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ABSTRACTS
(ALPHABETICAL BY FIRST AUTHOR'S SURNAME)

Mushtaque Ali **ABBASI** (University of Gujrat)
The politics of One Unit and the interests of troika: a case study of Sindh
(A Long History of Politics in Pakistan: 3 April, MLT, 12.30-14.30)

The separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency was one of the most significant events that led to the creation of Pakistan. Sindh was the first Muslim majority province among others that voted in favour of the creation of separate homeland for the Muslims of India and passed a resolution in support of the Pakistan scheme of 1940 in the hope that it would achieve full provincial autonomy after Independence. Unfortunately, the seed of hope was not nourished and ultimately different schemes of a troika (comprising members of the Civil-Military Bureaucracy and self-interested Politicians) in general and the One Unit scheme in particular not only crushed the hope of autonomy but alienated the province from its resources and destabilised its political system as well as administrative mechanism. During the period of 1947-1971, resentment against policies of the central government generated support in East Bengal for full provincial autonomy and socio-politico and administrative rights, whilst Sindh was grilled only in the issue of the dissolution of One Unit. The suppression of Sindh's voice can be measured by the fact that before a resolution was moved for One Unit in Sindh Provincial Assembly, the speaker of the Sind Assembly was arrested and taken into the desert as soon as it was known that he was about to oppose the One Unit Bill and other opponents were dealt with by similar measures.

Rahul **ADVANI** (National University of Singapore)
Culture and consumption: India in Southeast Asia
(Bridging Regions: Emerging Trends in India's Interactions with Southeast Asia: Villages as Sites of Diversity, Politics and History in South Asia: 3 April, MC325, 9.00-11.00)

This paper will explore the cultural and economic dimensions of India's 'soft power' in Southeast Asia. Firstly, it will examine the role of Indian culture within the Southeast Asian perception of India. In the past decade, Indian cinema, dance, art and music have all witnessed a dramatic rise in popularity among Southeast Asian audiences, though the different art forms have gained influence in a variety of ways. Traditional and contemporary forms of Indian dance and theatre have gained recognition in Southeast Asia as many of its cities have begun to strive for world-class status through developing a thriving arts scene. Bollywood dance classes have accompanied the fitness-craze that

has made its way from the US to Southeast Asia. Hindi films have garnered a mass appeal not only among Indian diaspora in Southeast Asia but also non-Indians, many of whom are familiar with the three 'Khans' of Bollywood – arguably the industry's biggest stars. The cost-effectiveness of filming in cities such as Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, as compared to London or New York, coupled with their 'exoticness', has gained them popularity as settings for Hindi films. Furthermore, the strong Hindi-movie following in such cities has made them ideal for hosting Hindi film awards ceremonies, leading to the increasing relevance of India within Southeast Asian popular culture. Secondly, the paper will deal with the growing presence of Indians in Southeast Asia, namely tourists, professionals and blue-collar workers, and its implications for the ways in which India is commonly perceived.

Ed **ANDERSON** (University of Cambridge)
Hindutva, political representation, and the public articulation of Hindu identity in multicultural Britain
(South Asian Diasporas and the Negotiation of British Multiculturalism(s): 3 April, MC201, 12.30-14.30)

Hindu nationalist ideologies and organisations have played a dynamic, complex, and nebulous role in the identity of Hindus in Britain. This paper examines political dimensions of Hindu identity and representation in the UK, focusing on two groups: the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh and the Hindu Forum of Britain. It analyses how British multiculturalism(s) have provided the environment, policies, and spaces for the development and articulation of Hindu nationalist discourse and organisations. This can be identified through interfaith forums, religious education bodies, various government spaces, initiatives, and funds, and other, sometimes more ambiguous, locations. The paper also explores various contestations of diasporic Hindutva and challenges to organisations' claims to being legitimate, authentic representatives of 'the Hindu cultural, religious, national(ist), cosmopolitan, and parochial – change how we can think about mutable (trans)national identities and citizenship, as well as multiculturalism itself?

Pushpa **ARABINDOO** (University College London)
The politics of global architecture in India
(Architecture and the Politics of Space: 3 April, MC219, 12.30-14.30)

The use of global architectural practices as an important driver promoting capitalist globalisation is a well-documented debate (Sklair 2005, 2006; Jenks 2006). Its production and circulation as a significant urban development model in globalising cities, including those in the western hemisphere (London and New York) as well as in Asia (particularly China and Southeast Asia) has also been noted by scholars (Ren 2008; McNeill 2006; Kaika 2010). But few studies have undertaken a detailed examination of the way it is implemented or realised, with little emphasis on the debates they generate about transformations of the built environment (Ren 2011). The objective of this research is to explore the realisation of global architecture in Indian cities as a form of mobile urbanism that is not as simple and straightforward as it seems but one that is fraught with tensions, mired in contradictory interpretations (between the global and the local). For, while Indian state and private clients

might be keen to commission a 'globally significant architectural practice' to design 'world-class' facilities, the paradigm of iconic architectural production can be actively challenged locally through mundane issues such as translation of technical know-how, material specifications, and the compulsions of planning bye-laws. This project by examining the tensions that global architectural practices experience in their efforts to generate a signature urban form explores the extent to which they are actually able to reorient the image of these cities.

Blain **AUER** (Université de Lausanne)
Persian literati, acculturation and Persianate identity in the early Delhi courts of South Asia
(Early modern cultural & artistic interactions in South Asia: 3 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

This paper looks at the construction of Persian identity in the early Delhi courts, the establishment of Islamic empire and the fostering of a vibrant Persianate society in the context of India. Persianate identity was essential in the founding of the first Islamic empire in India. Authors of the Delhi Sultanate made extensive use of the classical Persian literary heritage in crafting their narratives of the Muslim rulers of India. One of the dominant legitimating motifs of Sultanate historiography is propagated through narratives of pre-Islamic Persian kingship exemplified by figures such as Jamshid and Anushirvan. These legendary Persian kings represented the archetypal traits of the wisdom and justice of the ideal ruler. The *Shahnama* had a near universal influence on the writings of Amir Khusraw, Minhaj Siraj Juzjani, Ziya al-Din Barani, and Shams al-Din Afif, the major literary figures of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Delhi courts. The appropriation of the *Shahnama* culminated in the Abd al-Malik Isami's *Futuh al-salatin*, a verse epic history received as the "*Shahnama* of India", connecting the South Asian Persian literary tradition to the broader context of Central Asian and Middle Eastern Persianate societies.

Yaqoob **BANGASH** and Sarmad **HUSSAIN** (Forman Christian College)
Pakistan's May 2013 General Elections: Monitoring the democratic experiment
(Muslim Politics and Identity in South Asia: 3 April, MLT, 12.30-14.30)

In May 2013 Pakistan witnessed its first general elections after the first fully democratically elected government finished its tenure. This 'first' in the country's more than sixty five year history was certainly a landmark as it exhibited the transition of the country from dictatorship and controlled democracy—the hallmark of previous years—to parliamentary government. In addition to the twenty year old rivalry between the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz group and the Pakistan Peoples Party, this election witnessed the emergence of a strong third force—Imran Khan's Tehrik-e-Insaaf. The elections also experienced the second highest voter turnout in the country's history after the landmark first general elections in 1970 which led to the vivisection of the country. The paper is based on election monitoring by the two authors in May 2013. Unlike most monitors who are associated with international agencies, NGOs etc, the authors were independent monitors and received unprecedented access to all election functionaries—from the police officers stationed at the polling booths, to the presiding officers, and the returning officer, in addition to the voters. This access enabled the authors to observe the election process from both the voters' and the election officers' perspective. The findings of the authors, which are both academic and policy relevant, encompass issues relating with the working of the election commission, the selection of polling stations, the

appointment of presiding officers, political canvassing and influence of political parties on election day, and the problems related to the actual carrying out of the election. The authors took over thirty interviews during the Election Day (in fact nearly 48 hours) which helped them gain insight into these issues. Therefore, through an assessment of voter behaviour, electioneering and the election process, this paper situates the May 2013 general election in the democratisation transition and process of Pakistan.

Ravinder **BARN** (Royal Holloway) and Mujibur **REHMAN** (Jamia Millia Islamia Central University)
Examining the role and relationship among the Indian diaspora, state and Indian democracy
(Cultures of State and Identity in the Diaspora: 4 April, MC325, 10.00-12.00)

This paper seeks to examine the role, and relationship, of Indian diaspora and state, and, in the larger context, its contributions to Indian democracy. In recent years, the decision to set up a separate Ministry, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), enactment of dual citizenship, and organisation of events like *Prabashi Divas* recognises the growing importance of Indian diaspora in India's nation building exercise. However, there are contradictory claims made by scholars about its contribution to democracy: some argue it is strengthening Indian democracy (Kapur, *Diaspora, Development and Democracy*, 2010); and others argue that the Indian diaspora contributes to the rise of de-democratising tendencies (Nussabum, *The Clash Within*, 2007). In this context, we raise the following key questions: Why has the Indian state taken so much interest in the Indian diaspora in the past two decades? What evidence is available about the contribution of the Indian diaspora to nation- building or democracy? If the arguments of the existing literature suggest that the Indian diaspora had both a positive and a negative role to play, what could be our assessment about its relevance for India's future?

Bernhard **BEITELMAIR** (Heidelberg University)
Conflicting concepts: Exploring Indian strategic culture(s) and the impact on security
(Patterns of Conflict in South Asia: National and International Dimensions: 3 April, MC336, 12.30-14.30)

To understand India's strategic culture is to understand one major factor of South Asia's security complex. Strategic culture, which provides the ideational backdrop of India's security policies, can be understood in terms of an identifiable set of assumptions about the role of war in international relations, the nature of the adversaries and threats, and the utility of force. The last two decades saw increasing conflict within India's strategic discourse, with various streams of thinking vying for dominance and challenging the established Nehruvian consensus. Different schools of thought, like Neo-Nehruvianism, Re-vitalism, Great Power Realism, Liberal Globalism, and Hyperrealism constitute different and partly conflicting strategic culture paradigms. Moving beyond this theoretical dimension of the conflict of meaning, the paper explores the impact of these paradigms on India's foreign and security policies exemplified by the varying strategic attitudes towards South Asia and Great Powers like the US and China, and their implications for conflict resolution.

Fakhar **BILAL** (Quaid-i-Azam University)
A survey of Nawab Sadiq *of Bahawalpur State's relations with British administrators*
(A Long History of Politics in Pakistan: 3 April, MLT, 12.30-14.30)

Objectives of an idea, scheme and reform are always progressive and evolving. The phenomena of administration have accomplishments on all its way. As there is no end to problems of life and state, so the unending series of objectives must be achieved and targeted. This paper discusses the processes by which Bahawalpur state was changed from desert to pastoral life by Nawab Sir Muhammad Sadiq Khan V. The last Nawab altered the discourse of politics, administration, revenue, education and justice system of state through innovative ideas introduced during his reign (1924-1955) with the help of British administrators who served the state in various capacities. The Nawabs of Bahawalpur developed close ties with the British authorities and nearly 14 treaties were signed by both sides to serve their respective interests. This paper thus explores how far the last Nawab's rule and administration contributed progress and prosperity of the people living in this princely state while also focusing on the role of the British authorities.

Matt **BIRKINSHAW** (London School of Economics)
Nehru's new mission and the Aam Admi: Infrastructure, informality and politics in Indian cities
(Urban Citizenship and Political Change across South Asia: 4 April, MC336, 10.00-12.00)

Gurgaon, India's 'millennial city' is said to represent an "urban metonym" for India's embrace of global capital (Kalyan 2011). Free from the vestiges of postcolonial urban compromise, the city has been developed by a coalition of real-estate visionaries and a parastatal government agency eager to attract transient, mobile capital to the hinterlands of India's national capital (Gururani 2012). If existing urban settlements are party to reclamation by middle-class consumption practices and aspiration (Fernandes 2004), the idea of Gurgaon represents it's opposite; a splintering off from the urban "battle space" a relinquishment of competition for spatial control of the existing and the emergence of a built environment entirely premised on the lifestyle and consumption preferences of a modern, global citizen. In Gurgaon like many other spaces of frontier accumulation, the State has withdrawn itself from official governance, as a variety of de facto actors in parastatals, private developers and empowered ex-villagers optimise spaces fertile for accumulation. Yet in doing so, the city is fragmented into zones of exemption, optimization, and immiseration; the mall, urban-village, and factory. This paper, as such conceptualises the production of the suburban-city as inherently conflictual, attempting to trouble notions of the "urban" which fetishise 'global' modes of production as the defining characteristic of socio-spatial production. Instead, the paper attempts to explicate the everyday and informal processes of governmentality which produce the suburban as a site of overlapping sovereignties and conflictual territorial claims.

Somak **BISWAS** (Jawarhalal Nehru University)
Passages to India: Politics of affect in an age of empire, 1895-1915
(Transnational political & religious networks in South Asia: 2 April, MC336, 15.00-17.00)

A felt lacunae in postcolonial studies of colonial encounter has been an inadequate understanding of British Indophile figures who had made definitive 'passages' from the metropole to the colony in largely non-official capacities. In doing so, their actions, ideas and ideologies have yielded a space that defies easy categorisation in terms of pure

oppositionality or complicity. Taking C.F. Andrews (1871-1940) and Margaret Noble/Sister Nivedita (1867-1911) as its referential Indophile figures, this paper examines, through their affective engagements and ideological pursuits, how cross-cultural friendships could be considered as hybrid sites to engage the political. It suggests that a more focused exploration of their politics offers us an entry point in examining the hybrid nature of their engagements that was simultaneously subversive and co-optive of metropolitan cultures. The paper thus seeks to map the interiority of this politics that transformed such figures from liminal to mainstream entities – acting, influencing and being influenced perpetually by the dominant concerns of India and the world.

Kate **BOEHME** (University of Cambridge)
Smuggling India: Deconstructing western India's illicit export trade, 1818-1870
(Historical networks in colonial South Asia: 4 April, IB243, 10.00-12.00)

Following British victory in the Third Anglo-Maratha War, western India changed dramatically. Yet, certain characteristics of the region's export trade persisted, in spite of considerable structural shifts and disturbance of political boundaries. This paper will examine commercial activities typically labelled as "illicit," and how they fit into the wider economic landscape of nineteenth century western India. Moreover, it will attempt to determine the extent to which smuggling emerged as a reaction to colonial restrictions – as well as how British anxieties regarding smuggling coloured political policy – while also discussing the difficulties inherent in defining a trade as "illegal," especially in a region where the boundaries between colonial territories and Native States were often ill-defined. In so doing, I will question the extent to which political upheavals at this time disrupted existing economic relationships, both within India and with foreign markets, and the degree to which the "illicit" trade could, in actuality, be considered marginal.

Kenneth **BO NIELSEN** (University of Oslo) & Alf Gunvald **NILSEN** (University of Bergen)
Law-struggles and hegemonic processes in neoliberal India: Gramscian reflections on land acquisition legislation
(**Terrains of Resistance in Neoliberal India I: 2 April, MC201, 12.30-14.30)**

This paper explores how, in the context of an unfolding process of neoliberalisation in India, new terrains of resistance are crystallising for subaltern groups seeking to contest the marginalising consequences of this process. We focus particularly on the emergence of India's 'new rights agenda' through a study of the making of the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2013. Conceiving of the emergence of the 'new rights agenda' as a hegemonic process, we decipher how law-making is a complex and contradictory practice seeking to negotiate a compromise equilibrium between, on the one hand, subaltern groups vulnerable to marginalisation and capable of mobilisation; and, on the other, dominant groups whose economic interests are linked to the exploitation of the spaces of accumulation recently pried open by market-oriented reforms. The negotiation of this equilibrium, we suggest, is ultimately intended to facilitate India's process of neoliberalisation.

Alexander **BUBB** (Linnaeus University)

Class, cotton and woddaries: The business networks of railway contractors in the Bombay Presidency, 1855-1870
(Historical networks in colonial South Asia: 4 April, IB243, 10.00-12.00)

In contrast to his civil and military colleagues, the contractor has been historically a rather overlooked figure. Often lacking formal technical training, and without an official position in colonial India, they were maligned by Kipling and Steel as profiteering opportunists or jumped-up autodidacts. This paper presents them instead as a diverse professional class, often at odds with their social superiors in the Public Works Department, and incorporating Parsis alongside various European nationalities. Its principal, hitherto unused source is the archive of an Anglo-Danish contractor. As such, contractors were agents of modernity unaffiliated with the imperial project, and forced to bargain with merchants and strikers without official backing. Flooding into Bombay during the 1860s cotton boom, they became specialists in particular milieux, sourcing timber and stone at the lowest prices and retaining the loyalty of itinerant labourers. Theirs is a record of complex negotiations at the local level, carried out in the immediate post-Mutiny settlement.

Tom **CHAMBERS** (University of Sussex)
Informality, supply chain capitalism and Muslim labour in India
(Work in Post-Liberal India: Continuities & Transformations: 2 April, MC325, 12.30-14.30)

This paper is about Muslim craft workers in the North Indian city of Saharanpur in the context of India's post-liberalisation economic environment. It focuses on the forms of 'informality' which provide both a means of support and negotiation in the realm of daily work and the means of control and incorporation for international supply chains. The paper brings together often disparate literatures on 'informality' and argues that applying a broader approach to the term reveals that contributions on informality and work, informality and urban space, and what I term here as 'everyday informality', are mutually compatible as a means for interpreting the complexity and culturally embedded nature of the supply chain. In viewing the ethnographic scene through the lens of informality the paper argues that whilst structural constraints must be taken account of, informality itself contains a variety of agentive possibilities and, whilst the terrain is contested, contributes to creating economic landscapes in both the local and the global. Exploring this in terms of an Indian Muslim craft community is particularly relevant with Muslims often being employed in the 'informal sector' and often being concentrated in partially ghettoised and informal spaces within cities and towns.

Graham P. **CHAPMAN** (Lancaster University) and Kalyan **RUDRA** (West Bengal Wasteland Development Corporation)
Time Streams: History and Rivers in Bengal
(South Asia's Science and Environments: 3 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

The Ganges-Brahmaputra delta is the largest and fastest changing on earth, as a result of the very large monsoon discharges and silt loads of these two rivers, and of the many major tributaries that debouch straight from the Himalayas and the northeast Deccan into the delta zone. The delta almost exactly coincides with the cultural and linguistic region known as Bengal, whose history has generated an extensive literature, much of it sensitive to the dynamic ecology (e.g. Eaton, 1996, Iqbal, 2010). There have been many technical advances in

recent decades that have enabled new research into the behaviour of the delta rivers. Old maps can be scanned and digitised, making them more easily available; GIS systems can be used to geo-rectify old maps and to split information into different layers; satellite imagery can be matched with this evidence. Recent examples of work in this direction include Saunders and Chapman (2006), who have provided a bibliographic guide to map sources available, and Rudra (2012), who has used this material to provide an *Atlas of the Changing River Courses in West Bengal*, in his case using maps from the time of Rennell's surveys (from 1767), later map sources, and satellite imagery. In addition, soil surveys (e.g. FAO, 1988) have thrown new light on river history. The aim of this paper is to see if any new light can be thrown on aspects of the complex history of society and water in West Bengal combining extant historiography with these new sources.

Apurba **CHATTERJEE** (Uppsala University)
Imaging the authority: The early British presence in Bengal, 1756-1793
(Early modern cultural & artistic interactions in South Asia: 3 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

This paper analyses how portraiture and its attendant politics enabled the creation and consolidation of early British rule in Bengal. Power was conceived and conveyed between the ruler and the ruled through a symbolic apparatus that could strike both awe and reverence. These dimensions will be explored in relation to the portraits of three key figures, Robert Clive, Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis. Portraits can be viewed as artistic dispositions of purpose that made invisible attributes of authority manifest. This visual projection opens up possibilities to explore how the authority was represented beyond hard power hegemony. State formation, as gleaned from their experiences, can be seen as a complex interaction between physical structures and cognitive processes. This, in turn, facilitates a nuanced understanding of British self-image at the crucial juncture of transition from the first to the second empire and important changes in the British notion of nationhood.

Utathya **CHATTOPADHYAYA** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
To see the sea: The Indian Ocean and its historiographical construction
(The Longue Duree of Intellectual History II: 2 April, MC219, 15.00-17.00)

The 1980s witnessed a spurt in academic scholarship on the 'Indian Ocean world', prefiguring much of the current fascination with what Marcus Vink has called 'the new thalassology'. Compared to the current wave of Indian Ocean world scholarship that is coming out of elite universities in North America and Britain, the previous effort was largely based out of institutions in the global south. South Asian universities in places like Hyderabad, Dhaka, Bombay and Madras (Chennai) collaborated with universities in Malaysia, Tanzania, and South Africa. Interestingly, the primary avenues for publication of such cross-disciplinary research were journals coming out of universities in western Australia. In the shadow of the Cold War, the militarisation of the Indian Ocean, and the emerging post-colonial rhetoric of academic collaboration, such scholarship suggested both possibilities and dangers of the 'Indian Ocean world' as a category and as method. This paper will analyse the contributions of such scholarship as a demotic attempt at spatial studies of South Asia in the wider trajectory of the Indian Ocean world's intellectual history. It tries to pose certain questions about South Asia and Indian Ocean world scholarship that remain ignored within the newly developing transnational methods of studying the latter.

Shruti **CHAUDHRY** (University of Edinburgh)
Marriage among the dalits of western Uttar Pradesh
(The wider world of social marginalisation in India: 2 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork (September 2012-August 2013) conducted among the Chamar community in a village in Baghpat district of Western Uttar Pradesh. It focuses on the difficulties that men of the community have been facing and continue to face with regard to marriage, and outlines the factors that have necessitated a shift away from employment in agriculture, affected men's ability to find alternative/salaried employment and to be concentrated in certain kinds of employment, that is, brick kiln work. It argues that seasonal labour migration to the brick kilns, on the one hand, makes marriage an economic necessity and on the other, affects men's ability to get married within the local region by creating a hierarchy of eligible and less eligible men within the caste within a context of highly masculine sex ratios. The paper then discusses the social implications of this for both men and women by examining systems of marriage arrangements, such as payments to the bride's family (instead of dowry), a form of exchange-marriage and the bringing of brides from other states/regions (cross-regional marriage) that have emerged in response to this.

Deepta **CHOPRA** (Institute of Development Studies)
The Indian case: Towards a rights-based welfare state?
(Development and Welfare States in South Asia: 2 April, MC325, 15.00-17.00)

This paper seeks to trace the role that the Indian state has played towards poverty alleviation post-independence. While national anti-poverty programmes have proliferated especially since the 1970s, this paper takes 2004 as an important and historic break in the Indian state's approach to poverty alleviation, with the language of rights becoming increasingly prominent in tackling poverty. The paper demonstrates that this change is linked to changes in the political configurations and new phase of state-society relations in India. However, in outlining the political economy conditions under which these changes are taking place, this paper demonstrates the tensions inherent within what is still an incomplete move from welfare to rights.

Deepta **CHOPRA** (Institute of Development Studies)
Making the connection: Caring for child rights and women's rights
(Gender Empowerment in South Asia: A Double Burden?: 4 April, MC219, 10.00-12.00)

Women's rights and child rights are close mutual influences, yet there have been few successes at tackling the agendas collaboratively. This failure to connect limits the quality of policy and practice in relation both to gender equality and to child rights. Action to integrate unpaid care concerns into ECD policies has the potential to create virtuous cycles of mutually-reinforcing support to both women's and children's rights. This paper sets out reasons to connect these agendas, drawing on examples of success from low and middle income countries to show how this might be done in different contexts. This includes recognising the value of unpaid care work and its intertwined nature with care of children, redistribution of childcare responsibilities from women to men, and a recognition of the child as a responsibility of the collective community and the state (beyond the immediate family).

Patrick **CLIBBENS** (Oxford University)
Nasbandi kā vaqt? Time, sterilisation and the Indian Emergency
(Democracy at Work in Post-Independence India : 3 April, MC336, 9.00-11.00)

From its inception, the Indian family planning programme was justified by the need to avert some nightmarish projected future – sometimes carefully constructed from demographic data – which would come to pass if India did not take drastic action. In the decades before the Emergency, planners, population control advocates and 'futurologists' repeatedly made projections about the future and derived demographic targets which they then failed to meet. The Emergency sterilisation programme was shaped by policymakers' perceived need to intervene decisively to forestall these dystopian futures. During the Emergency, the Indian government legitimised its actions by presenting the population as a demographic time bomb – as 'a baby was born every one and a half seconds' – and used the language and imagery of time, ticking clocks and the 'call of the hour'. While this language was starkest in the family planning programme, ideas of time and tempo permeated the Emergency.

Jacob **COPEMAN** (University of Edinburgh)
Naming trouble: Caste, secularism and onomastic politics in urban north India
(The wider world of social marginalisation in India: 2 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

A considerable amount of recent scholarship has focused on the politics of renaming cities, streets and monuments in South Asia, and also on the collective renaming of caste groups. This paper focuses instead on personal decisions about the giving and changing of personal names in an urban setting (Delhi). Critical here is the nature of the city as a space of socio-linguistic innovation: as is well-known, Dalits who migrate to India's metros (usually for work or study) may see an opportunity in the anonymity of urban life to change their surnames to upper-caste ones, and thereby to enhance otherwise stunted prospects of social mobility. Whilst acknowledging the importance of such acts of 'onomastic Sanskritisation', this paper shows that a multitude of other personal naming innovations are also of significance. For instance, upper-caste people may also remove their caste-revealing surnames as a statement of secular antipathy towards the persistence of caste discrimination or give their children names typical of another community to the one to which they belong in order to 'mix things up' and complicate the otherwise simple equation between surname and caste and/or religious identity. Moreover, many Dalit activists now assertively retain their caste-revealing surnames as acts of pride and defiance. Based on case studies drawn from fieldwork in Delhi, this paper aims to shed light on how choices about personal names feed into and influence the complexities of caste and religious identities in twenty first-century urban India.

Thomas **COWAN** (King's College London)
Fragmented subjects: Space and the political in Gurgaon, India's 'Millenial' city: Migrant workers and their claims to the city
(Urban Citizenship and Political Change across South Asia: 4 April, MC336, 10.00-12.00)

Gurgaon, India's 'millennial city' is said to represent an "urban metonym" for India's embrace of global capital (Kalyan 2011). Free from the vestiges of postcolonial urban

compromise, the city has been developed by a coalition of real-estate visionaries and a parastatal government agency eager to attract transient, mobile capital to the hinterlands of India's national capital (Gururani 2012). If existing urban settlements are party to reclamation by middle-class consumption practices and aspiration (Fernandes 2004), the idea of Gurgaon represents it's opposite; a splintering off from the urban "battle space" a relinquishment of competition for spatial control of the existing and the emergence of a built environment entirely premised on the lifestyle and consumption preferences of a modern, global citizen. In Gurgaon like many other spaces of frontier accumulation, the State has withdrawn itself from official governance, as a variety of de facto actors in parastatals, private developers and empowered ex-villagers optimise spaces fertile for accumulation. Yet in doing so, the city is fragmented into zones of exemption, optimization, and immiseration; the mall, urban-village, and factory. This paper, as such conceptualises the production of the suburban-city as inherently conflictual, attempting to trouble notions of the "urban" which fetishise 'global' modes of production as the defining characteristic of socio-spatial production. Instead, the paper attempts to explicate the everyday and informal processes of governmentality which produce the suburban as a site of overlapping sovereignties and conflictual territorial claims.

Vedita **COWALOOSUR** (University of Warwick)
Class, Caste and the English Language in India
(The wider world of social marginalisation in India: 2 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

This paper looks at the connection between class, caste and language in India. The English language, which is often hailed as the language of prestige and dominance, is examined here for its relationship with hegemonic groups (such as class and caste elites). The hegemony of the English language in a world that is increasingly dependent on English as the language of globalisation is then evaluated. The paper puts forth the cult of worship of Goddess English language by a group of Dalits as a foil to the notion that the English language is strictly the prerogative of upper class and caste elites in India, whereby the newly deified Dalit Goddess English language is hailed as an icon of the arrival of the Dalit community in the transnational circulation of the English language as global capital. It then examines how Indian English writing has represented these various politicisations of language in relation to class and caste. Arguing that contemporary Indian English literature seems to sanction the association of the English language with the elite in India, it analyses how the dream of equality and integrality, coded in the modeling of Goddess English on the Statue of Liberty, is not necessarily achieved by the lower classes and castes, because the *kinds* of English wielded by elites and lower class Dalits tends to be distinct. Elite Indian English writers, it is argued here, have attempted to transform English as a literary language through code-mixing and chutnification of the languages to produce "Inglish". Dalit writing, on the other hand, has preserved an older idea of the English language, as promulgated by Macaulay (who is saluted as a hero in the circles where the English Goddess is worshipped).

Anjali **DATTA** (University of Cambridge)
Locating' women in the Chardiwari: *Muslim marginalisation in post-partition Delhi*
(Negotiating Gender and Rights in Post-Disaster Landscapes: 2 April, IB243, 12.30-14.30)

This paper looks at the post-partition alienation and ghettoisation of the Muslim communities in the capital city of Delhi. Based on archival sources and personal testimonies, it tries to 'locate' the women in the walled city of Delhi amidst the dynamics of changing morphology and social and cultural and demographic milieu during the postcolonial period. The city which symbolised the glory of Mughals, became a site of constant intervention, resulting in permanent degeneration and decay in the colonial period. Partition of the country in 1947 caused the final blow to the demographic, cultural and economic life of the city as the Muslim population of the city confronted violence, fear and insecurities, and the community came to feel marginalised with the arrival of Hindu refugee population from Punjab. This process while at one level produced the ghettoisation of Muslim population in the city and at another has led to curious re-negotiation of domestic and norms around work, mobility and seclusion for the women of the community. The paper seeks to make the Muslim women of Delhi 'visible' despite the complex rules of veiling and protection. It is significant because these are the indigenous women of Delhi who were non actors hence forth, and witnessed post partition demographic, social and spatial transformation yet it would be interesting to see how they in turn were affected by this transition.

Antara **DATTA** (Royal Holloway)
The refugee within: Indian Muslims and the war of 1971
(Migrants, Refugees, Infiltrators: Bengal, Muslims and war: 4 April, MC201, 10.00-12.00)

This paper examines the role of Muslims during the Bangladesh war of 1971 where the presence of a substantial number of Muslim refugees created a hierarchy of refugee-hood where the Hindu refugee was given preferential treatment both at an official level and by public sentiment, in contrast to the Muslim border-crosser. While the official 'secular' discourse portrayed all refugees as equal, there were slippages in policy and in sentiment. However, 1971 also marks a critical juncture in secular India's relationship with its Muslim minority. The Bangladesh cause was seen as one that this minority must lend its voice to, or be accused of disloyalty. This paper suggests that it is the peculiar interplay of these two strands- one that discriminates against the Muslim refugee 'outsider', and one that places the burden of suspicion on the dissenting 'insider' Indian Muslim, which forms a seminal segment of the historical trajectory that has created a modern political debate about 'illegal infiltration'.

Emma **DICK**
title TBC
(Mountain Economies and Lived Realities of Culture: 2 April, MC336, 12.30-14.30)

Henrike **DONNER** (Oxford Brookes University)
Alternative masculinities in India's radical left
 (Gender and Sexuality in the Intimate Lifeworlds of the South Asian Left: 3 April, IB243, 12.30-14.30)

Based on interviews with male activists engaged in the Naxal movement of the 1970s, the paper considers how recent reconstructions of the past provide an alternative reading of desirable sociality, male life cycles, and gender relations in the aftermath of social upheaval

and personal experiences of activism. The paper links recent debates on ethics and activism to the experience of a generation of activists engaged in urban politics in Calcutta.

Claire **DWYER** (University College London), *South Asian religious architecture in the diaspora: recreation and reinvention*
(Architecture and the Politics of Space: 3 April, MC219, 12.30-14.30)

This paper draws on recent analysis of South Asian religious buildings in suburban London to explore the intersections of architectural practice, suburban space and postcolonial geographies. Space for worship for South Asian diaspora communities is often contested and provisional - rarely architecturally designed or purpose built. Nonetheless they often involve creative adaptations of secular buildings or the former places of worship of other faiths. New South Asian religious architecture is frequently defined as a faithful rendition of 'traditional' forms although in practice reinvention or adaptation is required. This paper therefore reflects on the trajectories and possibilities of South Asian religious spaces in suburban West London illustrating the intersections between the suburban vernacular and postcolonial networks which rework notions of 'local' and 'global'.

Jed **FAZAKARLEY** (University of Oxford)
The British campaign for Bangladeshi independence: the emergence and recognition of a 'new ethnicity'
(South Asian Diasporas and the Negotiation of British Multiculturalism(s): 3 April, MC201, 12.30-14.30)

Settler migration from East Bengal to Britain can be traced back to at least the eighteenth century. However, even as migration from the province to Britain increased in the post-war period, this population was subsumed by elites into more general categories like 'coloured/Commonwealth immigrant', 'Asian', 'Pakistani' and 'Muslim'. The 1971 Liberation War and the campaigning it inspired in Britain called these categorisations in question, and raised British awareness of a distinctive Bangladeshi population and identity. The war had, in some British towns and cities, significant effects upon local community organisation, party politics, and public order. However, growing appreciation of distinctive Bangladeshi identity was circumscribed by the highly localised and uncoordinated nature of British multiculturalism in this period, and by the social 'encapsulation' of British Bengalis. This paper therefore considers the processes by which a 'new' ethnic identity can 'emerge' as well of the contextual factors that can inhibit that emergence.

Tanweer **FAZAL** (Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia)
Emerging Muslim middle class in India and the shifting political discourse
(Muslim Politics and Identity in South Asia: 3 April, MLT, 12.30-14.30)

This paper situates itself between two parallel trends in political philosophy, one emphasising the politics of recognition and the other that of redistribution. For long the minority question in India was addressed through an identity-specific lens—a time tested instrument for political mobilisation and legitimacy-building. However as many political observers would today suggest, this model has increasingly begun to collapse owing to a variety of reasons. While globalisation could be one of the culprits, enhanced political competition on a similar

political turf, an emerging middle class amongst minority populations are other plausible reasons for this shift in priority. The Sachar Committee and the Ranganath Misra Commissions certainly represented and contributed to this new realisation. While staying clear of the 'identity specific concerns', the Sachar Committee outlined Muslims across most parts of India as a community deeply impoverished and suffering from huge illiteracy, high drop-out rate, depleting asset base, below average work participation and lack of stable and secure employment. A necessary outcome was that Muslims as a socio-religious category were propelled at the centre of the 'development debate' in India. In theoretical terms, it marked the emergence of Muslims as a community bearing what Nancy Fraser terms as 'bivalent conception of justice', an amalgamation of politics of recognition as well as that represented by politics of redistribution. This new realisation definitely added a new chapter in the quest for equity in Indian social, political and economic life where constitutional depiction of minorities solely as 'cultural categories' seemed restrictive and myopic. The paper maps the shift from the politics of recognition to that of redistribution in the mobilisation of Muslims in India.

Andrea **FLESCHENBERG** (Quaid-i-Azam University)
sand empowerment post-2001: tales of political participation from Afghanistan
(Gender Empowerment in South Asia: A Double Burden?: 4 April, MC219, 10.00-12.00)

In the past decade, the international intervention in Afghanistan led to a number of changes regarding women's political participation and empowerment, be it quota provisions, legislation, establishment of gender units and a ministry of women's affairs, among others. At the same time, publicly-active women have increasingly been threatened and targeted through diverse forms of political violence and intimidation campaigns. In recent months, discussions and negotiations at the national and international level shifted towards a focus on security aspects of the envisioned 2014 transition process while critics raise strong concerns over (i) the sustainability of gender policies and the achieved gains in women's political participation in various arenas of Afghan politics, (ii) shifting priorities of actors involved as well as (iii) over the ongoing securitisation of a supposedly 'responsible, sustainable and comprehensive transition' from international actors to local actors in the given intervention-cum-conflict context. Based on two rounds of interviews with women parliamentarians and women's activists in Afghanistan in 2007/2008 and 2012, the paper traces the inroads made by women politicians - be they parliamentarians, be they civil society activists - and, in particular, seeks to locate their voices and demands in the transition process and its subsequent political negotiations as well as to outline possible implications for post-transition developments.

Sahana **GHOSH** (Yale University)
Borderwork: Producing certainty along and across the India-Bangladesh border
(Migrants, Refugees, Infiltrators: Bengal, Muslims and war: 4 April, MC201, 10.00-12.00)

This paper is based on ongoing ethnographic fieldwork along the India-Bangladesh border in northern Bengal. In the context of India's increasing militarisation of this border since the late 1980s, this paper examines how border residents on the Indian side, in mixed Hindu and Muslim areas, understand 'threat' and 'infiltration'. India's violent border control regime goes hand in hand with a heightened discursive paranoia around the figures of the 'infiltrator', the

'illegal migrant'. This paper seeks to understand the life of these discursive anxieties in the material practices of emplacement along and across the border. In a region where cross-border familial ties remain resilient and 'illegal' economic networks are daily reproduced, how do borderland residents negotiate the boundaries of citizen, migrant, security, and danger?

Subhankar **GHOSH** (University of Oxford)
Identity at the Gates of Politics: Muslims in Contemporary West Bengal
(Migrants, Refugees, Infiltrators: Bengal, Muslims and war: 4 April, MC201, 10.00-12.00)

This paper tries to understand how ideologies are transmitted in a social space where the available networks of politicisation are truncated. It studies the politicisation of communal identity among the Muslims of West Bengal over the last decade. It is an ethnographic study of the network of *Deobandi* madrassas and its role in articulating and propagating a discourse of socioeconomic impoverishment among the rural Muslim communities. Corresponding to this frame, the paper is structured around four broad themes; ideology, network, truncation and transmission. It addresses how such a form of politics around the issue peasant impoverishment demanding constitutional sanctions and affirmative action fits squarely with the Indian secularist ideas. Yet with its emphasis on community, rather than class, it problematises the liberal demarcations between politics and identity.

Hugo **GORRINGE** (University of Edinburgh)
Untouchability Unlimited? Caste Discrimination, Hierarchy and Politics in Contemporary Tamil Nadu
(Dalit Lives: Dynamism and Discrimination in India and Beyond: 3 April, MC201, 9.00-11.00)

Although the practice of untouchability has been proscribed for the past 60 years, it still continues in many parts of south India. What is more, even as aspects of the practice fade away, it persists and assumes ever more contemporary forms. Drawing on recent fieldwork, this paper outlines some of the current practices of untouchability and caste discrimination. Dalit activists point to these novel forms of exclusion and insist that 'nothing has changed'. The rhetoric of anti-caste agitators, however, is not necessarily the best guide to analysis. The paper, therefore, questions how best to understand these manifestations of an age-old practice. It analyses the form this discrimination takes, explores the ways in which they are politicised and asks whether they offer evidence of a shift towards competing identities (as suggested by Gupta) or the continuation of hierarchical values (as suggested by Harriss).

Devyani **GUPTA** (University of Cambridge)
The Post Office of British India: A story of mail movement, imperial expansion and global networks of exchange
(Historical networks in colonial South Asia: 4 April, IB243, 10.00-12.00)

The expansion of the British Indian postal network was the product of piecemeal, localised interventions; while competing with pre-existing mediums of communication, it also linked up with modern, often transnational channels of exchange, thereby assisting geographical conquest in colonial India. This accorded centrality to concerns of spatiality and connectivity in the British Empire, thereby enabling the development of a new body of knowledge of the unknown interiors of the Indian subcontinent, as also awareness of the global possibilities of an empire. Transnational linkages implied the tying up of the movement of mails with

commodity trade, exchange of commercial intelligence, and proximity of imperial colonies. Consequently, the political economy of the Empire came to be tied up, very markedly, with networks of communication. This paper investigates how the postal system of India was standardised by the colonial state to serve the interests of a global British Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Daniel **HAINES** (Royal Holloway)
The narrow frontier: Local agency in Punjab's international borderland, 1952-1955
(Ideas of the Frontier in South Asia: 3 April, MC325, 12.30-14.30)

Shortly after the 1947 Partition, India and Pakistan contested many parts of the new international Punjab border. Examining incidents of border conflict between 1952 and 1955, the paper highlights a historical moment in which the lack of a clear boundary gave space to the localised agency of minor officials, lower-ranking military and police officers, and even civilian agriculturalists. Drawing on critical border studies literature as well as histories of South Asian postcolonial politics, the paper argues that the Punjab borderland is best understood as a frontier zone in which liminal spaces between opposed states fuzzed the distinction between Indian and Pakistani territory.

Sana **HAROON** (University of Massachusetts Boston)
Mosque-building in Mauritius and Burma: North Indian Muslims in the Empire
(Transnational political & religious networks in South Asia: 2 April, MC336, 15.00-17.00)

This paper studies mosque building by north Indian migrants to Lower Burma and Mauritius, with reflections on mosque building in other parts of the British Empire including England, Hong Kong, Mauritius, Western Australia, and the Natal in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It begins from the premise that newly-immigrant Muslims built mosques to make collective claims to place. It goes on to argue that because land had to be purchased and registered and organisational bodies legalised, the process of mosque building forced the affinities which inspired mosque building and mosque attendance to be reimagined as societies and charitable trusts. The resulting patterns of organisation and dispute are, therefore, uniquely demonstrative of the adaptations of north Indian Muslim migrants to new homes in the Empire, and the formation of the identities by which they were recognised and differentiated from both Europeans and other ethnic groups.

Barbara **HARRISS WHITE** (Oxford University)
Labour and petty production: evidence, theory and praxis
(Work in Post-Liberal India: Continuities & Transformations: 2 April, McCrea MC325, 12.30-14.30)

The commonest form of production in India, massively strengthened under liberalisation and accounting for more of GDP than the corporate sector, is self-employment or petty production. This is a form of production in which capital and labour are fused, which is fully incorporated into markets and which expands by multiplication rather than accumulation. Flexible and transient, the product of distress or voluntarism, enterprises capable of growth, the product of several logics, this form of production is exploited on markets for property, money, raw materials and products/services rather than labour

markets. However it is widely concluded to be disguised wage labour. This paper discusses why it is important to distinguish the two forms for political as well as analytical purposes.

Gaia von **HATZFELDT** (University of Edinburgh)
Agonistic Democracy: The endurance of the Gandhi and Nehru legacy
(Democracy at Work in Post-Independence India : 3 April, MC336, 9.00-11.00)

This paper examines the political developments around the Anna Hazare-led anti-corruption movement that escalated in India through most of 2011. Although the overtone of the movement was primarily and conspicuously about corruption, this paper explores the debates on democracy that the movement unleashed. The ethnographic material of this paper focuses on the tension and competition during the anti-corruption movement amongst several civil society actors on the meaning and practice of democracy. This conflict reflects a broader tension deeply rooted in democratic debates in India, traceable to the early nationalist debates during the anti-colonial Independence movement. This in turn, the paper argues, indicates the inherently conflicted nature of democracy.

G.S. **JANDU** (Royal Anthropological Institute)
Stereotyped Sikh images in diaspora: public portrayals and citizenry identity politics
(Cultures of State and Identity in the Diaspora: 4 April, MC325, 10.00-12.00)

Sikhs have since the early nineteenth century attracted photographers whose work has suggested a simplified Sikh identity - a turbaned, hirsute male. In the internet age this image has become the Sikh diaspora's own political vehicle that for less-informed parties may lead to fatal mistaken identities. An anthropological examination of public media (both past and present) images finds that Sikhs are very often portrayed using very specific images that are not fully representative of the community's "super-diversity" abroad. In locating this typesetting, it seems that colonial Orientalism may have lent historical origins to this image but it has now been adopted by parts of the Sikh community itself as a global proxy platform for vying interests within the community that seeking political authority. This paper drawing on in-situ research considers whether this 'self-profiling' erroneously narrows the Sikh community and affects the appreciation of Sikhs as citizenry in diaspora.

Shankar **JAYARAM** (King's College London)
From bottom-up to top-down: Political contestation, Dalit politics and the right to the city in Uttar Pradesh
(Urban Citizenship and Political Change across South Asia: 4 April, MC336, 10.00-12.00)

Lefebvre's conception of the "Right to the City" for its ordinary urban dwellers involves understanding power relations that underlie the production and control over urban space. The evolution of Dalit politics in urban Uttar Pradesh raises important questions about both the contingency of political rights in India, as well as the transformational possibilities offered by democratic politics for historically marginalised citizens. Scholars on caste, most notably Ambedkar, have emphatically contrasted the relative autonomy of urban life to the caste-based subjugation of the Indian countryside. However, access to the city and the right to live in the city has not been provided automatically. The settlement of Dalit

neighbourhoods in both Agra and Ghaziabad has been a highly conflict-prone process involving political mobilisation around control and access to the local state. While the Dalit migration to Agra occurred prior to the political success of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in Ghaziabad Dalit migration has been much more recent and relied to a far greater extent on the pro-migrant stance adopted by the BSP government when in power. This paper will therefore investigate the politics of the neighbourhood in order to uncover the imperfect, politically contingent mechanisms through which Indian democracy enables marginalised citizens a chance to exercise their Right to the City.

Tariq **JAZEEL** (University College London)
Architecture and Auroville: modernity, modernism and the aesthetic politics of utopianism
(Architecture and the Politics of Space: 3 April, MC219, 12.30-14.30)

This paper presents some initial findings from a research project on architecture and built space in Auroville, a modernist utopian and experimental city founded in Tamil Nadu, in 1968, with Indian state and UNESCO backing. The paper outlines the centrality of planning and architectural modernism to attempts to materialise the utopian aspirations of the city's founders. Drawing on ethnographic research with Aurovillian architects, as well as archival and textual research on the city's architecture and planning history, the paper argues that Auroville's utopian promise as well as it more dystopian contours can be understood by drawing out some of the relationships between modernity, modernism and aesthetics.

Ana **JELNIKAR** (University of Primorska)
Hospitality in South Asia: ancient legacy, modern tool of resistance
(**The Longue Duree of Intellectual History I: 2 April, MC219, 12.30-14.30**)

To this day, hospitality is invoked across South Asia as a virtue and a distinctive mark of its cultures. In India, the old Upanishadic saying 'atithi debo bhava', which likens the guest (atithi) to a god, has recently been turned into a slogan for promoting tourism by its hospitality industry. However, in contrast to this frivolous use, in the precarious setting of the early twentieth-century colonial Bengal, this same guest-centric maxim was invoked by India's foremost poet Rabindranath Tagore in the constitution for his international university Visva-Bharati, intended to host people from all over the world. This was as much a gesture against colonialism and its education as it was an alternative to it. This paper attempts to outline Tagore's philosophy of hospitality. Drawing on his essays and creative works, it shows that Tagore fashioned a particular notion of hospitality as a critical tool for resisting various hegemonies (colonial, nationalist, religious, patriarchal). Derrida's analytical notions of hospitality are used to explore the tensions arising between the unconditional ideals of hospitality encapsulated by the idea of the guest as god, and conditional hospitality delimited by restrictions of caste, class, religion and gender, with which India's everyday laws of hospitality are inextricably intertwined. In doing so, I hope to foreground a modern strain of discourse on hospitality that has hitherto been largely ignored in the study of South Asia.

Karin **KAPADIA** (independent scholar)
Dalit Pentecostal Metropolitans in South India
(Dalit Lives: Dynamism and Discrimination in India and Beyond: 3 April, MC201, 9.00-11.00)

This paper focuses on what has been a largely hidden development in urban south India, namely the massive growth of Pentecostal Christianity amongst the poor in the urban slums of Tamilnadu, especially in the Chennai metropolis. Pentecostalism in south India can only be understood if it is located within the wider contexts of global Evangelical Christianity and global neoliberalism. While India's neoliberal economic policies are sharply increasing the gap between rich and poor, low-waged slum residents from across Chennai have been turning to the Pentecostal churches for moral support and for leadership. These slum populations are predominantly Dalit, but also include other impoverished low-caste Hindus. The point is that these fractions of the marginalised urban poor are no longer satisfied with mainstream politics, but are literally embodying a new kind of religious politics, where they choose to reject Hinduism, become 'born-again' Christians and pride themselves on the foreign connections of their Pentecostal churches. And out of these new politics new identities are emerging, which challenge old ways of understanding caste and religion in South Asia.

Prakash **KASHWAN** (University of Connecticut)
Radical reforms: What do they miss?
(Terrains of Resistance in Neoliberal India II: 2 April, MC201, 15.00-17.00)

This paper examines the puzzling outcomes of India's Forest Rights Act of 2006, which is intended to reverse 150 year old history of dispossession, evictions, and disenfranchisement of forest-dependent people from their ancestral lands. Yet, the outcomes have been somewhat counter intuitive, and even puzzling: the area of forest land *claimed* under the FRA has been far lower than had been anticipated initially. Ethnographic evidence presented in the article shows that the response that the FRA evoked on the ground can be explained only by considering the adverse incorporation of indigenous smallholders in longstanding political economic relations they have developed over time with powerful state and non-state actors. These findings caution us against seeing reforms as a clean break from the past, and the presumptions of an activist peasant. Drawing on evidence from indigenous peasants movements in Latin American countries, this paper offers a comparative view of specific political economic factors that enable effective assertion of rights on the ground.

Nina **KAYSSER** (SOAS)
Contesting urban spaces: Socio-economic change and Hindu-Muslim violence in India
(Urban Citizenship and Political Change across South Asia: 4 April, MC336, 10.00-12.00)

Investigating variations in Hindu-Muslim violence in urban areas, this paper explores the extent to which these may be explained by socio-economic developments. Hindu-Muslim violence in India, it has been argued, is a primarily urban phenomenon. Based on newspaper reports from 1950 to 1995, Varshney (2002) found more than 95% of the violence to be located in urban areas. Whilst this may partially be explained by urban reporting bias, the main reasons, according to him, are differences in civic interactions between the two groups in urban and rural areas. This paper takes a fresh look at the 'urbanisation' of Hindu-Muslim violence. Based on a unique update of the Varshney and Wilkinson data set it explores the link between the extent of violence and socio-economic developments, until 2010.

Alexandra Wanjiku **KELBERT** (Institute of Development Studies)
Gender roles and global crises: the case of Bangladesh
(Gender Empowerment in South Asia: A Double Burden?: 4 April, MC219, 10.00-12.00)

The 'Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility' project is a four-year initiative (2012–15) to study the social impacts of and responses to volatile and rising food prices in poor communities in ten developing countries. Early findings from the research point to the fact that women's roles as unpaid providers of care - feeding families, looking after the young, the old and the sick, cleaning, grooming, socialising - are rapidly changing due to pressures to stretch resources to make ends meet, to conserve or produce more at home, and at times to earn additional cash incomes. In turn, this double or triple burden of the care-providing, food growing and cash-earning women often means that the quality of care being provided suffers, and with it, the quality of life and human wellbeing. This paper examines the 2012 and 2013 findings pertaining to the specific effects on provisioning for family life and unpaid care work when food prices and other basic costs of living rise rapidly and over a sustained period in the case of Bangladesh.

Heewon **KIM** (SOAS)
United Progressive Alliance government, Muslims, and public sector employment: an unfulfilled promise?
(Muslim Politics and Identity in South Asia: 3 April, MLT, 12.30-14.30)

This paper presents the preliminary analysis of my PhD thesis on the UPA and Muslims. The election of the UPA government in 2004 marked something of a turning point in the provision of equality of opportunity for religious minorities in India. Committed to 'preserve, protect and promote social harmony', the UPA's Common Minimum Programme promised 'to provide full equality of opportunity for religious minorities'. The gross under-representation of Muslims in public sector employment was highlighted both by the Sachar Committee Report and the Ranganath Misra Commission report. This under-representation was at all levels, but particularly striking in some of the large public undertakings. Despite the high profile recommendations of the Sachar Committee and Ranganath Misra Commission, the policy process and the monitoring data clearly illustrate that there has been little discernible improvement in Muslim employment in the state sector at the central level. This paper will critically evaluate the initiatives undertaken by the UPA and reflect on the outcomes within the context of the broader approach towards Muslims and minorities.

Gabriele **KOEHLER** (UN Research Institute for Social Development)
Nepal: Social policy in a nascent welfare state
(Development and Welfare States in South Asia: 2 April, MC325, 15.00-17.00)

In Nepal, after a 10-year civil conflict, an interim constitution laid out a set of socioeconomic rights. Successive coalition governments adopted a set of social policies with the intent of universalising access to health services and social protection, and increasing spending in these sectors. However, the country remains politically fragile, elite politics persists, and thus, while ambitious, the social policies are not sufficient to create a rights-based, accountable developmental welfare state.

Lion **KÖNIG** (Heidelberg University)
Communal violence and cognitive clashes in India: Hindus, Muslims and the conceptual problem of secularism
(Patterns of Conflict in South Asia: National and International Dimensions: 3 April, MC336, 12.30-14.30)

Communal violence is the spectre that has been haunting the Indian Republic for the past sixty years. This paper takes the violent encounters between Hindus and Muslims to a conceptual level, arguing that secularism, despite its constitutional status, is still process rather than product. In India, the state has positioned itself at alternate ends of the secular project, either advocating 'equiproximity', or 'equidistance'. It is this shifting position which has made it possible for nationalist groups to accuse India of being 'pseudo-secular' and biased, thus making secularism a contentious point around which much of the communal politics of India revolves. On an empirical level, the secularism discourse provides analytical insights into India's ability to balance diversity and bridge societal asymmetries, while on a theoretical level it illustrates the difficulties of devising a conceptual 'third way' beyond the exogenous and the endogenous, taking into account general principles and contextual requirements to reduce communal conflict.

Sneha **KRISHNAN** (University of Oxford)
Gender, student politics and aspiration in the neoliberal university
(Liberalisation's Children? Youth, Subjectivities, and Aspirations in India: 3 April, IB243, 9.00-11.00)

This paper interrogates transformations in middle class young women's aspirations in Chennai through a study of their involvement in student unions. Its context is the structural transformation of Indian universities over the last two decades, as well, more broadly, as the logics of 'liberalisation' and the middle classes' renewed engagement with higher education as a vehicle for social ascendancy. It argues that young women's participation in student unions reflects on the one hand the depoliticisation of youth within the context of the prevalence of middle class discourses of 'leadership' and 'empowerment' which situate 'politics' as unruly and the provenance of the working classes. On the other hand, in the specific case of women, these unions also describe the rerouting of women's political visibility and power away from the agitational politics of feminism, and through practices that the paper argues could be seen as 'post-feminist' and situated in global rubrics of 'girl culture'.

Markus **KRÖGER** (University of Helsinki)
The politics of iron mining in India
(South Asia's Science and Environments: 3 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

This paper presents the findings of field research (in 2010, 2012-2013) across the major iron ore mining and investment project areas of India. The possible presence and intensity of conflict is observed, and the cases compared systematically. The strategies used by possible resistance in different cases are compared, and the causal relation between the used strategies and economic outcomes of investment are analysed. The findings suggest that there are generalisable strategies that activists from impacted populations can use to

slow down or discontinue investments they consider as harmful to them. These strategies seem to apply across industry-specific lines and in different political systems, although the context does influence the impact of contentious agency in the politics of corporate resource exploitation. The impact of contentious, electoral, institutional and private politics is considered. In Western and Southern India, movements have managed to considerably influence the discontinuation of mining operations, particularly since 2010, while in the East the impact of movements has not been so marked, and new projects are advancing, particularly in Chattisgargh. Reasons for the divergence are given. The created theory and the results are relevant for general theory-making on social movement outcomes and natural resource politics. The empirical comparison (all iron mining cases in India) and the data provided have not been collected before.

Nirmal **KUMAR** (Vienna University)
Why small regions get a film: analysis of Bhojpuri cinema in the context of India
(Arts, media and identity in South Asia: 4 April, IB244, 10.00-12.00)

This paper poses questions as to why today even a small region with no clear usage of a language/dialect would be able to get a cinema of its own. Its argument is that the eastern regions of India comprising of eastern UP and Bihar, both economically underdeveloped, have managed to have a cinema of their own from about 1960s with varying degrees of success and failure. But since 2000 the cinema has become so commercially viable that it has baffled all commentators. From easy deduction of giving all credit to migrants making it a success to complex demographic analysis, all have been tried. But the phenomenon has alluded all easy explanations. Why a region with a mix of dialects and speaking Hindi in official discourse could develop a cinema in one of the dialects? Let us not forget that Bhojpuri does not have grammar, and literature of its own. So does such a region get a cinema of its own before it gets an authentic language?

Harshan **KUMARASINGHAM** (University of Cambridge)
Constitution Making and Decolonisation in the Eastminsters
(Constitution Making in Asia: 2 April, IB244, 15.00-17.00)

All of the Asian States that emerged from British control in varying degrees took key substantial elements of the British Westminster system. This system was more commonly associated with the British settler countries like Australia, Canada and New Zealand where "kith and kin" links with Britain seemed to make this appropriate. However, the British and the Asian indigenous elites saw advantages in applying this very British system to the very different context of the East. These Asian nations did not have centuries to interpret and adjust in order to develop their constitution as the British had. Instead within months they needed to formulate and design a constitution and therefore invariably drew upon the system of their imperial master. The local elites with the involvement of external actors like Sir Ivor Jennings determined that Westminster could work in the East. Since the Westminster system is based on convention and ambiguity and not rigid rules and clarity the same Westminster system could be adopted and manipulated to produce diverse results and reactions that would shape their countries forever. These states therefore became *Eastminsters* that had clear institutional and political resemblances to Britain's system, but with cultural and constitutional divergences from Westminster. This paper

broadly examines the concept of *Eastminster* in the eventful context of Asian decolonisation and need for rapid constitutional settlement. This constitution making period and the adoption of *Eastminster* had far reaching consequences for all of Asia.

George **KUNNATH** (Oxford University)
Insurgent girls: The girl brigades in India's Maoist movement
(Gender and Sexuality in the Intimate Lifeworlds of the South Asian Left: 3 April, IB243, 12.30-14.30)

Women form approximately 40 percent of the Maoist combatants in the main theatres of guerrilla war in central India. Women continue to join the Maoist ranks in other regions along the *Red Corridor*, too. This paper narrates the stories of girls who join the Maoist Movement in Jharkhand state in eastern India. The central concern here is to understand why girls as young as 12 years old join the Maoists, and why some of them choose to continue in the Movement while others return home. The paper examines the various factors, including the personal circumstances behind the choices that the girls make. The attempt here is also to understand how these factors are similar or different from the reasons that boys give in choosing to become guerrillas. In presenting the ethnographic profiles of the guerrilla girl brigades, this paper examines the gender relations within the Maoist Movement and discusses them in a comparative framework of gender norms in society at large.

Elisabeth **LEAKE** (Royal Holloway)
A frontier undone: The Durand Line and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
(Ideas of the Frontier in South Asia: 3 April, MC325, 12.30-14.30)

International borders, particularly in the twentieth century, have served to separate countries and their citizens into distinct, territorialised nation-states. The Durand Line separating Afghanistan from Pakistan, however, has historically undermined this assumption. An arbitrary perimeter drawn by British colonial officials and still unrecognised by Afghan leaders, the Durand Line has remained fluid and permeable in the eyes of local officials and citizens alike. This has created longstanding tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan, particularly during the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This paper questions how global conflict and the erosion of an already tenuous border between two-nation states influenced local and national identities and ultimately each nation's perception of its own sovereignty.

Sundeep **LIDHER** (University of Cambridge)
Unwelcome subjects, undesirable multiculturalisms: the evolution of immigration control in Britain, 1945-1962
(South Asian Diasporas and the Negotiation of British Multiculturalism(s): 3 April, MC201, 12.30-14.30)

Existing accounts of immigration control - arguably the initial phase of official policy-making on multiculturalism – tend to take the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 as a starting point. The official archive, however, reveals a more interesting story. From 1948, when increasing numbers of non-white British subjects from South Asia, the West Indies and Africa began to assert their right to enter and settle in Britain, British officials actively pursued an elaborate policy of informal immigration control, whilst tactically avoiding legislation. This

period saw the 'outsourcing' of informal control to external agents, including overseas governments and shipping companies. Non-white subjects and citizens, in turn, negotiated and subverted the informal obstacles in place, to exercise their rights of entry and settlement. This paper explores the various ways in which exclusion functioned as the primary feature of the British state's response to non-white British subject immigrants in the years preceding legislative restrictions in 1962.

Roger D. **LONG** (East Michigan University)
The 'Eastminster' system: Sir Ivor Jennings and the trials and tribulations of constitution making in Pakistan
(Constitution Making in Asia: 2 April, IB 244, 15.00-17.00)

This paper examines the attempts to introduce and institutionalise an "Eastminster" system in Pakistan on the principles delineated by Sir Ivor Jennings. It examines the factors that have mitigated the creation of such a system with stable political parties, effective party discipline, and loyal members of a national party. These include the opposition of clerics; the military which has seen democratic forces to be a hindrance to the furtherance of its interests; regional and ethnic forces which have prevented politicians from acting in the national interest; the landed aristocracy wary of any land reform; and finally, political factors which have prevented the creation of an effective party system with centrally controlled political parties and party discipline and members showing allegiance to their leader. The presentation focuses on the nature of political parties in Pakistan and their role in the failure to create a stable party system.

Yang **LU** (Heidelberg University)
From the conflict- to the post-conflict stage: The India-China border dispute and the 'news war'
(Patterns of Conflict in South Asia: National and International Dimensions: 3 April, MC336, 12.30-14.30)

After two decades of diplomatic silence following the 1962 border war, India and China started border negotiations in the 1980s, and in the 1990s established confidence-building measures in the border area. Since then, peace in the border area has largely been maintained. With the improvement of bilateral relations, the India-China border dispute has moved to a post-conflict stage, which means that if current trends in bilateral relations continue, force is unlikely to be used to settle the ongoing dispute. However, the border issue has not been solved, but has, in the recent years, transformed into a 'news war' between the two states, where 'border' is the most common word used in the media reports. The paper discusses how the actual border war became a rhetorical news war, arguing that this change in battlefield does not change the essence of the border dispute, that is, the conflict of national identity and strategic interest between the world's two most populous nations.

Diego **MAIORANO** (University of Liege)
The politics of the right to work
(Work in Post-Liberal India: Continuities & Transformations: 2 April, MC325, 12.30-14.30)

This paper explores how political dynamics have influenced the implementation of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act in Andhra Pradesh, India's top spender and

among the best performers. It briefly suggests the reasons behind this relative success, highlighting the role of the state's former chief minister Y. S.Rajasekhara Reddy. It then shows the kind of convergences, compromises and clashes that shape the relation between the state's highly progressive Rural Development department and the political class. How does this relation influence the extent to which the 'right to work' is actually guaranteed? Is the top-down approach adopted by the state government compatible with other provisions of the act, especially in terms of the strengthening of the Panchayati Raj Institutions? Is there a trade-off between genuine bottom-up implementation and programme success? The arguments presented are complemented by hindsight drawn from the preliminary results of a survey conducted in October 2013, whose aim was to grasp how local political dynamics and caste/class relations impact on how the 'right to work' is experienced.

Marina **MARTIN** (University of Pretoria)
Project codification: Legal legacies of the British Raj on the Indian indigenous mercantile credit institution hundi *between 1969-1978*
(Transnational political & religious networks in South Asia: 2 April, MC336, 15.00-17.00)

A centuries-old artery of credit for Indian merchant networks, the indigenous credit system *hundi* was a highly negotiable instrument, and source of liquid capital. *Hundi* knitted together the properties of goods, capital, credit, information and agency, all of which served as the backbone of the Indian merchant network. Much has been written about colonial legislation in India, but little regarding its impact on indigenous institutions, much less its legacies. This discussion focuses on the colonial legacy of codification, and the way in which the post-colonial Indian government sought to reconcile the indigenous credit institution *hundi* with such a process. Legislation inevitably left its imprint on the institutional foundations of *hundi*, and this is investigated within the paper. In this discussion *hundi* serves as a unit of analysis for how legal frameworks and customary norms can both collide and merge. In particular, it addresses the important issue of how legal change in colonies affected the indigenous or so-called 'informal' institutions that facilitated trade. A centuries-old artery of credit for Indian merchant networks, the indigenous credit system *hundi* was a highly negotiable instrument, and source of liquid capital. *Hundi* knitted together the properties of goods, capital, credit, information and agency, all of which served as the backbone of the Indian merchant network. Much has been written about colonial legislation in India, but little regarding its impact on indigenous institutions, much less its legacies. This paper focuses on the colonial legacy of codification, and the way in which the post-colonial Indian government sought to reconcile the indigenous credit institution *hundi* with such a process. Legislation inevitably left its imprint on the institutional foundations of *hundi*, and this is investigated within the paper. Here *hundi* serves as a unit of analysis for how legal frameworks and customary norms can both collide and merge. In particular, this paper addresses the important issue of how legal change in colonies affected the indigenous or so-called 'informal' institutions that facilitated trade.

Ishita **MEHROTRA** (Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies)
No Leap Forward: Change and Continuity in Lives of Rural Dalit Women
(Dalit Lives: Dynamism and Discrimination in India and Beyond: 3 April, MC201, 9.00-11.00)

Across South Asia, a common feature of neoliberal development has been the organisation, sustenance and indeed the thriving of capitalist accumulation on the region's structural inequalities like gender, caste, class and religion. Using oral histories, this paper captures the everyday interface between village based dalit women and a changing economic scenario in north India, relating them to wider developments in the subcontinent. This is done by way of examining (i) features of the labour market like employment pattern, free/unfree wage labour, im/personal labour relations; (ii) the nature of political institutions and behavior as seen in processes of decentralisation, governance and identity/kinship based mobilisation and (iii) the social outcomes of these developmental changes. It is argued that neoliberalism has entrapped dalit women in a regressive progress story wherein the emerging opportunities have been captured by their men and they have been left behind to facilitate male capitalist aggrandisement. Using oral histories helps to bring out local narratives of emancipation and/or exclusion, thus challenging the tall claims of neoliberalism.

Clare **MIDGLEY** (Sheffield Hallam University)
Pandita Ramabai and liberal religious networks between India, Britain and the United States
(Transnational political & religious networks in South Asia: 2 April, MC336, 15.00-17.00)

Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) was a leading campaigner for women's rights and welfare in colonial India. From a Brahmin family, she converted to Christianity during a stay in England in 1883. Previous scholars have emphasised her determination to chart her own spiritual and activist path in the face of patriarchal Church institutions and colonial power relations. This paper highlights a new context for interpreting Ramabai's life and work through exploring her relationship to a transcultural liberal religious network comprising members of two Hindu reformist groups, the Brahmo Samaj and the Prathana Samaj, and British and American Unitarians, members of heterodox Protestant groups. Ramabai's association with each of these groups has previously been interpreted as marking successive and distinct phases in her spiritual and activist journey; this paper suggests a less disjointed life history, sustained by her involvement in a transcultural network which linked activists across Christian/Hindu, East/West and coloniser/colonised divides.

Mari **MIYOMOTO** (National Museum of Ethnology, Japan)
Slaughter and Buddhism in contemporary Bhutan
(Mountain Economies and Lived Realities of Culture: 2 April, MC336, 12.30-14.30)

In Bhutan in the democratisation process since 2008, by not being given the right to vote, 'religious personalities' have been required to move out of the political sphere. However it appears that monastic bodies have been implementing more activities in rural areas in order to unify plural religious activities and beliefs with Buddhism. In Bhutan studies, there is little study of the collective hierarchical structure of inner society. This paper discusses what has been recognised as 'slaughter', and how those people who practice slaughter have been treated, stigmatised and accepted in this society, where Buddhist monks have aggressively promoted the notions such as the abstinence from taking life and the release of living things kept in captivity recently.

Sara **MONDINI** (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)
The mihrab *of the Jami Masjid of Bijapur*

(Early modern cultural & artistic interactions in South Asia: 3 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

Moving from the analysis proposed by eminent art historians – such as Deborah Hutton and her *The Art of the Court of Bijapur*, or of the various essays published in the proceedings of the latest symposia devoted to the Deccanese artistic production - purpose of the paper is to propose a tentative interpretation of the painted *mihrab* of the *jami masjid* of Bijapur (modern state of Karnataka, India). According to the first investigations carried out, it was allegedly added to the building, patronised by the 'Adil Shahi dynasty and begun in 1568 ca., only during a second phase of decoration – presumably in the mid-seventeenth century. Densely inscribed and sumptuously painted, the *mihrab* could certainly be compared to the near Ibrahim Rauza, but despite the similar elegance and taste, it undoubtedly remains a unicum in its genre. Through a comparative approach the paper seeks to explain and contextualise the *mihrab* and its decoration, considering its extraordinary originality and ambiguous intents of representation as a product of the articulated social and religious context of the 'Adil Shahi court.

David **MOSSE** (SOAS), Meena **DHANDA** (University of Wolverhampton), and Annapurna **WAUGHRAY** (Manchester Metropolitan University)
Negotiating caste: public discourse and legal change in the UK
(Dalit Lives: Dynamism and Discrimination in India and Beyond: 3 April, MC201, 9.00-11.00)

Following parliamentary debate, in April 2013, the Enterprise and Regulatory Reform Act was enacted, Section 97 of which requires the UK government to introduce a statutory prohibition of caste discrimination into British equality law by making caste 'an aspect of' the protected characteristic of race in the Equality Act 2010. Research on caste in Britain commissioned by the Equality and Human RIghts Commission as part of the process of developing secondary legislation on caste discrimination provides opportunity to explore and document the dynamic public discourse on caste in the context of legislative change. This paper discusses the process of reviewing knowledge on, and attitudes towards, caste and discrimination at this particular juncture. It looks backwards at the movement that generated the impetus to make caste part of the Equality Act 2010 and forwards to the challenges involved in identifying caste discriminatoin for the purposes of legal adjudication. It examines the interface between social science, law and the opposed 'stakeholder' (or activist) positions involved in debating how caste can made an aspect of race in fulfillment of the legislative duty. It also considers the social processes of organised debate on the contentous and politicallly significant issue of caste legislation as a matter through which different sections of the South Asian diaspora negotiate a public discourse that is part of their positioning in British society.

Najia **MUKHTAR** (SOAS)
Approaching religious difference differently: ideas and critiques in contemporary Pakistan
(Arts, media and identity in South Asia: 4 April, IB244, 10.00-12.00)

Since September 11, Pakistan has been at the precarious 'front-line' of the Global War on Terror. Ideational and doctrinal difference has increasingly been connected (at least

ostensibly) with attacks on religiously defined targets, including the minority Ahmedi, Christian and Shia communities, and also the majority Sunni-Barelwi community. Further, actors with links to Pakistan have been implicated in acts of terrorism abroad, such as the July 2005 (7/7) London bombings and the 2008 Mumbai attacks. This post 9/11 context of heightened religious conflict has prompted a two-pronged ideational opposition amongst certain Pakistani elites, on the one hand against the perceived perpetrators of religious violence and, on the other, against Western notions of Muslims and Pakistanis as religious extremists. This paper traces the ideas of two prominent elite actors in Pakistan; the Sunni-Sufi scholar, Tahir-ul-Qadiri who issued a 'Fatwa against Terrorism' in 2010, and the successful contemporary music initiative Coke Studio Pakistan that renders Sufi poetry to fusion formats in order to reclaim a Pakistani cultural identity that its conceivers "can be proud of". This paper examines the alternative conceptualisations offered by these groups to undergird a 'good' Muslim's behaviour and attitude towards religious difference in a political setting increasingly complicated by perceptions of Western 'Islamophobia' intermingled with fears about rising religious extremism at home.

Muhammad **MUSHTAQ** (University of Gujrat)
Regional identities in the quest for separate provinces: A new challenge for the Pakistani federation
(A Long History of Politics in Pakistan: 3 April, MLT, 12.30-14.30)

Historically, the centre-province relationship in Pakistan has remained problematic, but recently the federation has made an effort to satisfy the numerous autonomy demands of smaller provinces through the 18th Amendment in the constitution. However, this development has underpinned the mobilisation of minority groups in certain provinces for the creation of new provinces in their respective regional bases. But the majority groups of the respective provinces seem reluctant to endorse such demands. This situation is a challenge for the federation. Ignoring the popular support for self-rule in peripheries would be problematic. Conversely, the issues related to the representation and distribution may open a Pandora's box if the number of federating units is changed in within the federation. Hence, this paper offers an assessment about the viability of possible options keeping in view the ethno-linguistic composition of the federation and the degree of pluralism in the multi-ethnic society of Pakistan.

Divya **NAMBIAR** (University of Oxford)
Deconstructing "success": Youth encounters with skill training programmes in Rajasthan
(Liberalisation's Children? Youth, Subjectivities, and Aspirations in India: 3 April, IB243, 9.00-11.00)

This paper features ethnographic portraits two of young men: the 'stars' of a specific (state funded, private sector implemented) skill training initiative in Rajasthan, who have transitioned from unskilled trainees to skilled trainers in two years. The portraits highlight the complex ways in which the programme's values (based on ideas of enterprise culture and self-reliance) intersect with the young men's personal/cultural values centred on ideas of duty to family members, 'dharma' and desire for respect from the community. It argues that both processes shape young men's encounters with skill training programmes – creating a new framework for 'success'.   The stories of the two young men also demonstrate how neoliberal

values are not blindly accepted by young people, but are strategically reconfigured by them, as they attempt to balance family expectations with personal ambitions, in pursuit of success.

Nandini **NAYAK** (Ambedkar University)
Rights, resistance and citizenship: Claiming the 'right to work' in southwest Madhya Pradesh
(Terrains of Resistance in Neoliberal India II: 2 April, MC201, 15.00-17.00)

This paper looks at how the text of rights defined under the MGNREGA interacts with a politics of claiming work from the State in Barwani district, in south-west Madhya Pradesh. It discusses strategies adopted by Jagrut Adivasi Dalit Sangathan (JADS) an indigenous people's collective (*adivasi sangathan)* to engage with rights defined under the MGNREGA in the first year after the law was enacted. It demonstrates that the 'tools of contention' (Tilly, 1979) adopted by JADS to engage with the 'right to work' are shaped both by the landscape of politics experienced in pre-MGNREGA years as well as by novel 'rights' defined under the NREGA itself. While the process of claiming rights draws on tools of 'legality' such as writing letters and submitting work applications to the local state, it also requires forms of resistance such as sit-ins or *dharnas* which are not considered 'properly political', or are disapproved of by the state. Drawing on de Sousa Santos' (2002), this paper argues that the 'politicisation' of law is critical to allow (modern) law to retain its 'emancipatory energies'.

Zahra **NESBITT-AHMED** (Institute of Development Studies)
Public policies and an agenda of care: The case of Nepal
(Gender Empowerment in South Asia: A Double Burden?: 4 April, MC219, 10.00-12.00)

Involving tasks, such as cooking, cleaning and the care of persons, the unpaid care work done largely by women and girls contributes positively to both the economy and human development outcomes. Yet, in spite of a large body of evidence in support of this, care continues to remain largely invisible in development policy and programming. Taking the case of Action Aid International (AAI) Nepal, this paper looks at specific strategies they have used in their efforts to make care visible to policy actors in the Social Protection and Early Childhood Development sectors. Through a discussion on the gaps and opportunities AAI Nepal confronted, as well as the key challenges, successes and lessons learnt in their work on the care economy, this paper provides insights into what works and does not work when trying to get care onto development agendas.

Muhammad Azfar **NISAR** and Ayesha **MASOOD** (Arizona State University)
The nostalgic detective: Identity formation in detective fiction of Pakistan
(Arts, media and identity in South Asia: 4 April, IB244, 10.00-12.00)

Through an analysis of detective fiction, this paper explores the existence of a reflective nostalgia in post-colonial Pakistan. It proposes that this nostalgia operated at three levels. Firstly, it represented an approach that saw the geographical separation of India not as a complete socio-cultural break where the entire heritage of India had to be disowned in order to become an 'authentic' Pakistani. Secondly, it was a yearning for the inclusive religiosity where religion was a matter of personal choice and not a state enforced enterprise. Finally, it represented an attitude towards colonialism which accepted modernity and rationality while keeping indigenous traditional values intact. At the end, implications of this nostalgia on the

development of nationalist identity in Pakistan are discussed in the context of current socio-political crisis.

Patrick **OSKARSSON** (University of Gothenberg)
The creation of mining as a subject of resistance in central India
(Terrains of Resistance in Neoliberal India II: 2 April, MC201, 15.00-17.00)

This paper investigates political contention related to India's mining sector, which in recent years has attracted both national and international attention. The expansion of mining in line with economic reforms and the entry of private investors is not enough on its own to explain the increasing attention given to mining. Instead the creation of mining as a topic of resistance is seen as a building on concerns of displacement highlighted by the Narmada Bachao Andolan and other movements, the case for local forest rights that resulted in a new Act in 2006, and the appearance of a test case in the form of the Niyamgiri bauxite mine which brought different groups together in a long and still on-going resistance struggle. However, the high attention given to industrial promotion and the challenging security setting with police suppressing local protests on an assumed connection to Naxalism continues to prevent improvements despite recent oppositional successes.

Tina **OTTEN** (SOAS, University of London)
Ideas of the Indian state and their implementation in a village in the Kandhamals, Odisha
(The Local Life of Big Ideas: Villages as Sites of Diversity, Politics and History in South Asia: 3 April, MC219, 9.00-11.00)

The paper explores how the ideas, schemes and laws of modern India are realised in Bisipada, the village in the Kandhamals, Odisha that F.G. Bailey studied in the 1950s. I had the opportunity to work with his field-notes and restudy the village recently through a major project based at SOAS, University of London. The impact of ideas of identity, citizenship, education and the implementation of laws and schemes like the SC/ST reservation bill, the temple entry act, and education-related schemes have led to changes in political and social power constellations. These changes are described by case studies, e.g. the access to secular and sacred places. The paper's focus is on how individual persons and village communities play with modern ideas of citizenship or older notions referring to *jati* identities in order to achieve the positions they desire.

M. Raisur **RAHMAN** (Wake Forest University)
Qasbahs, Muslims and the question of being a minority: social and cultural order in colonial India
(The wider world of social marginalisation in India: 2 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

Multiple groups and communities have helped forge the culture of India of which Muslims remain a key contributor. This paper argues that despite being a minority demographically, Muslims in modern India have not been socially inconsequential and intellectually peripheral. If one looks at the contributions of Muslims related to *qasbahs* (small towns or large villages) of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century India, one can explore how influential they have been in defining and shaping up the social and intellectual landscape of local societies in substantial ways, while the majority community simultaneously engaged and participated in the process. This paper critiques the notion of the minority being 'marginal'

and contends that Muslims have been no less at the helm of affairs when it comes to social, cultural, and intellectual ordering in modern India.

Neelam **RAINA** (Middlesex University)
Kashmir post-conflict reconstruction of civil society
(Negotiating Gender and Rights in Post-Disaster Landscapes: 2 April, IB243, 12.30-14.30)

Sahar **ROMANI** (University of Oxford)
NGOising political practice: Subaltern youth and the limits of human rights
(Liberalisation's Children? Youth, Subjectivities, and Aspirations in India: 3 April, IB243, 9.00-11.00)

With the globalisation of rights-based development, NGOs are booming in urban India. In Kolkata, red-light areas are a popular site of NGO development interventions particularly targeting children and youth. NGOs in red-light areas are dedicated to 'protecting', 'empowering' and 'developing' children and youth as change agents in their communities. Subaltern young people growing up in many of Kolkata's red-light areas come of age participating in NGO workshops and campaigns advocating for rights-based change, from women's rights to child rights to the right to education. How does rights-based consciousness affect and orient young people's imagination to address inequality in their everyday lives? Based on 13 months of ethnographic research with young people from red-light areas who grew up as 'subjects' of NGO development programmes, this paper pays attention to the political subjectivities of young people after their participation in NGOs. This paper ethnographically examines young people's political practices in addressing daily inequality and improving their everyday lives. It argues that a rights-based framework mobilises young people to address a particular grammar of inequality but also invisbilises other forms of inequality. In light of the limited grammar of rights-based frameworks, it examines the various strategies young people deploy to enact change from resistance to resourcefulness.

Gautam Chando **ROY** (Vidyasnagar University)
Science education in a colonial situation: Bengali children's literature, c.1880- c.1920
(South Asia's Science and Environments: 3 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

When colonial Bengalis began cultivating science for the material progress of their nation, their agenda included educating children through a literature created especially for them. The intention was to forge them into imaginative, rational, and productive beings who would both take care of society and secure a place for their country in the modern world. Those who grew up reading this literature acknowledge that it was from this that they mainly acquired knowledge about the physical world, that it stoked their imagination, and that it helped make them into creative and caring individuals. But by stressing greatly on intellect and reason, this literature went against other kinds of knowledge and by extension all people who were the repositories of such knowledge – the old, the illiterate, the lower orders, the rural folk, and women. Science too thus became a matter of faith, engendering a narrowness that goes against its very spirit.

Piyush **ROY** (University of Edinburgh)

Rasa and Phalke: tracing Natyasastra influences in the auteurship of the father of Indian cinema
(Arts, media and identity in South Asia: 4 April, IB244, 10.00-12.00)

The 'father of Indian cinema', Dadasaheb Phalke was attracted to the craft of filmmaking by Hollywood and European films like many of his successors. His pioneering impact was a deliberate initiating of the first processes of 'Indianisation' of an international art form. This set in motion certain signature styles of differentiation-in-adaptation to create a prodigious offspring that has arguably mutated far away from its 'foreign' parent DNA. Inspired by Indian independence and identity-seeking movements of the early twentieth century, Phalke wanted to establish a 'Swadeshi' cinema. His means were Western, but the end was to create a distinct Indian art form. Using performance styles from Phalke's only surviving films *Raja Harishchandra* (1913/17) and *Kalia Mardan* (1919) and his 'explanatory' essays on making movies as reference, this paper argues that a discernible adherence to Nātyasāstra (Sanskrit theatre) traditions is evident in the processes guiding his casting, directorial style and expectations from cinema.

Srila **ROY** (University of Witwatersrand)
Empowering women, producing subjects: Feminist politics in liberalized India
(**Terrains of Resistance in Neoliberal India I: 2 April, MC201, 12.30-14.30)**

In the everyday practice of the non-governmental organisation that form the subject of this paper – one that focuses on economic empowerment through a strong 'women's rights' approach in the district of South 24 Parganas in West Bengal – neoliberal ideals of entrepreneurship sit alongside older socialist and feminist ones of self-sufficiency and empowerment and newer statist vocabularies of rights. In building the 'capacity' of community women to address the violence that is pervasive in their midst, developmental strategies take on an explicitly feminist hue. They aim not merely to arrest processes of subalternisation but to produce subaltern women as effective agents of vigilance and change in their communities. Such strategies have intended and unintended effects. The paper explores what Spivak has called the 'rearrangement of desire' that takes place in the encounter between subaltern women and the NGO world. The expressed desires and aspirations of these women often escape the expectation of purity that underpins dominant approaches to subalternity, observable in transnational neoliberal ideologies as well as in metropolitan feminist ideals of autonomy.

Laldinkima **SAILO** (National University of Singapore)
'Looking east' through northeast: Development and connectivity
(Bridging Regions: Emerging Trends in India's Interactions with Southeast Asia: Villages as Sites of Diversity, Politics and History in South Asia: 3 April, MC325, 9.00-11.00)

The possibility of developing greater physical connectivity between India's Northeast states and Southeast Asia has gained momentum as India seeks new ways to widen its engagement with the region east of its borders. This proposition also poises itself as a way for India's landlocked Northeast region to come out of the geographical disadvantage it has found itself in and take part in regional trading opportunities. As such, the two regions have strong historical and cultural links that can be leveraged to create new economic and political dynamics. There have been concerted efforts on both

sides to build infrastructure through initiatives such as the Kaladan Multi Modal Transport Project, the Trilateral Highway Project as well as through ASEAN's own Master Plan on Connectivity to link the two regions through roads, railroads and other multi modal transportations systems that will facilitate trade and greater people to people contact. There have also been suggestions of developing integrated power grids to transmit excess power generated in the region to parts where there is a deficit. All these projects, if they come to fruition, will pass through the Northeast Region of India (NER) and Myanmar. Yet, besides the physical challenges of building connectivity infrastructure in the Northeast region and Myanmar where the identified gaps are enormous, there are huge political and security implications. Indeed, the impact that such infrastructure will have on the regions need to be assessed in the context of the type of trade and economic dynamics that is expected to be generated.

This paper will provide, both, the background to these connectivity projects as well as discuss the type of impact that may result in the Northeast India region.

Oyndrila **SARKAR** (Heidelberg University)
Scientific innovators or 'native informants': Radhanath Sikdar, Mohsin Husain and the great trigonometrical survey of India
(**The Longue Duree of Intellectual History I: 2 April, MC219, 12.30-14.30**)

The most celebrated figure in Indian surveying remains Lt. Col. George Everest (Surveyor General of India 1830-1843) as no scientific man would 'have a more grander monument to his memory than the Great Meridional Arc of India', while the memorial to other scientific men who however sat computing heights and distances remains restricted to a brief line in the concluding sections of every survey report. This tenacious historical process of surveying was not a monolithic bloc using 'western science and technology' in colonial India, and most definitely not a homogenous process of applying this same technology from the Irish ordnance surveys or the surveys in the other colonies of England, but in reality a far more negotiated and complicated practice. In this respect, the larger question in mind is to trace a network of ideas of the technology of surveying, and how it was carefully put together between the British surveyors in the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India and a 'Non-European' body of technology and knowledge production. This paper focuses on a Bengali computer at the Chief Computing Office at Wood Street, Calcutta, and a watchmaker from Arcot in south India, who repaired astronomical instruments as Mathematical Instrument Repairer worked closely alongside engineers and craftsmen in the departments of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. Sikdar and Mohsin were co-producers of scientific knowledge, and were regarded as such by their British colleagues, even if they may have vanished from the documents that memorialised the surveys and provided the retrospective justification for imperialism.

Tommaso **SBRICCOLI** (SOAS)
Small stories and epochal trends: changing voting patterns in a village in Central India
(**The Local Life of Big Ideas: Villages as Sites of Diversity, Politics and History in South Asia: 3 April, MC219, 9.00-11.00**)

This paper is about an excavator, which the Forest Department confiscated from one of the most respected Muslim men in a Madhya Pradesh village two months before the State elections held in November 2013. This small event in a small village points to epochal changes in political loyalties and patterns of voting in contemporary India. Drawing on an ethnography of the 2013 elections in Madhya Pradesh, it shows how changes happening on a state and national scale are embedded at the local level in particular and circumscribed episodes. The latter are constructed narratively in terms comprehensible to social actors at the local level, at the same time as they mirror broader processes going on at the level of national politics.

Chandak **SENGOOPTA** (Birkbeck College)
In the prisonhouse of 'humanism': Satyajit Ray and the West
(**The Longue Duree of Intellectual History I: 2 April, MC219, 12.30-14.30**)

From "Pather Panchali" (1955) onward, Satyajit Ray's films have regularly been described by British and American critics as "humanistic". The term is rarely defined but it is clear that it is something of a code indicating Ray's supposed lack of interest in political and social issues associated with the left. This paper explores how the dense social detailing and subtle political inflections of Ray's early work were overlooked by the majority of Western critics, especially in the earlier decades of the Cold War, and how that depoliticisation ensured that Ray's post-1970 films, the socio-political messages of which were far too explicit to be accommodated within the "humanist" frame, received little praise in the US or the UK. The relative success of Ray's early films in the West, the paper argues, owed significantly to their lyricism and exotic appeal, but their putative distance from politics and ideology was also a significant factor in their international appeal. The paper concludes with a provisional analysis of the evolving political structure of Ray's corpus from 1955 to 1981, showing how the changing tenor of his films (and, where relevant, his stories) after the mid-1960s reflected not only a darkening of his own mood (as suggested by his British biographer Andrew Robinson) but the general disillusionment of the progressive Bengali bourgeoisie with the state of their class, region and nation.

Tahrat N. **SHAHID** (University of Oxford)
Sexual equality in family laws for Muslims in Bangladesh: A fear of change
(**Gender and Sexuality in the Intimate Lifeworlds of the South Asian Left: 3 April, IB243, 12.30-14.30**)

Bangladesh has a history since independence of pursuing gender equality through a range of development programmes and institutions. As with many developing countries with significant Muslim populations, however, personal status legislation remains relatively static with regard to Muslim women's rights. Inspired by studies of negotiations between state and civil society actors in bringing about changes in law, this paper analyses the evolution of sexual equality in family laws for Muslims in Bangladesh, revealing a range of voices using women's rights in shari'a-guided family laws as a bargaining tool to negotiate between competing notions of 'Islam' and 'secularism' and their role in governance. There has been little change in personal status legislation beyond procedural simplification, and case history at the Supreme Court level suggests that the judiciary has a tendency to support freedom of religious practice except in family laws - this paper explores why this is the case.

Tom **SIMPSON** (University of Cambridge)
Tangled lines: Bordering and frontier-making in colonial north-east India, 1830-1930
(Ideas of the Frontier in South Asia: 3 April, MC325, 12.30-14.30)

Contrary to conventional accounts, the British attainment of paramountcy in South Asia with the final defeat of the Marathas in 1818 did not eradicate the problem of internal borders in colonial India. From the mid-nineteenth century, relations with 'tribal' areas at the territorial outskirts of British India emerged as an important and largely intractable issue for the colonial state. This paper explores the inconsistent attempts to define and enforce frontier areas of indeterminate sovereign status at the fringes of the province of Assam. I suggest that the colonial state's efforts to produce borders and frontier areas to mark the limits of administered British India were rarely authoritative and were subverted and reworked by colonial officials and local inhabitants alike.

Jasjit **SINGH** (University of Leeds)
The cultural value of South Asian arts in Britain
(Cultures of State and Identity in the Diaspora: 4 April, MC325, 10.00-12.00)

The status of minority ethnic arts in Britain has been a cause for concern ever since Naseem Khan published her seminal 'The Arts Britain Ignores' in 1976 in which she noted that "ethnic minority arts are an energetic but struggling sub-culture. On the whole they exist for the communities alone – necessarily, since little encouragement is given them to expand" (1976:5). This paper presents the ongoing findings of research into the cultural value of South Asian Arts in the UK, examining how South Asian Arts impact on the religious and cultural lives of South Asians in Britain. Presenting a review of the development of South Asian Arts in Britain, this paper will then examine how those participating in South Asian Arts value this participation focusing in particular on those arts events which take place in venues and to audiences which are often hidden from the mainstream.

Sinderpal **SINGH** (National University of Singapore)
India-Southeast Asia relations: Unpacking the narrative(s)
(Bridging Regions: Emerging Trends in India's Interactions with Southeast Asia: Villages as Sites of Diversity, Politics and History in South Asia: 3 April, MC325, 9.00-11.00)

Since the early 1990's, interactions between the Indian state and states within the Southeast Asian region have increased considerably. This has led to a surge in academic accounts of the relations between India and the various Southeast Asian states taken individually as well as collectively. In particular, from within the discipline of International Relations, a significant amount of literature has been produced in relation to this subject matter. In this paper I argue that, despite the significant volume being produced, much of this literature is considerably alike, and ultimately, somewhat limited in its attempt to make sense of this India-Southeast story. My paper will outline the four main themes/discourses associated with the bulk of this literature. The first is the keen desire to show the historical cultural affinities between India and Southeast Asia. The second is representing the Indian state's declared 'Look East' policy as a major deviation in Indian

foreign policy, brought about by a major change in Indian self-conceptions domestically. The third is the discourse on 'Indian democracy' and the manner in which it is viewed as a significant liability. The fourth is the theme of India as a 'balancer' in regional geopolitics and the relational role of India vis-à-vis China in the international politics of the Asia-Pacific region. The paper will attempt to problematize each of these four established themes/discourses. It will go on to highlight other less conventional aspects of the relationship between India and Southeast Asia and explain why a better appreciation of these aspects provides a broader and more nuanced narrative of India-Southeast relations.

Subhir **SINHA** (SOAS)
Subalterns, the NGO form and the outside/inside of mainstream politics and development in India
(**Terrains of Resistance in Neoliberal India I: 2 April, MC201, 12.30-14.30**)

This paper considers the relation between two sets of entities that are often lumped together under the rubric of 'civil society', namely social movements and non-govermental organisations. Once considered, not without some justification, as a 'stand-in' for civil society, as representing a position that is 'close to the grassroots', through the 1990s and the 2000s, NGOs in India, as worldwide, began to evolve in another direction: as part of the apparatus of neoliberal governmentality, as part of an important global conveyor belt of new modes of development, and increasingly no longer as 'not-for-profit' but 'for-profit' consultancies. As a result, they became, at the same time, part of the extended terrain of 'the political' and also of the process that attempted to 'de-politicise' development. This paper, drawing on examples from a number of NGOs with links to the subaltern poor, sketches out how this travelling of the NGO form across the governance spectrum - from its critical outside to its complicit inside - has reshaped the politics of claim-making and resistance in contemporary India.

Deborah **SUTTON** (Lancaster University)
Inhabited Pasts: the politics of space and urban monuments in New Delhi
(**Architecture and the Politics of Space: 3 April, MC219, 12.30-14.30**)

When the new city at Delhi was created, the conservation of Islamicate monuments offered a physical association between Mughal authority and a harried late-colonial regime. Colonial archaeologists enthusiastically redeemed monuments from their immediate environments - from 'sewer', 'buffalo' and 'dust' - and subjected them to selective structural consolidation and adjustment. However the bureaucratic imagination had no means to account for monuments as living spaces within the city. The occupation of these sites by partition refugees in the late 1940s disrupted sharply their meaning as antiquities. The monuments subsequently provided structural and spatial canvases where official regulations were constantly transgressed. The Archaeological Survey, armed with the rules framed for visitors at the start of the century, had jurisdiction over spaces of almost limitless possibility: of romance, death, commerce, sport, dance and devotion. Yet the Survey could imagine only one role for these structures: the socially vacated and physically static monument.

Abin **THOMAS** (King's College London)

The bioeconomy of 'obligation', 'empathy' and 'donation': Contemporary reflections on organ donation in Kerala
(Development and Welfare States in South Asia: 2 April, MC325, 15.00-17.00)

The human body became a vehicle to redeem oneself from indebtedness in Lawrence Cohen's study of the bioeconomy of kidney transplantation in South India. India's 1994 Transplantation of Human Organs Act made selling of solid organs "unambiguously illegal", but, as Cohen writes, it facilitated organ harvesting from brain dead donors. Borrowing Nicolas Rose's argument on flattened out field of biopolitics and networks, this paper demonstrates taht Kerala offers some recent developments in organ donation and its bioeconomy. The starting of Kidney Foundation of India and news on organ transplantation became contemporary developments of Kerala's public interventions in health sector. This context allows this paper to consider the status of secular body in Indian context in the light of Talal Asad's works, and to locate a post-secular shift in the bioeconomy of 'obligation', 'empathy', and the notion of 'donation'.

Marc **TIEFENAUER** (Université de Lausanne)
The realm of the Lord of Death as depicted by an eighteenth century Persian translation of the Ramayana
(Early modern cultural & artistic interactions in South Asia: 3 April, IB244, 12.30-14.30)

In the first half of the eighteenth century, Amānat Rāy, a *kṣatriya* pupil of the famous Sufi poet Bēdil, completed Persian translations of *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* and Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. This paper, after briefly presenting the posthumous publication in Lucknow of his *Rāmāyan-i Fārsī* by the famous Naval Kishore Press, analyses Rāy's translation of some chapters of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* or, to be more precise, those depicting Rāvaṇa's visit to hells and his fight with Yama, the Lord of Death. This paper compares the Sanskrit original with the Persian rendering, showing where the Mughal translator adapted the poetical images, adjusted the characters, and retold the myth for his readership and his time.

Alice **TILCHE** and Edward **SIMPSON** (SOAS)
Take me to London! migration and nationalism in Central Gujarat
(The Local Life of Big Ideas: Villages as Sites of Diversity, Politics and History in South Asia: 3 April, MC219, 9.00-11.00)

In Sundarana, a village of central Gujarat, most young women and men from the Patidar community today aspire to migrate abroad. The ability to acquire an education and to secure a job away from the land (ideally in a foreign country) constitutes the new marker of status in this extremely competitive society. At the same time, Patidars carry the historical legacy of being 'peasant Nationalists' (Hardiman 1982) and have in more recent times been among the supporters of the project for a Hindu nation. Many praise their village and region as the best of possible worlds. Why, then, such compulsion to leave? This paper investigates Patidars' aspiration to migrate and its inherent contradictions. In particular, it examines how ideas of status and social difference are reconstituted through the migration of people, goods and ideas. It argues that migration abroad has become a prerequisite for successful belonging to the universe of the village. While most studies of this community have focused on stories of success, this paper engages with the large number of Patidars, especially at the 'lower' level

of the caste, who struggle to transform education into successful forms of social and economic mobility. If migration is the prerequisite for belonging, what are the consequences of failure? How do those who are left behind belong to the universe of the village?

Rajiv **VERMA** (University of Hohenheim)
Village outcastes, entitlements and the struggle against corruption: A case-study of Samajik Shodh Evam Vikas Kendra *in rural Bihar, India*
(The Local Life of Big Ideas: Villages as Sites of Diversity, Politics and History in South Asia: 3 April, MC219, 9.00-11.00)

Rent-seeking, corruption and denial of rights to the poorest sections of rural society in India and particularly in the most 'backward' states like Bihar have remained common sight for long. The current regime in Bihar claims to have initiated governance reforms and extend rights to the lowest rung of caste hierarchy. Yet, the poorest if not mobilised effectively, are often not able to exercise their rights and entitlements. Can effective mobilisation of the village poor alter local power relations and help them in both securing their rights and curb rent-seeking? This paper addresses this question on the basis of an in-depth case-study of a grassroots organisation called *Samajik Shodh Evam Vikas Kendra* (SSEVK), working with *Musahar* community (former 'untouchables') in Bihar, and unravels the dynamics of mobilisation, and the resultant changes in terms of *Musahars'* encounters with the local state as also with other caste groups (both 'upper' and 'lower').

La Toya **WAHA** (Heidelberg University)
Analysing Buddhist monastic violence: identity and conflict in Sri Lanka
(Patterns of Conflict in South Asia: National and International Dimensions: 3 April, MC336, 12.30-14.30)

In 2009, the long-lasting violent conflict between the Buddhist Sinhalese majority and the ethnic minority of Sri Lankan Tamils was brought to an end by the Sri Lankan army. Only two years after the Tamil separatists' defeat, a series of aggressive actions against the Muslim minority set in. Fundamentalist Buddhist organisations launched campaigns against Muslims, with the level of aggression constantly rising, and the frequency and severity of incidents increasing. The paper explores the question of why Buddhist monks engage in violent acts against Muslims, focusing on three essential aspects: Why do Buddhist monks at all resort to violence, why do they attack Muslims, and why are they doing so at this particular point in time? The paper analyses the connections between religious and political power, and the importance of identity as an explanatory variable of conflict. The issue is of pressing topicality, not least since the development of the conflict is reminiscent of the 1983 anti-Tamil riots that marked the beginning of the Sri Lankan civil war.

Asanga **WELIKALA** (University of Edinburgh)
'Specialist in Omniscience'? Nationalism, Constitutionalism and Sir Ivor Jennings' Engagement with Ceylon
(Constitution Making in Asia: 2 April, IB 244, 15.00-17.00)

Among the several roles played by Sir Ivor Jennings in the public life of Ceylon in the 1940s and 50s, this chapter is concerned with his contribution to the constitutional evolution of the

country at the historical moment of independence. Jennings' work in and on Ceylon during this pivotal period of his working life requires deeper reflection than it has so far received, for it has significant implications for our understanding of him as both constitutional theorist and comparative constitutional lawyer within the Commonwealth tradition. While it is well known that Jennings was the technical creator of the core constitutional scheme that framed Ceylon's final progress to independence and its post-independence constitution, this paper focuses on two central themes in relation to his intellectual influence in these respects. The first, 'Post-colonial Nation-building and the Independence Constitution', revisits Jennings' classical modernist views on nationalism, which determined a preference for an overarching 'ethnic-blindness' to constitution-making (notwithstanding Section 29), in the light of subsequent experience in Ceylon and wider comparative constitution-making. The second, 'Theory to Practice: 'Manner and Form' and the Independence Constitution', explores his putting into practice the arguments with regard to procedural entrenchment he had developed in opposition to Dicey's theory of parliamentary sovereignty, and the failure of that exercise in the cultural context of an 'Eastminster'.

Philippa **WILLIAMS** (Queen Mary)
Aspirations, Agency, Angst: Muslim graduates in New Delhi's post-liberal economy
 (Work in Post-Liberal India: Continuities & Transformations: 2 April, MC325, 12.30-14.30)

This paper explores the experiences of some of India's Muslim graduates working in New Delhi's organised private sector economy. This liberalised work environment is often celebrated for its emphasis on 'merit' and 'multicultural' workforce. Whilst research has problematised the ways in which caste intersects access to, and mobility within, this sector of the economy, less work has detailed how religious difference shapes young Muslims' career opportunities. Contributing to critiques that challenge the inclusiveness of economic growth, the paper examines the strategies of Muslim graduates as they negotiate their career aspirations and realities, and also their embodied politics and everyday practices of discrimination. The paper starts to think about the nature of emotional labour for India's Muslims working in the capital's liberalised, global economy.

Rebecca **WILLIAMS** (University of Warwick)
The 'inarticulate premise': family planning under the Emergency in India, 1975-77
(Democracy at Work in Post-Independence India : 3 April, MC336, 9.00-11.00)

During the Emergency of 1975-77, millions of Indian citizens were sterilised through the national Family Planning Programme (FPP). The Emergency has since been remembered as a period of bureaucratic 'excess'—said to have been indulged in by over-zealous government officials—particularly in the family planning programme. This paper examines why, in the context of the Emergency, the Government of India pursued the FPP so forcefully. It argues that the FPP became a crucial point of state intervention during the Emergency thanks to the already-established position of population control as the 'inarticulate premise' upon which all other developmental projects were contingent. It shows how the FPP received a fillip during 1975-77 thanks to an intense drive for economic development during the Emergency—as manifested in Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's 20-point economic programme.

Benjamin **ZACHARIAH** (Heidelberg University)
Chasing an idea

(The Longue Duree of Intellectual History II: 2 April, MC219, 15.00-17.00)

Three decades of postcolonial studies has led to an impression that ideas can contaminate those who encounter them with hegemonic colonial attitudes, should the origins of these ideas be in the colonial world. A study of ideas as they are encountered, however, suggests that they are far more creatively used, by those in the colonies as well as those in the metropole. This paper focuses on the two major ideological frameworks of the first half of the twentieth century, communism and fascism, and studies some of their uses in and for South Asia. It also seeks to illustrate some of the difficulties for historians of chasing an idea in retrospect.

John **ZAVOS** (University of Manchester)
Social action and cultures of service in the BrAsian city
(South Asian Diasporas and the Negotiation of British Multiculturalism(s): 3 April, MC201, 12.30-14.30)

The idea of devotional service and charity is deeply embedded in South Asian religious traditions, expressed through concepts such as *seva, sadaqah* and *khairat.* In the diaspora context, such concepts have served primarily to frame acts of giving – either within diasporic communities or transnationally to the 'homeland' – or as a spur to acts of service related to specific religious institutions. In recent years, the cultures of service associated with these concepts have been deployed by some British Asian organisations in social action initiatives which self-consciously aim to have an impact on broader British society. This paper explores and compares some examples of such initiatives drawn from recent fieldwork in Bradford. The paper considers how and why these initiatives have developed, and assesses their significance as forms of multicultural engagement, in relation both to state discourses of social cohesion, and the complex dynamics of identification in the BrAsian city.