interaction between children from different castes.

In the theoretical literature, the relation between children and caste has mostly been explained within the framework of classical socialization theories which assume that children gradually acquire and passively transmit the culture of the society in which they grow up from one generation to another. From this point of view, children will learn and internalize caste values, rules and behavior as they grow up, but they are reduced to passive recipients of cultural values and not considered agents in social change themselves. Drawing on recent theories of children as actors in social and cultural reproduction, the aim of this paper is to throw light not only on children's own experiences and reconstructions of caste, but also on the changing role and meaning of caste in modern Nepal.

Female Renunciation and the Terapanthi Moral Order

This paper will examine the importance of the worldly/transcendent split in the Terapanthi worldview and its implications for female renunciation. Renunciation brings to society a recognition of an irreparable rupture or breach between the 'worldly' and the 'transcendent', and the ascetic is the dominant symbol of this breach. Within the Jain community, parallels are commonly drawn between the religiosity of lay and ascetic women. Female religious practice is analogous across the worldly/transcendent divide in its emphasis on withdrawal from worldly activities, restrained bodily demeanour and the performance of austerities. Denial, difference, rejection etc. - are some of the idioms of renunciation used to define a process of un-doing which makes ascetic initiation so spectacular and makes the ascetic a symbol of otherness. I argue that for ascetic women of the Terapanthi order, their public denial of the world is more circumscribed than it is for men, and the fabric of their ascetic lives is perceived as less a renunciation than an extension and intensification of what came before. I suggest that the gendered universes from which women and men 'opt out' are centrally implicated in the type of stance they take vis-a-vis the ascetic ideal.
This paper examines two sites of representation of same-sex desire in modern urban India: Indian language fiction, including English fiction written in India, and English language advertising in newspapers, magazines and hoardings. In the aftermath of the Wilde trials, the new homophobia that had arisen in colonial India, signaled most dramatically by the enactment of Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code, was marginally evident in early twentieth-century Indian fiction and non-fiction. I have studied some of these trends in *Same-Sex Love in India* (forthcoming St Martin’s 1999). From the 1960s onwards, a number of novels began to be written with homosexual figures as the main protagonists and homosexuality as a central theme. Most of these were about women rather than men, and the homophobic plots ranged from “curing” lesbianism by marriage to punishing it with rape, suicide and/or murder. My examples are drawn from Bengali, Hindi and English. In contrast, some shorter fiction in the 1970s and 1980s projected more positive images. From early in the 1980s, however, advertisements in English-language newspapers and magazines foregrounded homoeroticism through suggestive images and captions, seeming to aim simultaneously at a larger audience that might miss the subtext and a smaller audience that might get it. In the 1990s, this trend has become overt with explicitly homoerotic advertisements playfully and seriously selling commodities encoded with a message of rebellious pleasure. I will suggest some ways in which these contemporary and sometimes conflicting trends can be understood. I will show some slides of advertisements to illustrate my points.

In May 1998, India conducted a series of underground nuclear tests. The Indian government’s press release announcing the first three tests concluded with a reiteration of India’s commitment to the cause of ‘global nuclear disarmament’ and a willingness to conditionally accept the terms of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Despite the flurry of condemnation from other States, India not only went ahead with two more tests that “successfully completed the planned series”, but also continued to emphasize its willingness to work towards “a nuclear-free world”. The scenario that emerged was a puzzling one – a State that claimed that it was committed to working towards the goal of a nuclear-free world while acting in a manner that seemed to threaten that goal. How do we make sense of this event? On one reading, there is a disjunction between the claims made by the actors and the act itself. In this paper, I show that some of the main explanations proffered, overcome this disjuncture by discounting the state’s claims and privileging the ‘act’ which is supposed to be more ‘real’. In the case of the Indian nuclear tests, the explanation that they end up with using this method is one which refuses to take seriously the claims made by the main actors themselves. These explanatory models dismiss the statements about “working towards nuclear disarmament” and present the tests as a radical break from India’s post-independence nuclear policy. Such an explanation disregards the interpretation of the actors themselves that the tests were a continuation of the nuclear policy followed by Jawaharlal Nehru and his successors. This disregard leads to some systematic anomalies difficulties in explaining Indian nuclear policy. I argue that the only way we can advance a conceptually and empirically adequate argument and make sense of the Indian nuclear tests is by taking the claims made by the actors seriously and situating them within a particular understanding of India’s postcolonial identity.
This paper offers some reflections on the complexities of class within South Asian-America "communities." Based on preliminary ethnography of South Asian small business in urban centers such as New York, Houston or Chicago, this paper analyzes the relationship between small business owners and low wage immigrant workers on the one hand and family workers on the other. The analysis attempts to bring out the complexities in conceiving class in such a context - where while the conditions of labor are often very exploitative, both the business owners and the low wage labor operate within a ambiguous space of "community" and most specifically around notions of how the "community takes care of its members."

Even as the call for multicultural curricula by ethnic minorities in prestigious liberal arts colleges across North America multiplies, the backlash against it signaled by California style anti-immigrant initiatives, sharpens the battle lines being drawn. While one clearly welcomes even the small space the academy bravely opens by permitting teaching curricula that go beyond the Euro-American experience, we need to be mindful of the manner in which these changes translate themselves in the everyday life of the academy. Taking up the Indian film, Bandit Queen (1994), which reflects a particular moment in India's contemporary political discourse and is tied to the sub-continent's colonial history, I discuss the formidable challenge teaching such a film to audiences from a different culture poses by locating the film historically, the controversies surrounding it, and the complex international film industry practice it represents. While films, like literature, serve as cultural envoys and add to the much needed diversity within academic curricula, how do we meet the pedagogical challenge of studying global cultures, yet resist providing the sensory gratification that a cultural economy of abundance makes available through facile cultural retrieval? How do we welcome anti-eurocentricism yet deny it as an experience akin to sampling cuisines from other cultures or a touris's exotic vacation travel.
Historically, the development of U.S. Ethnic Studies was marked by a desire to record the social struggles of its communities, and there was no doubt that such documentation was seen to carry a positive political charge. The struggle to constitute a "Third World College" during the Vietnam era at UC Berkeley for example, meant that one of the genealogies of ethnic studies was predicated upon an anti-imperial critique of area studies. To some extent, this dynamic has marked the formation of what is now being called South Asian-American Studies (SAAS). That is, the critique of South Asian Area Studies necessarily informs SAAS. More importantly, we will suggest that SAAS cannot proceed without analysis of how "community" is constituted in the South Asian subcontinent. The relationship between South Asian-American Studies and "community" has become increasingly politicized in another sense as well. The economic process of globalization has affected foundational support for area studies, the idea being that as markets in Asia are liberalized, the subject of study should not be cultural configurations, or culture areas (what makes people distinct), but processes of westernization (what makes people the same). We are told that area studies are in crisis, and that as foundational and government support for such programs disappears, the "community" is an under-explored financial resource that the University must develop. And yet only certain communities are made responsible for raising monies for the continued study of their regions of the world or subject of study. We are particularly interested in reading the intersection between ethnic studies and area studies, or more particularly, between South Asian studies and South Asian-American Studies for signs of the construction of this crisis.

In the oral epic known as Dhola, performed by lower caste rural males in western U.P. and eastern Rajasthan, the hero, Raja Nal, is often sent into disguise as he seeks to aid himself or his kin. In one episode, Raja Nal and his then wife Motini take on the disguises of Nats, acrobats, in order to free Nal's jailed parents. Nal loses his Rajput maleness and complains bitterly about the loss of his clothing, his hair, his beard. Motini, in contrast, takes on an alluring sexuality, beautifying herself for all to see. Both whose sexuality is dominant and the meanings of maleness and femaleness shift as their caste positions change. While Dhola is located in the patriarchal, hierarchical world of north India, it opens new possibilities for interrogating the meanings of sexuality in Hindu society.
Joanne P. Waghorne
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Sacred Space/Secular Space/Urban Space: The Goddess Temple in Colonial and Contemporary Chennai

In India, the great historical temple cities or the pilgrimage centers dominate any database search of urban and sacred. But the modern Indian city, especially the colonial port cities of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, are dotted with temples built during and after the colonial period. In Madras, newly wealthy Hindu merchant communities constructed temples within a decade of the founding of Fort St. George, long before British residents of the fort built St. Mary's Church. How does such constructed "Hindu" sacred space fit into the heterogeneous urban landscape?

In an article that will appear in the Journal of Asian Studies in August, I ask this question of the main-stream temples built on the one hand by the dominate caste communities and on the other by a rising new middle-class. For this paper, I will ask the same question from another vantage point: amman koyil in colonial and contemporary Chennai. The Goddess has always been a marker and a guardian of space. Temples dedicated to her forms as Kali, Mariamman, Durge, or Draupati-amman appear on all colonial maps and continue to gain devotees today. What kind of space/s did/does the goddess create in the secular city?

A. Martin Wainwright
University of Akron

Destitute Indians in Britain and the Construction of Indian Social Strata among British Elites c.1885-1910

Using records from British government and charitable organizations, my paper examines the ways in which British elites applied their own criteria of social hierarchy to determine appropriate responses to cases of Indian destitution in Britain from 1885 to 1910. During this period hundreds of cases of destitute Indians came to the attention of British poor law guardians, charitable organizations, and the India Office. The Indians involved came from a wide variety of social backgrounds, including students, nannies, and sailors. Many appealed to governmental authorities or charitable institutions for financial aid or repatriation. British administrators responsible for these cases favored Indians whom they perceived to be respectable. The criteria for this informal classification varied. Most often, however, it depended upon the administrators understandings of Indian social strata and how these translated into British equivalents. Many Indian applicants for aid reinforced these essentially British constructions of their social standing in order to receive assistance. The plight of destitute Indians in Britain, therefore, helped to construct the identities of diaspora Indians in a British image.
Amanda Weldman
Columbia University

Can the Subaltern Sing? Music, Subjectivity, and Language Politics in South India

In the 1930s and 40s, two interconnected debates, one about music as a language, and the other about language in music, became salient in the South Indian music world. This paper focuses on the way these debates were raised in the context of the Tamil Music Movement of the 1930s to 50s, which demanded more songs with Tamil words in a Karnatic concert repertoire heavily dominated by Telugu songs. The demands of this movement, and the arguments against it, raised several questions: What was the relationship of words, or sounds of language, to music? Was understanding the words to a song important? Were Tamil songs truly 'classical'? What, in fact, was 'classical music'? The effects of these debates were that a new kind of relationship between music and the singing/listening subject was assumed, and that meaning came to be located in the words rather than in the music itself. Such effects were foundational to the politics of music within which Karnatic music came to be defined as 'classical' while film and devotional music were relegated to the realm of 'light music'. The final part of the paper considers the implications of these issues in the present-day South Indian music world.

Ian Wendt

Inter-Weaving Communities: Indian Textile Industry and Trade in the 17th Century

The Indian textile industry provides a concrete medium to investigate the relationships and interactions between the numerous communities involved in productions and trade. This paper will follow the textile industry from manufacture to market to consumption. It will focus on the nuanced and often fluid relationships between professional and caste groups. It will show that these social and economic relationships, influenced by changing circumstances and rational responses, were more complex and dynamic than the common generalizations concerning Indian social structures allow. Regions of high demand and production witnessed a corresponding increase in occupational diversity and hierarchy. In addition, increased organization and division of labor did not preclude regular overlapping of occupational activities. Common weavers often kept one foot in the agricultural world while also buying and selling in markets. Throughout the process of industrial production and trade merchants and master weavers, as producers, agents, buyers and sellers, wore numerous hats in their varied interactions. An analysis of the scholarship on the Indian textile industry enables us to reassess our understanding of fundamental social issues.
Jennifer Wenzel

To Love, Develop or Destroy?: Rhetorics of Relationship between Adivasis and the Nation of India

Bengali writer and activist Mahasweta Devi has argued that the "double task" of those who would work on behalf of India's tribal peoples is "to resist 'development' actively and to learn to love." Such a statement might suggest that Mahasweta favors a sentimental protectionism; in the context of her work, however, "love" means recognizing and facilitating tribals' agency and participation in "development" efforts that evolve from within communities, rather than being imposed upon them. But neither Mahasweta's statement nor her work can be fully understood without a consideration of Jawaharlal Nehru's and Verrier Elwin's arguments about the proper relationship between the tribes and the nation. Both men advocated a "psychological approach," where "sympathetic administrators" with "affection and respect" for the tribals would gain their trust and lead them gently along a path of economic development and national integration; in this view, love for the tribals would make the difference between destruction and development. Examining Mahasweta's fiction and journalism, Nehru's speeches and tribal pancha shila, and Elwin's "philanthropological" writing, I show how Mahasweta condemns the results of tribal policies shaped by Nehru's and Elwin's principles, at the same time that she marshals the transformative power of their rhetoric and recuperates their calls to love the tribals.

Emily Blanchard West

Women's Advice in Greek and Sanskrit Epic

While the epic archetype of the counselor figure may be an older male character, such as the Mahabharata's Vidura, or Nestor from the Iliad, they are by no means the only really competent advisors. The epics host a continual parade of female characters delivering helpful, well-reasoned, clearly-expressed advice to male characters who often request it, and who frequently follow it. In fact, a clear and repeating pattern presents itself, in the epics of both Greece and India, in which a male character who finds himself in a dilemma immediately turns to a female character for advice and assistance. This paper will employ a comparative approach to discuss the way women's advice is portrayed, both at the level of the narration, and by the characters who receive the advice, to determine the role of advice-giving in the structure of the epics, and the nature of the authority and intelligence these epics attribute to their prominent female characters.
Since the end of the Cold War, the presence of "Civil Society" has been increasingly invoked by Human Rights NGOs and some applied anthropologists as a key to preventing excesses by both state and anti-state power. Is Civil Society a human imperative? Attempts to apply this notion to the ethnic war raging on Sri Lanka's east coast since 1983 will be discussed by this paper. It will be argued, ethnographically and theoretically, that "Civil Society" approaches might work, but only if notions of the "civil" they presume are radically reworked according to local, more strategic views of the political. 

This paper links evidence from recent fieldwork on Bangladeshi laments with ethnographic and historical accounts of laments and related folk performances in South Asia to argue for a model of the political history of genres. In my 1992 fieldwork in the Matlab area of Bangladesh, I made field recordings of several individuals performing spontaneous *bilaap*—melodic, wept words of grief and protest—and of interviews on the reasons why two such performances were violently suppressed. In 1996 I conducted more interviews that uncovered modernist and Islamist-reformist sentiments underlying the critique and suppression of women's spontaneous laments. Historical accounts indicate that both Bengali women's folk performances (which must have included *bilaap*)—and (the most emotional forms of) public *marsiya* performances—came under pressure from British and Bengali middle class (*bhadralok*) critics of public culture, and from Islamic reformists. Rather than taking "secularist" and "Islamist" critiques of contemporary lament in Bangladesh to reflect contradictory threads, this paper proposes a postcolonial model for the tensions surrounding such genres and for transformations in their status, form, and function. In particular, I show how colonialist, modernist, and religious-reformist discourses merge in the condemnation of certain ways of performing gender, certain genres associated particularly with women.
Richard Wolf
Harvard University

The Aesthetics of Drumming in Ritual Mourning

Throughout South Asia drums are used not only for festive occasions such as weddings but also for sad or emotionally mixed occasions such as Hindu funerals and Muslim Muharram observances. In this paper I explore the subtleties of how such drumming is interpreted and understood by performers and listeners. The scope is geographically broad, including locations scattered widely in both Pakistan and India. I will discuss three themes, one or more of which apply to each of the traditions I have examined: 1) The role of drums as textual surrogates, 2) The association of certain kinds of drums with particular emotions or events, and 3) Specific qualities of drumming, such as tempo and timbre, that listeners interpret aesthetically to be connected to particular emotional qualities. The paper concludes with an analysis of why certain commonalities may be observed among ritual drumming processes in South Asia. The research for this paper is drawn both from doctoral research on tribal and folk music in south India, 1990-92, and research on ritual drumming in Pakistan and India (11/96-2/99).

Keiko Yamanaka
University of California, Berkeley

Nepalese Visa-Overstayers in Japan: Communities and Organizations for Social Survival

By the mid-1990s an estimated 3,000 Nepalese had joined 300,000 other immigrants to provide Japan with a pool of unskilled, undocumented foreign workers. This study reports on the social lives, community activities and mutual support organizations of these Nepalese visa-overstayers, based on interviews, surveys and observations conducted in Nepal and Japan between 1994 and 1998. The population comprises primarily working age males of Tibeto-Burman speaking groups from western and eastern Nepal. They are willing to endure the hardships inflicted upon undocumented laborers and foreigners in jobs that are demanding and dangerous, in exchange for the relatively high wages they can earn. In their scarce free time they have established a variety of both intra- and inter-ethnic/caste based organizations. They sponsor Buddhist and Hindu ceremonies, provide cultural and sports events, publish newsletters and magazines, collect donations for ailing and injured compatriots, contribute to Nepalese charities, and collaborate with Japanese voluntary groups to negotiate labor issues with employers. I examine the ways in which these undocumented immigrants defend, define and assert their humanity, identity and culture away from home, while enduring hard work, social isolation and the constant threat of deportation.
Anand Yang

Rural Markets and Periodicity in Colonial Bihar, 1793-1947

My paper will examine the structure of rural markets in Bihar to identify the hierarchical system into which they were organized and to show the changes that occurred in this system over the course of the colonial period. It will also investigate the extent to which these rural markets were organized and conditioned by periodicity, that is, by a marketing calendar linking markets to one another and to the festival and everyday calendar of the region.

David N. Zurick

Territory-based Ethnic Conflict in Southern Asia

The paper assesses the potential for ethnic conflict linked to regional autonomy and separatist struggles in South Asia. Key motivational and enabling factors of 14 culture groups are analyzed according to the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP). The analysis reveals six ethnic fracture zones of considerable importance: Tamil Sri Lanka, Northeast India, Punjab, Western Islamic Highlands, Central Himalaya, and Adivasi Jharkhand. Taken together, these regions constitute a volatile mix of local ethnic aspirations, state policies, and sectarian violence that lends an unstable character to the South Asian political landscape. The localized struggles often are overshadowed by pan-Indic secular tensions, mainly between Hindus and Muslims but also among caste groups. The situation is further complicated by the fact that many of the ethnic groups which show a high potential for conflict are transborder groups, so the regional ethnicity problems become international ones. Furthermore, many of the ethnic struggles broker power and territorial movements between South Asian countries. The South Asia study provides a classic example of how 1) minority aspirations may clash not only with the hegemonic interests of the state but also with aspirations of neighboring ethnic groups; and 2) ethnic struggles may disguise international relations of power and territory.

Keywords: ethnic conflict, separatism, South Asia