■ Article ■

From Sacred Cow Dung to Cow 'shit': Globalization and Local Religious Practices in Rural North India*

Susan S. Wadley

The global forces of modern capitalism are often critiqued for their power to create a homogenous world order, one that will erode the local cultures with which it comes into contact. Simply put, globalization can usefully be conceived of as the product of the "myriad linkages and interconnections between the states and societies which make up the modern world system" [McGrew 1992: 23]. Although these linkages move ideas and traditions between first world and third world, and back, the consumer culture and cultural norms of the western (Euro-American)[1] world have tended to dominate this cross-fertilization. But to believe in the all-consuming power of global forces is to deny any power and agency to local cultural traditions and to the people who enact them[2], to deny people's abilities to accommodate, to resist, or to reject the ideals, symbols, practices, and goods emerging from the cultural and material 'supermarket' [Mathews 2000] of the globalization process. While there is evidence that global forces can be oppressive and lead to the erosion of cultural traditions while challenging identities, others see the processes of globalization as potentially liberating. For example, Frederic

Susan S. Wadley, Ford Maxwell Professor of South Asian Studies, Syracuse University.
Subject: South Asian Anthropology.
Publications: *Struggling with Destiny in Karimpur, 1925–1984* (1994, University of California Press) and (edited with L. A. Babb), *Media and the Transformation of Religion in South Asia* (1995, University of Pennsylvania Press).

Jameson [1998: xiii] questions whether globalization is a "matter of transnational domination and uniformity or a source of the liberation of local culture from hidebound state and national forms?"

In fact, facets of a global culture provide new materials with which peoples can forge new identities — and new traditions. The anthropological literature is filled with examples of these challenges and responses, many written long before the term globalization became fashionable. Traditions challenged by globalization include agricultural practices (see Faust 1998 on current agricultural practices in the Yucatan as related to pre-contact Mayan religious traditions; Gupta 1998 on post colonial agriculture in India; and Lansing 1991 on irrigation systems in Indonesia); livelihoods (see Pelto 1972 on snowmobiles amongst the reindeer herding Saami or Lockwood 1993 on the intrusion of capitalism into Tahiti); games and recreation (see Appadurai 1994 on cricket; also the film *Trobriand Cricket*); new forms of media (see Manuel 1993 on the role of tape cassettes in forging new traditions and identities in India, and for television, Abu-Lughod 1999 on Egypt and Mankekar 1999 on India), or dress (Tarlo 1996 on both rural dress styles and 'ethnic chic' in India). There is no doubt that traditional culture and religion continue to play important roles in everyday life, but in many cases they are now refracted through new lenses that lead to original syntheses of 'traditional' and 'new' (or modernizing global forces).

Few scholars, however, have attempted to articulate details of these new syntheses for religious practices in specific locales and situations. (See, however, [Hughes-Freeland 1998].) As J. Haynes [1999: 5] notes, the real question is "to what extent are religious actors in the Third World changing their ways of 'doing' religion as a consequence of the pressures — and opportunities — afforded by globalization?" This paper is an attempt to rectify that situation with two examples of the 'doing' of religion from one rural but urbanizing family in northern India. These examples point to the creativity of the human actors and the synthesis that they have built. They also point to the power of traditional ways, while at the same time accepting new elements from the cultural marketplace available via processes of globalization.

Both examples come from Hindu ritual practice. Both involve issues of becoming 'modern' for those seeking to belong to the urbanizing lower middle class, and hence directly impact on questions of identity.

The first revolves around the issues of the sacred products of the cow, with marked generational differences in behavior and attitudes. The second focuses on celebrations of birthdays, and here money as well as beliefs about proper ritual performance play a major role: these two examples lead us in two different directions. As we shall see, the issue of the cow and its purifying substances cuts to the core of Hindu belief and may present a challenge in the future for rituals such as *Govardhan*, "cow dung wealth", described here. On the other hand, birthday celebrations demonstrate a much more creative synthesis of modernizing (European) traditions and local Hindu practice.

At many levels, globalization is and has been a long-term factor of north Indian life. Many, for example, suggest that the purdah (seclusion of women/covering of their faces) practices of north Indian women are a result of contact with the Moghul armies and thus the Islamic world beginning in the 12th century CE and indeed the word purdah (*pardā*), meaning 'curtain', is Arabic in origin. More recently, we could point to the wearing of the Gandhi cap by men as a practice associated with nationalism as it responded to a colonial power (see Tarlo 1996 for more on the relationship of Gandhian dress and nationalism). Scholars of everyday Hinduism have tried to envision the relationship between rural, very local oral traditions and those that have an all-India nature, are textual, and are associated with urban elites. M. N. Srinivas [1965] spoke specifically of an all-India Hinduism, that he associated with specific features such as a belief in karma or in pan-Indian gods and goddesses such as Shiva or Vishnu. Building on Robert Redfield's (see [Redfield and Singer 1954]) folk-urban continuum, McKim Marriott [1955] takes the argument further, proposing that there is a continuous interchange between the textual (usually deriving from urban literate elites) "great" traditions and the folk (associated with non-literate, more isolated – by class, caste or rural locale-populations) "little" traditions[3], and that this process is a two-way exchange. Ideas borrowed from the folk into the great undergo the process of universalization, while those from the great tradition that influence the folk traditions undergo a process of parochialization. (These terms are repeated almost exactly by Roland Robertson, a theorist of globalization, who speaks of the "the twofold process of the particularization of the universal and the universalization of the particular" [1992: 177–178].) Clearly a process of connecting local

ideas to those of wider communities is not new, and in fact the language of globalization and localization mimics Marriott's earlier model while Redfield and Singer foreshadowed the perception of globalization as a long-term process of acculturation to dominant hegemonic cultural complexes.

This is not to say that the globalizing forces of the past century are not more profound and more invasive than those of earlier times: the new global culture is a result of computer and communications technology that brings ideas right into the consumer's living room in ways that are more compelling and immediate than ever before; the expanding consumer society provides a panorama of new desirable goods and services, while global market places can ensure that those goods and services are available (via the web) to and from the most remote communities, whether providing medical consultations via computer links in Costa Rica or enabling residents of isolated American Indian reservations to sell their crafts via the web.

The Village of Karimpur and Its Environs

Both examples discussed here come from the practices of one modernizing Hindu Brahman family residing in the village known as Karimpur, in District Mainpuri, Uttar Pradesh, in northern India. Karimpur is located about 150 miles southeast of New Delhi and some eight miles from Mainpuri, the nearby district town. Our knowledge of Karimpur social life is extensive[4]: William and Charlotte Wiser, missionaries with the Presbyterian Mission, conducted research on Karimpur farming practices and social life beginning in the 1920s (see [Wiser, W. 1956; Wiser, W. and C. V. Wiser 1970; Wiser, W. 1933]). I began doing fifteen months of research in Karimpur in late 1967 and have been there twice more for extended research trips and numerous times for short visits: I was most recently there in 1998 (see [Wadley 1975, 1994]) when the incidents described below took place. (See also [Wiser, W. and Wiser, C. V. 2000])

With a population of 2581 in 1998, Karimpur is a village dominated by the Brahman caste (*jāti*): Brahmans were the original settlers of the village; they were and are the largest land-owning caste; their educational levels are higher than almost every other caste; and until the late 1980s, they dominated the village politically, with village headmen be-

fore and after Independence coming from the Brahman caste.[5] The Brahmans are farmers by occupation, with only the heads of two families (of 67 Brahman families in 1998) serving as priests. An increasing number of Brahman families have migrated out of the village to jobs as contractors or in service in Delhi, Kota (in Rajasthan), and elsewhere. In 1984, only a couple of Brahman families had left the village, but by 1998, 90 people (or 15 percent of the Brahman population) had migrated out more or less permanently.

Nowadays, most Brahman families live in brick houses, often with two stories. A third of the Brahman households now own a television set, although the erratic electricity makes viewing TV problematic and cable TV in unavailable. The sons and daughters of Brahman families are increasingly well-educated, and the first female from the village to receive an MA graduated in 1999. Brahman families are also likely to have access to more modern forms of transport – a tractor, a motor scooter, and in one case, a car. A significant number of the Brahman households are joint families (27 households or 263 individuals) while only 36 percent are in nuclear families (24 households or 112 individuals) and 24 percent (16 households or 114 individuals) are in supplemented nuclear families (the remaining 5 are subnuclear households). These Brahman families consider it honorable to maintain their joint family arrangements, and are hence reluctant to separate. There are also advantages in terms of labor distribution to having a group of adult men able to work together, whether in the fields, managing politics for the family, or contributing from a service job in Mainpuri or elsewhere.

In addition to the Brahmans, Karimpur is home to 21 other caste groups, ranging in size from 1 member (a Thakur woman) to 532 (the Kacchi or Farmer caste). Traditionally many of these caste groups were linked by complex patron-client relationships known as the *jajmānī* system (see [Wiser, W. 1958; Wadley 1994]), but the inroads of technology and new labor needs have all but eliminated these ties. Nowadays, some ritual services are still performed by client caste members (*kamīns*), but these are seldom an on-going relationship paid for on a semi-annual basis, but rather individuals are hired for specific occasions. Although Brahman farmers/landowners continue to contract with the land-poor for labor, either on a daily cash basis or as sharecroppers for a quarter or half of the crop, it is clear that the connectedness amongst families through-

out the caste/class hierarchy that marked the period through the 1970s is fast disappearing.

Although a number of caste groups have significant migration rates, the only 'better-off' caste with high migration is the Brahman: here the men have traditionally been better educated than other caste groups and they are able to exploit kin networks linking them to urban areas, thus enabling them to find jobs. Since many Brahman families have one or more brothers or sons working in urban area, it is sometimes difficult to identify those who have migrated permanently versus those who move back and forth. If a family has bought a house in an urban area and returns to the village only for festivals or family emergencies, I have considered them permanent migrants unless the family is explicit about their 'jointness'. Often, a section of a family will live in the city, with one or more children (usually daughters) left in the village to provide household help there and to attend school. Hence children are often raised by adults other than their parents, as families cope with meeting labor and schooling needs.

The family discussed here considers itself joint, despite two brothers and their wives and children living out of the village much of the time: the middle brother lives with his wife and two of his four children in Delhi: they occupy one room (with TV, fridge, gas stove, and fan) in a brick multi-story house in a lower middle class section across the Jamuna River from Delhi proper. One of the two older daughters lives with her youngest uncle, his wife and children, and her grandparents in the village. Her sister usually resides with the oldest brother: he and his family are temporary migrants to Mainpuri, the nearby district town, where they share a large multi-storied house (with TV, video games, air cooler, and fridge) with relatives (this house contains, in addition to the family from Karimpur, two large joint families with several married sons [and grandchildren] in each joint family).

Mainpuri is an growing 'rural' town of some 100,000 individuals. It has several colleges, including one attached to Agra University as well as a Christian college (Presbyterian), and numerous elementary and high schools, including both Presbyterian and Catholic. Aside from the congestion and the products sold, the market looks little changed after sixty years. Men still dominate the streets, which are filled by bullock carts, horse-drawn tongas, tractors, bicycle rickshaws, motor scooters, and trucks

— and more rarely a car or jeep. Access to cable TV is several years old, and there are several movie theaters. The stores (almost all store-fronts packed with goods or street carts) are packed with new consumer goods, ranging from potato chips in sealed packets to ready-made fashionable clothing to plastic toys to television and video stores. An odd sign advertises Mastercard, but in fact the credit card is unknown in this rural town. And unlike the larger district town two hours away, there is not even an ad for computer training. Yet the town is exploding in size, with the more prosperous rural families seeking new business opportunities and building large, multi-storied houses in a traditional style with rooms surrounding an open courtyard in the center. There is an erratic water and electric supply, but it is more frequent than in the rural areas. Amongst the growing middle class, education is a must; and girls as well as boys are expected to complete their BAs. Very infrequently, a daughter-in-law is allowed to work at an appropriate job, e.g. teaching. The women remain relatively secluded in their compounds, with daughters-in-law maintaining purdah in front of male elders. Their lives revolve around childcare, housekeeping, cooking, religious festivities, and television, for with less food processing and animal care than their rural counterparts, their days are rather empty.

Both the Mainpuri and Delhi families regularly move back and forth from town to village, minimally spending festivals and parts of school vacations in the village. Better opportunities for schooling lie behind the decision to be partial migrants: there is little doubt that the schools in the district town and Delhi are superior to those in the village; and sending young children to school in town while residing in the village is difficult (though very recently a bus has begun a route that takes children from the village to a private Hindu fundamentalist school run by a local doctor in town). The oldest brother is head of the joint family that is clearly located in the village.[6] He is adamant that although his family and his middle brother's family largely reside in town, with the third brother, his wife, children and parents in the village, they are 'one' family and have not separated. Brahman families, in particular, view separation as a loss of honor: it is usually gradual process, with physical separation often proceeding ritual separation by years. It is also traumatic for all involved, best understood by westerners as akin to a divorce.

It is this semi-urbanizing, joint family that provides the examples

here. These examples represent trends that are not new to India; and in fact they reflect processes that have already occurred in India's urban middle and upper classes. But they also reflect an acceleration of these processes, as more and more families shift to urban areas where media density, since 1991 including cable TV, has increased dramatically. (See [Babb and Wadley 1995; Pendajur 1989; Rajgopal 1993]) Education is also now more widespread for both men and women, bringing challenges from western science as well as literature and the social sciences. Moreover, though both examples here could and probably did occur in some fashion in modernizing Hindu families fifty or more years ago, we don't have documentation of those changes.

These two examples both concern Hindu ritual practices, one related to the sacred cow — the yearly ritual of *Govardhan*, literally 'cow dung wealth', celebrated in north India the day after *Dīvālī*, the Hindu festival of lamps, every fall — and the other to life cycle celebrations — namely, a birthday. In the first, we have a challenge to a core Hindu belief — the sanctity of the cow and of the products of the cow, particularly the five products of the cow used in Hindu purification rituals (the *pancagavya*, or milk, yoghurt, ghee [clarified butter], dung, and urine): this challenge is largely based on claims to western scientific notions of what is clean and what is dirty. Hence elephant dung on a picture of the Madonna at the Brooklyn Museum is 'dirty' and repulsive to the mayor of New York City and others (though that dung sometimes has ritual purposes in African cultures), just as purifying a ritual space with cow dung in a Hindu household is often thought 'dirty' and repulsive by the Euro-American. As these western scientific notions have gained dominance throughout the world, Hindus are forced to reconsider their purification rituals and other everyday practices involving cow dung. The question is whether the western scientific paradigm will dominate to such an extent that core Hindu beliefs will eventually be altered, or if only the more blatantly 'dirty' practices will disappear. In part, considerations of being middle class and urban are at stake here. In the second example, western notions of celebrating a birthday, including cakes and 'happy birthday', are merged with Hindu ideas of marking birthdays, including ritual blessings, song, and dance: the result is an event that is neither western nor traditionally Hindu, but rather a meaningful new happening that marks its performers as not village, but also as not western but still firmly,

though modernizing, Hindu.

The Sacred Cow, Its Products, and the Ritual of Govardhan

In Hinduism, the cow is sacred and the products of the cow are purifying. To eat cow flesh is heinous and one of greatest sins that a human can commit is to kill a cow. In contrast, the birth of a male calf removes inauspiciousness: for example, if a family member has died on a given date, no rituals, including annual cycle rituals such as *Dīvālī*, the Festival of Lights, can be performed by that family or its lineage descendents on that day until a male calf is born to the lineage on the same date.

The cow, and its products, mark a 'this world' perfect purity: all the living substances of the cow, and its products (milk, yogurt, ghee, urine and feces) are purifying. Only the ultimate product of the cow, its dead body, pollutes — and that pollution is comparably much greater than any other kind of pollution, thus requiring the removal of the carcass by the Leatherworkers, an untouchable caste. As the ultimate polluting element, the meat of the cow is also inedible. The five products of the cow (*pancagavya*) can purify humans who have transgressed the norms of proper actions for their community and can create pure spaces and pure(r) substances: these products are "agents with the power to transcend opposites" [Lannoy 1971: 150]. If a person breaks caste rules, e.g., by travelling across the seas, he could purify himself for re-entry into his caste society by ingesting the five products of the cow. Likewise, women in some parts of India have been required to purify themselves at the conclusion of their menstrual periods by ingesting these same five products.

Foods too are purified for use across what would otherwise be barriers to sharing food: whereas water is thought to easily transmit the pollution of its receptacle and/or its human bearer, milk is purer and less easily contaminated. Frying foods in ghee, or clarified butter, provides the most protection against contamination from polluting humans; and fried breads are hence the primary food served across caste lines at weddings and other feasts. In northern India, with its hypergamous[7] marriage patterns, it is mandatory that fried breads be served to a son-in-law who is thought to be of a higher status lineage than the wife's family.[8] There are limits, though, to this purifying ability: fried breads from an un-

touchable are not accepted by the high castes, for the power of the cow is not strong enough to erase the touch of the polluting Sweeper or Leatherworker.

Spaces too are purified using the dung of the cow. Writing early in the 1800s, Abbe DuBois reports:

> Before the performance of any ceremony the place where it is to take place must be previously purified. This is usually the duty of the woman, and the principal ingredients required are cow-dung and *Darbha*[9] grass. They dilute the cow-dung with water and make a sort of plaster with it, which they spread over the floor with their hands [1906: 153].

In rural north India, major rituals require that the courtyard and verandahs of the house first be freshly plastered with a thin layer of cow dung (*Gobar*), soil and water. Once dry, this area has a hard, thin coating of cleanliness and purity. Then the actual space for the ritual will be again plastered with cow dung before the ceremonies connected with rituals such as a wedding, *pūjā*, or naming ceremony take place. In fact, a major clue to ritual activity is the freshly 'cow dunged' verandah, marking that some ceremony is taking place in that house. Moreover, the kitchen area (*chula*) of a village home must be freshly plastered with a mixture of dung and clay every morning to purify the space where the cooking is to be done, meals often eaten, and food purity most controlled. And the first bread of the day will be fed to the family cow.

Cow dung is used in other ways as well. It is turned into *kaṇḍī*, the dried cow dung cakes habitually used as fuel in north Indian village cooking. Or it may be dumped into pits and used as *khād*, manure for the fields. All of these relate to the sacredness of the cow which probably became valued for its food products, but also for its dung to be used as fuel and manure as well as its use as a draft animal (see [Harriss 1966; Jacobson 1999]). This latter use was vividly brought home to me when a student working in Kumaon discovered that women used the illegally obtained leaves of trees from the state forests to feed their cattle, so that they would have manure for their fields and hence food for themselves.[10]

Western attitudes toward the purifying rituals involving cow dung emerged quickly once the British and other Europeans had begun to examine Indian culture and social life. A widely read European was

Abbe Dubois, a French missionary and observer of India whose writings capture the essence of the late eighteenth century/early nineteenth view of India, but whose translated work, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, printed in England in 1906, carried weight long after his death in 1848. Writing of the ritual of purification using the *panchagavya*, DuBois's attitude toward this mixture is clear when he states, "When this disgusting ceremony of *pancha-gaiva* [sic] is over . . . " [1906: 43]. DuBois also mentions the *panchāmrita*, another mixture of five ingredients, but this time milk, yogurt, *ghee*, honey and sugar. But in remarking on the use of the *panchāmrita* in purificatory ceremonies, DuBois says, "This is not filthy and disgusting like the one previously mentioned [*panchagavya*], but then it is less efficacious" [DuBois 1906: 153]. To DuBois, as to most westerners, the *panchagavya* is disgusting, let alone filthy. Likewise, the practice of Moraji Desai, the Indian Prime Minister in the late 1970s, of drinking human urine as a purificatory rite offended both the west and the westernizing Indian, who if he did not find the practice disgusting, was very aware that the Euro-American did, thus lowering India's repute in western eyes.

A recent publication titled *A Celebration of India*, written with lesson plans for American teachers, claims scientific justification regarding the use of cow dung as a purifying substance in a lesson on the cow in Hinduism. This piece is supposedly written by a child in India for a child in New York City:

> People who live in huts also use the cow dung on their dirt floors to keep them clean. This may sound strange to you because I know that people in the United States think of dung as dirty. But in fact, the cow dung kills germs. People smear cow dung over the dirt floors of their huts and when it dries the germs are dead and the smell of the dung goes away! [Homans 1990: 85]

Here the Indian practice is countered with an explanation acceptable, if believed, to Euro-American ears: dung in fact kills germs and cleans. This type of explanation is necessary not only for Euro-Americans, but for India's growing western-educated middle class. In fact, cow dung does contain bacteria that might kill some kinds of germs, but it also harbors others, such as *e. coli* and the toxic tetanus bacilli (*clostridium tetani*): moreover, the tetanus bacilli thrive in the gastro-intestinal tracts

of domestic animals and are most prevalent in tropical climates [Smucker et al. 1980: 322]. There is also some evidence to suggest that tetanus is more prevalent both during the rainy season and in upper caste families who own more cattle [Wadley and Derr 1984]. What is key here, however, is that the discourse has changed to acknowledge the scientific views of the west, recognizing the dominance of that discourse and the need to make the ritual use of dung acceptable to American school children.

In recent years, the sanctity of the cow and of rituals related to the cow have been under fire from numerous directions, all tied to forms of globalization. More and more Indians are eating beef, if not in India, then when abroad. Chemical fertilizers have replaced manure as a key ingredient for a successful crop (though many farmers are discovering that the old-style *khād* is equally important to a good crop), while kerosene and gas are replacing cow dung as fuel in urban, and some rural, homes. Brick houses and cement or marbled courtyard floors and verandahs (as well as phenol type disinfectants) eliminate the need for a fresh plaster of dung for rituals, while cement or tiled kitchens are less easily plastered with fresh a cow dung every morning before cooking. Even *ghee*, clarified butter, is no longer a key ingredient in cooking as it is replaced by the much cheaper Dalda, or vegetable oil. As families begin to use tractors instead of bullocks, they need fewer cattle. As they turn their fields to cash crops, they grow less fodder and keep fewer milk animals, lessening the availability of all the products of the cow. In contrast, however, is the growing push for *gobar* bio-gas plants, for cow dung produces methane gas which can be used for cooking and other purposes. Periodically, the government's village development programs have urged the installation of simple concrete pits with pipes for drawing off the gas thus produced. Nevertheless, the cow is rapidly becoming a dairy animal, rather than the animal with godly powers (*Kāmadhenu*) of Hindu tradition.[11] Yet many rituals involving the cow remain, though contested, in rural India.

The day after Divali throughout northern India, families celebrate *Govardhan*, literally 'cow dung wealth', in honor of the cow and its protector and herder, the Hindu god Krishna. Krishna's boyhood was spent as a cow herder, and his association with cows is marked in much of the visual imagery around him. More critically, *Govardhan* is the

name of a mountain near Krishna's boyhood village of Brindavan in the region known as Braj, some 100 miles from Karimpur; and pilgrims still regularly visit and circumambulate this small mountain [Haberman 1994: 114]. One of the stories told of Krishna's boyhood is of the day that the god Indra, battling for prestige with Krishna, sent a deluge of rain to the village. In order to protect his home and companions, Krishna lifted the mountain of Govardhan over the community, holding it with his little finger as an umbrella. Indra's rainstorm was ineffective and Krishna demonstrated, once again, his divine powers. It is Krishna and the mountain of Govardhan that are celebrated in this annual ritual (see [Wadley 1980] for its connection to the *Dīvālī* cycle).

During the morning of *Govardhan*, the women and girls gather fresh cow dung, plaster a square on their courtyard floor, and, using more cow dung, fashion mountains (to place around the edge of the square to represent the mountain cum umbrella as protection), a head, feet, and hands coming off of the square (to represent Krishna) while filling the center of the square with cow dung figures representing every human and animal in their household. (See Figure 1, which also includes the village pond and its fish!) This event can be very raucous as the women blatantly discuss the attributes and qualities of the various family members, especially the men. Molding the dung as if it were clay, they also put the family members in representative poses, for example, a group of children around a plate of food or a woman (with a veil) sitting at a grinding stone while the family cattle are usually portrayed lined up at feeding pits. (And yes, I have made these figures once in the four times that I have seen this ritual.) This very visual representation captures the essence of the story: Krishna holding the mountain that protects the family. Later in the day, sticks of grass with puffs of cotton attached are stuck into the dung figures, a small lamp is lit and placed inside the square, while a hurried worship ceremony requires sprinkling puffed rice over it after circumambulating the square and mumbling a prayer seeking Krishna and Govardhan's protection of their family. This image is left for some days, and then the dung is used to make small cakes to be saved for the next major festival, *Holī*, some 5 months later.

It is the making of the *Govardhan* ritual design that is contested by today's urbanizing youth. In Figure 2, the girl to the left is refusing to help make the figures as the cow dung is 'dirty', and she refuses to touch

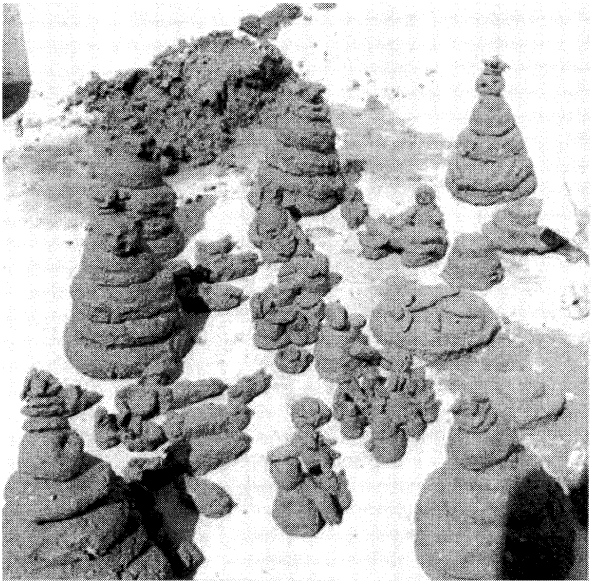

Figure 1 *Govardhan* Ritual Space in a Brahman House, 1968

Figure 2 *Govardhan* being Prepared, 1998

it. She also refuses to plaster the courtyard floor with dung, nor does she know how to cook over a dung fire, having only learned to cook over gas and kerosene. This teenager spends about two months a year in the village, and the remainder in the nearby district town. Though her mother and aunts are very devout Hindus who maintain rigid standards on purity, particularly of their food and physical beings, they are unable to convince their urbanizing daughters of the merits of dung.

Schooling and television and the new generation's own image of being 'middle class' have led to a rejection of the core symbol of the sacred cow. While they most assuredly would not eat beef, and while they would still find the killing of a cow to be a grave crime, they no longer believe that cow dung purifies: rather, it is cow shit. When I teasingly asked one teenager what she would do when married, she responded that her father had best marry her into a house with cement floors, for she certainly wouldn't plaster it with cow dung! Meanwhile, their cousins, raised solely in the village, without the pressure of television and an idea of a different life style, happily help their aunts plaster the floors and make the cow dung figures for *Govardhan*.

What happens, then, in urban homes? Some, more connected to their village roots, such as those in the Mainpuri house shared by this family, are able to get dung and make the ritual design on their marbled courtyard floor. The preparations are done by the older women; and gradually over the years, the younger women, who have BAs and semi-urban upbringings, begin to participate. Unlike some other rituals involving drawing on the wall (such as *Karvā cauth*), where the drawing is now replaced by a poster bought in the market, there is no paper, plaster or plastic replacement for this ritual: apparently it drops out of the family's repertoire when the women reach the point of full acceptance of a Euro-American view of dung.

An example from Chennai, in southern India, illustrates the complex negotiations that can take place between cultural symbols and the new material reality. Twenty years ago, this middle class orthodox Brahman family used to use cow dung to clean the clay stove, cooking area and eating areas.[12] As recently as ten years ago, they would have to plaster the floors with cow dung and "wipe the floor in exact circles" for ritual occasions. But the shift to cement and mosaic tiles creates complications. One uncle built a kitchen of cement with red oxide so that they could

more easily clean it with dung. Once a house has mosaic tiles, this ritual cleaning becomes more difficult as the tiles become stained. When this family had a tiled house, the mother shifted to rubbing the area with a dried dung cake; she thus "felt that the floor was ritually pure and not yet 'dirty'." Even then, when the maternal grandparents would visit from a small town in Andhra Pradesh, they would complain that the floors were not very pure, so the mother would go to a milkman's house and get fresh, wet cow dung to use while the visitors were there. In the last ten years, daily use of dung has disappeared from this family, though they definitely use it for important marriage and death rituals. Further, my colleague noted that only women dealt with dung: the only time men did (since they were no longer farmers or raising cattle) was when the priest used a cow dung cake for the sacred fire (*havan*).

Reporting on an experience in Delhi, Nancy Falk told me of a family that she knew in Haus Khaz village in south Delhi where this issue was contested: the father was a retired philosophy professor from Hindu College and the younger son of the Jat headman. In 1998, this family had obtained 'genuine cowdung' for *Govardhan*, which was said to be very hard to get in Delhi. It was only the teenage son who seemed embarrassed and disturbed by his family's practice (Falk, personal communication). Other anthropologists whom I queried report never seeing cow dung used in urban homes, with an interesting exception concerning a modernized middle class Hindu family in Banaras.[13] Here the wife once cooked a special round cake made with flour and stuffing (name unknown) when the Pandit came over to make the daughter's astrological chart. When queried as to how it was made, the wife reluctantly and with embarrassment showed her western boarder the cowdung fire in the courtyard on which she had cooked it. It was the one and only time the boarder saw her cook over a dung fire in almost two years in her home.

The other site for contesting cow dung is the use of *pancagavya* for purifying one's body. McKim Marriott recounts that teenage boys in Wai, a city in Maharastra, were trying to avoid sipping the *pancagavya* during the sacred thread ceremonies in the mid-1950s (Marriott, personal communication). Likewise, Helen Ullrich, speaking from thirty years of research in Karnataka, told me that she was struck by information in 1998 about the change in cow products. I quote:

> In ritual purification with *pancagovi* [sic] (includes urine and dung) one grandson who had been raised in Delhi said he would vomit if he had to take this. He had to and he became quite ill from reports. From now on, he will be purified with mantras. The priest responded that he had not realized how sick the boy would get. Some women tell the priest that they have already taken the *pancagovi* when they have not. Although they do not exhibit the degree of repulsion [of the teenage boy], they will avoid [it] whenever they tactically can. I don't have such information from men because I don't think the men realize the women are avoiding this.

Thus there is considerable negotiation concerning those sacred products of the cow that are taboo in the modern global culture. As more and more families seek to identify with this global culture, the trend is bound to continue. Yet at the same time, other tenets of Hindu purity are held fast. The two wives from Karimpur who live mostly in Delhi and Mainpuri often follow more traditional Hindu customs than women from the village. For example, neither will drink tea from a china cup, insisting on a metal tumbler (metal is easily polluted and kept away from all who might contaminate it, including the anthropologist).[14] Neither will drink tea made by a non-Brahman. Once I traveled by car to Delhi with one of these women and her family; and after five hours on the road, we stopped for tea and snacks. She refused to eat anything nor to take tea at the fairly respectable restaurant that we had found. Finally, she compromised by having a soda (not made by human hands?). Apparently it was acceptable to break the taboos for a soda, but not for the traditional tea. One of the nephews of this family was equally conservative in his observance of traditions concerning purity, despite working in Delhi as a scooter driver. Then in his early twenties, he refused to accept even water from a Leatherworker family when he accompanied me on a trip out of Delhi in search of an epic singer. While the teenagers would eat food in restaurants or cooked by me, their mothers certainly would not, nor am I allowed near their kitchens, although they did not prevent their children from eating such foods. At this level, choice and identity are seen as individual decisions: men, women and children can and do act somewhat independently of one another.

This kind of code-switching, for it does resemble the linguistic shifts

between Hindi and English, is frequent, especially when a traditional norm comes into conflict with a modern one. Once when I was speaking with a lower caste man with a second grade education, he remarked, "*merī wife, third class hai*" (my wife, she is third class). By choosing the term 'wife', rather than the Hindi term most common in the village (*bahū*, literally 'daughter-in-law', but also used for 'wife'), he is placing her in a different, modern 'western' normative range. He then adds to that by using the English cum Hindi phrase, "third class". In another example, widows are expected to break all of their glass bangles and go unadorned, except possibly for silver, after their husband dies. Some years ago, I knew a younger Brahman widow, probably no more than thirty, who was wearing colored bangles: I finally asked how she could wear these, and she laughingly responded, "*plastic hai*" (they are plastic). And while the women mentioned above would only drink tea from a brass tumbler, I was always served in a china (or plastic or glass) cup. Frequently when visiting in the village, a family would send next door for a china cup or glass so that they could serve me tea: I would, of course, pollute their brass tumbler. But the glass wasn't so easily polluted, and hence I could drink from it and they could wash away the pollution. In a more mundane example, it was really unacceptable to eat refined sugar (in tea or whatever) in the cold season thirty years ago, because sugar was a 'cold' food and would only make you colder and throw off your humoral balance. Rather, in the cold season foods should be sweetened with *gur*, the unrefined, raw sugar made from sugar cane grown in the village. Nowadays, these upwardly mobile families would never sweeten their tea with *gur*, as it would mark their *desī* (rural) connections and would also demonstrate their inability to pay for refined sugar. This shift from the traditional, with its marked symbols of purity, of widowhood, etc., to the 'modern', which lacks these complexes of traditional connotations, is increasingly frequent.

Various identities seem to be in conflict here. Adopting Giddens' [1991] fluid view of identity, I argue that identity is an on-going sense the self has of who it is, of who it conceives itself to be, and how it labels itself. Individuals are constantly making choices regarding identity, for it is constantly performed for oneself and for others as well as negotiated with others. The older women (and some men) see their identities as marked by caste and religious practices. The urbanizing teenagers, with

more schooling and more urban influences as they have grown, see themselves as 'modern', not 'traditional', as able to take music lessons, ride a bike through town, wear fashionable clothing, etc. They don't see the need to maintain the traditional markers of identity, for that is not the identity that they seek. Yet for their mothers, raised in rural areas and often moving to an urban area only in their thirties, these new identities are not palatable. They seek to retain their Brahman Hindu roots. To what extent the younger generation of teenage girls will change as they mature and marry is unclear: much will depend on their mothers-in-law and the forms of identity that these older women seek for their families. Without doubt, Hindu and caste identities remain salient in urban India; and it is probable that these young women will be forced to adhere to more traditional norms at some points in their lives. Let me now turn to another instance where identity is negotiated, one where these same women advocate middle class, while mildly challenging caste and Hindu identities.

Shanu's Twelfth Birthday

Birthday celebrations are a prime locale for marking class identities. And it is easy to borrow from Euro-American, 'modern' birthday practices because these are not, in their more common Euro-American form, tied to religious observances. Hence the birthday party and the birthday cake are easily adapted. These adaptations, however, have a distinct Hindu flavor and the resulting event is a merging of significant ideas from Euro-American and Hindu traditions. It is also clearly modern, in sharp distinction from traditional village practice, and hence marks the family as urban and middle class.

Birthdays are seldom celebrated in Karimpur; and the birthday celebration is clearly a religious celebration, not a secular one. Moreover, if a birthday is celebrated, it is only males who are so honored. This discrimination begins at childbirth, for childbirth ceremonies differ depending on the sex of the newborn. In addition to preparing special foods for the new mother, performing rituals such as washing her nipples before she first feeds the baby as well as ceremonies where Behmātā, the goddess of fate, writes a child's future, a family honors the birth by having their one of their *kamīns*, usually a Water Carrier, call the women

of their caste group (and related groups) to sing in honor of the newborn. Usually held the afternoon after the birth, this song fest (called a *baluā*) marks the occasion for the women celebrate the birth. Yet the auspicious songs sung to honor a birth all celebrate the birth of a son, never a daughter. Further, many families do not call the women sing in honor of the newborn if a girl is born; and many, especially the poorer ones, do not celebrate the births of third and fourth and higher birth order sons.

For a community where literacy for men is has only recently reached 50 percent, and where the majority of women are illiterate even today, births are not remembered in terms of the Gregorian calendar, but by the Hindu one. I found women to be remarkably adept at remembering the dates of the births of their children, as long as they were asked in terms of the Hindu months and days and moon cycles. Often a birth would be remembered as "x days before (or after) " some major religious festival. Years of birth, however, are usually not known; and various markers, such as the anthropologist's periodic census, have to be used to gauge ages and birth years. Men were even less aware of birth dates and would have to rely on their wives and mothers in order to relate which month, let alone day, a child was born in. And since birthdays were not celebrated on a yearly basis, there was no need for memories to be prodded regularly.

Nowadays, the most educated Karimpur families are marking birthdays by the Gregorian calendar, and celebrations, if occurring, will almost surely be on that date, not the Hindu date.[15] But I have seen one traditional birthday celebration in Karimpur. It was held for a Brahman boy, the second son in the family, who had been born after many miscarriages and problems for his mother. In honor of this 'special' child, his birthday was marked. In the afternoon, the women of the family and a few neighbors prepared a ritual space in their courtyard, brought in a flat basket to set on the cow dunged area, and called the boy who was bathed and wearing clean clothes. They set him in the basket (a womb?), and slowly moved it around. Then each woman present anointed him with a *tīkā*, an auspicious mark on his forehead made of turmeric and rice. A neem leaf was used to sprinkle him with water and the ceremony ended. After the boy left, the women sang songs related to the birth of a son, before singing more general religious songs. The family feasted that day on *pūrīs* (breads fried in ghee) and *kachorīs* (bread stuffed with potatoes

and then fried).

When I was in Karimpur in 1998, Shanu, the son of the family that resided mostly in Mainpuri, was turning twelve. His cousin sister turned 16 a few days earlier. Her birthday passed unnoticed, and it was only later that someone remarked that she was born on the same day as Gandhi. But Shanu would have a party. His main worry was a cake: would he have one, how big would it be, would his father give the money for it, how would it be decorated? As the honorary aunt, I finally settled the matter by agreeing to pay for the cake that, I was told, would weigh 2 kg. He ran off to order it from the shop.

The birthday party took place in the family house in Mainpuri. On the afternoon of his birthday, his sisters and aunts decorated the sitting room belonging to the larger household with balloons and streamers. (This was a room shared by all the women and children and seldom used by the men, especially the older ones.) In the evening, the women, children and younger men gathered for the birthday 'party'. The cake was brought out, suitably decorated with Shanu's name and that of a male cousin who had a birthday around the same time. The cake was ringed with candles and the event started by lighting them, singing happy birthday, and blowing them out. (See Figure 3.) Then the older women present each gave Shanu and his cousin a *tīkā* of rice and turmeric on his forehead from a brass tray with a lighted lamp on it. After their gift of auspiciousness, they placed money on the tray for the birthday boy. Then Shanu cut the cake, and each woman fed him a bite, after which the cake was distributed to the family members present. However, it was not cake as the west knows it, but a compact, dense, incredibly rich Indian sweet covered with a thick frosting made of heavy cream and sugar. (In fact, buying the cake by the kilo should have forewarned me, but I missed this clue: American cakes are ordered by number of inches!) I later realized that Mainpuri does not have a bakery, and that baked goods are transported from Agra, four hours away. Further, this very proper Brahman family would not eat cake with eggs in it. The cake is, instead, a wonderful adaptation of the Euro-American 'cake' to the Indian situation: looking at it, no one would know that it was a heavy sweet and not a light baked product. And of course, it can also be ordered by the kilo.

The party then continued with the children dancing to film tunes sung

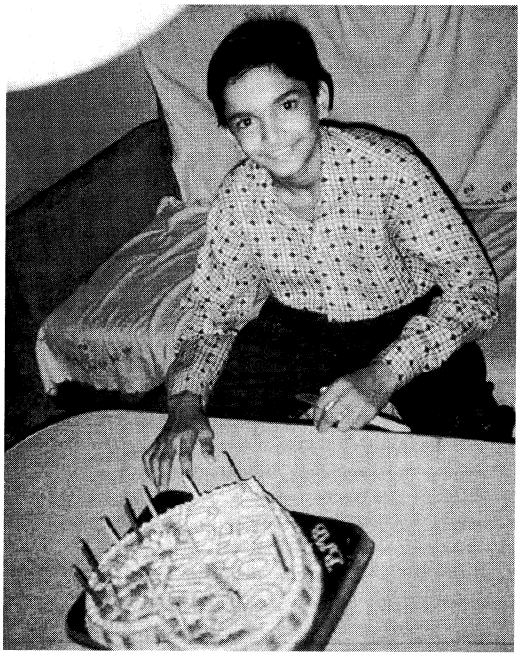

Figure 3 Shanu and His Birthday Cake, 1998

by one of the uncles present, who also sometimes joined the dancing. The boys popped all the balloons, enjoying the noise and commotion, and the party slowly wore down. The older men, now home from work, never joined in, though they were taken pieces of the cake (which was taken to the village the next day and shared with the remainder of the family there). This was a party for the women, children and younger men. It contained the key elements of the traditional ritual — anointing the birthday boy with a *tīkā*, feeding one's kin and friends, songs. But the *tīkā* came with gifts of money, and after singing 'happy birthday' and blowing out candles. The songs were not traditional birth songs sung only by women, but rather film tunes sung and danced to by the youths (male and female) present. Cake replaced the *pūrīs* and *kachorīs*.

As Milton Singer [1972] noted some thirty years ago, India seems to be making a shift from ritual and religious practice for the sake of religious merit to religious practice that is more concerned with aesthetics

and entertainment.[16] Certainly Shanu's birthday party supports his argument. Moreover, this party represents the middle class, modernizing status that this family seeks. One of the men told me that he sometimes cannot afford a birthday party for his children, and so he tells them that, "we can't be European all the time; when we have no money, we have to be Indian."

In fact, this 'European' ritual is contested by some in modern India, especially by the rightist Hindu parties (which the Mainpuri family supports, by the way). Two arguments are made against adopting the western birthday party, both related to the cake and its candles. One argument states that the child born into a family is a brilliant light, so why should his birthday be celebrated by blowing out the candles that represent his life? Further, fire is sacred and should not be extinguished. The second argument takes us back to purity: when the candles are blown out, saliva flies all over the cake and pollutes it, yet people still cut and share it around, often across caste lines.[17] Despite this argument, this Karimpur family chooses to be 'modern' rather than properly religious on these occasions. Even the potential contamination of food is ignored in order to be appropriately middle class on a son's birthday.

Conclusion

As these urbanizing middle class families seek to be modern, they borrow ideas from the cultural supermarket, a market filled with ideas about house décor, food, clothing, music, art, religion, popular culture and more [Mathews 2000: 21]. Like all of us, these families are choosing how to represent themselves by making choices from the array of ideas, goods, and services available to them, always with an eye toward the social world that they measure themselves against — whether the traditional world of their village or the urban world to which they (sometimes) seek to belong. Different occasions bring shifts in one direction or the other. Difficult choices are made, some demanding denial of core ideas or religious leaders; others adhering to key tenets of their traditional up-bringings. And as in any supermarket, money also has a role, so that the rural families unable to pay for cement or tiled courtyards and kitchens find themselves with no choice but to plaster their floors with cow dung. Likewise, the urban families may not be able to celebrate

every birthday in a European manner, but may choose to do so when finances allow. And in each instance, there appears to be an active awareness of the contradictions between traditional cultural identities and those of the global market, contradictions that these families carefully negotiate as they make decisions about who they are, or with whom they wish to be aligned.

Yet paradoxes abound: women will drink sodas, a key product of the global supermarket, but will not take tea in a restaurant; a widow will wear plastic bangles (again a product of an economically interdependent world) instead of the prohibited glass ones; the English word 'cake' (in Hindi *kek*) is used for an Indian sweet, bought by the kilo rather than the inch; ritual pollution of food is constant concern, except for blowing out the candles on a '*kek*'. New localized traditions are developed, as in the birthday party in Mainpuri, unlike the few birthday celebrations held in the villages from which these families came and yet vastly different also from the ostentatious birthdays of the upper and upper middle classes now held in Delhi hotels (I would argue that the lavish parties found in Delhi are also a localized tradition, or at least one common to urban India).

For several hundred years, Euro-American trained scholars of India have attempted to sort out the relationship between Hindu textual traditions and the non-textual traditions practiced throughout India. Textual Hinduism itself reflects an awareness of this tension, as it continuously adapts to local changing rituals and gods and goddesses, presenting us with a constantly changing core of textual, more universal Hinduism. Marriott's [1955] terms of parochialization and universalization were one attempt to capture this tension: these terms capture a concern for content, for the 'texts' of rituals, for the spread of ideas such as *karma* and *dharma* into populations less knowledgeable of the philosophical discussions surrounding such concepts. The current variant on these terms, localization and globalization, semantically shifts our attention to place: the locale rather than the parochial, the global rather than the universal. This shift marks the post-modern concern for space as a key analytic issue, but more critically is a response to the interconnectedness created by modern communication and economic systems. Yet the intent is the same: to talk of the local is to capture that which is not universal, or global, but rather that which is parochial, not wide-spread,

not (yet?) part of the global supermarket, but rather that which is only part of the local bazaar. Now, as over the centuries, the local or the parochial is constantly influenced by ideas and products from outside, whether these be from the next village, town, tribe, or country. One lesson is that there is no true "local" (or has not been for most of the world's populations for many centuries), no true "parochial", forcing us thus to examine the negotiations that people in any given locale have been making with the universal or global for many years. While we can and should seek to understand the local, we must recognize that any local is a product of negotiation and paradox, and it is these combinations that provide insight into the concerns driving the human actors. Equally important, however, is recognizing that any 'local' is marked by class divisions that present critical alternatives of choice, and hence identities, whether from the local bazaar or the global supermarket.

Notes

* Research for this paper has taken place over the past 33 years, beginning in 1967. Support has come from the National Science Foundation, the Smithsonian Institution, the American Institute of Indian Studies, the U.S. Dept. of Education (Fulbright-Hayes Faculty Research Grant), and Syracuse University. Aside from all my friends in Karimpur, I would like to thank Betty Faust and Chris Lee for their close reading of a draft of this paper and all those who provided ethnographic examples that have enriched the analysis.

1) These are highly debated and contested terms. For the purposes of this paper, they are interchangeable.
2) See especially [Cvetkovich and Kellner 1997; Hall 1998; Jameson 1998; King 1998; and Robertson 1992].
3) Brahmans in rural areas, with high illiteracy rates through the mid-twentieth century, were also the "folk" in this model, though they made have had slightly greater contact with textual Hinduism than their low caste neighbors. In Karimpur, in 1925 only 13 percent of the Brahman women were literate and only 41 percent of the men. Since women control much of the ritual activity of the village, aside from life cycle rites, these Brahman women were definitely "folk".
4) In addition to the bibliographic entries cited here, readers may want to view the Karimpur web site: www.maxwell.syr.edu/southasiacenter/karimpur/
5) The last two elected headmen were from the lower castes as this was mandated by the state government. The election being held in June, 2000, reverted the headmanship back to the Brahmans.
6) With the children now in their teens and better able to commute to school, the expansion of the relatives' families in town putting a premium on space, rebuilding (and expansion) of their village house, and increased electricity and other services in the village, this family is in the process moving back to Karimpur permanently.

7) North Indian, especially high caste, kinship rules mandate that a girl be married into the same caste as her parents, but into a clan/lineage ranked higher than her own. Hence the boy's family is ritually higher than hers, and she must literally be transferred/transformed into his lineage in order to serve foods, etc.
8) This is particularly true amongst the higher caste groups, where hypergamous unions are carefully worked out.
9) *Dharbha* grass is commonly used in rituals.
10) Shubhra Gururani, personal communication.
11) I am grateful to Bharat Gupt of Delhi University for this insight.
12) This information is from Haripriya Narasimham, a graduate student in Anthropology at Syracuse University.
13) This example comes from Chris Lee, currently teaching religion at Iowa State University.
14) Women generally more observant than men, in part because they have less contact with new norms and in part no doubt because they are expected to be 'traditional'. We see this same pattern reflected in Hindi films, where the heroine is generally the one who upholds tradition, while the anti-heroine flaunts it [Derne 1999].
15) The two calendars seldom calibrate exactly, and there may be as much as a three week difference between the date of a birth in the Hindu calendar and the Gregorian calendar. One of my students, a young woman from Bombay, reported recently that she celebrates on both dates, thus having two birthdays every year!
16) Birthday celebrations amongst those who have been urban upper middle class and upper class made the shift to European style parties at least one generation ago, often dropping the bit of ritual, the *tīkā*, that does remain in this example. The influx of recent wealth has given these an even greater push toward entertainment, with birthdays held in lavish style at major hotels.
17) These examples were given me by Kalyani Menon, a graduate student at Syracuse University who recently completed fieldwork with the BJP, the VHP and other Hindutva groups in Delhi.

References

Abu-Lughod, Lila, 1999, "The Interpretation of Culture(s) after Television." In Sherry B. Ortner, ed., *The Fate of "Culture": Geertz and Beyond.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Appadurai, Arjun, 1995, "Playing with Modernity: The Decolonization of Indian Cricket", In C. Breckenridge, ed., *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World.* pp. 23–48. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Babb, Lawrence A., and Susan S. Wadley, eds., 1995, *Media and the Transformations of Religion in South Asia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Cvetkovich, Ann and Douglas Kellner, eds., 1997, *Articulating the Global and the Local.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Derne, Steve, 1999, "Transnational Cultural Flows, Identity Conflict, and Men's Emphasis on Women as the Bearers of Tradition." Paper presented at the Gender and Globalization Conference, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, May.

DuBois, Abbe J. A., translated by Henry K. Beauchamp, 1906, *Hindu Manners and Cus-*

toms, Third Edition. London: Oxford University Press.

Faust, Betty Bernice, 1998, *Mexican Rural Development and the Plumed Serpent: Technology and Maya Cosmology in the Tropical Forest of Campeche, Mexico.* Westport, CN: Bergin and Garvey.

Giddens, Anthony, 1991, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gupta, Akhil, 1998, *Post-colonial Developments: Agriculture in the Making of Modern India.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Haberman, David L., 1994, *Journey Through the Twelve Forests.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hall, Stuart, 1998, "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity." In A. King, ed., *Culture, Globalization and the World-system: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity,* 2nd Edition, pp. 19–40. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Harriss, Marvin, 1966, "The Cultural Ecology of India's Sacred Cattle." *Current Anthropology* 7: 51–66.

Haynes, Jeff, 1999, "Introduction". In J. Haynes, ed., *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Homans, Jennifer, 1990, *The Celebration of India.* New York: National Dance Institute.

Hughes-Freeland, Felecia, ed., 1998, *Ritual, Performance, Media.* ASA Monographs 35. London and New York: Routledge.

Jacobson, Doranne, 1999, "A Reverence for Cows." *Natural History* (June) 58–63.

Jameson, Frederic, 1998, "Preface." In F. Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds., *The Cultures of Globalization,* pp. xi-xvi. Durham: Duke University Press.

King, Anthony D., 1998, *Culture, Globalization and the World-system: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity,* 2nd Edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lannoy, Richard, 1971, *The Speaking Tree: A Study of Indian Culture and Society.* London: Oxford University Press.

Lansing, John Stephen, 1991, *Priests and Programmers: technologies of power in the engineered landscape of Bali.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lockwood, Victoria S., 1993, *Tahitian Transformation: Gender and Capitalist Development in a Rural Society.* Boulder and London: Lynne Reiner Publishers.

Mankekar, Purnima, 1999, *Screening Culture, Viewing Politics: an Ethnography of Television, Womanhood, and Nation in Postcolonial India.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Manuel, Peter, 1993, *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marriott, McKim, 1955, "Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization." In McKim Marriott, ed., *Village India: Studies in the Little Community.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mathews, Gordon, 2000, *Global Culture/Individual Identity: Searching for Home in the Cultural Supermarket.* London and New York: Routledge.

McGrew, A., 1992, "Conceptualizing Global Politics" in A. McGrew, et al., ed., *Global Politics,* pp. 1–28. Cambridge: Polity.

Pendukar, Manjunath, 1989, "Indian Television comes of age: Liberalization and the rise

of Consumer Culture." *Communication* 11: 177–97.

Pelto, Pertti J., 1973, The Snowmobile Revolution; Technology and Social Change in the Arctic. Menlo Park, Calif., Cummings Pub., Co.

Rajgopal, Arvind, 1993, "The Rise of National Programming: the Case of Indian Television." *Media Culture and Society* 15: 91–111.

Robertson, Roland, 1992, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Redfield, Robert, and Milton B. Singer, 1954, "The Cultural Role of Cities." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3: 53–73.

Singer, Milton B., 1980, *When A Great Tradition Modernizes: an Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Smucker, Celeste M., George B. Simmons, Stan Bernstein, and B. D. Misra, 1980, "Neonatal Mortality in South Asia: The Special Role of Tetanus." *Population Studies* 34: 321–335.

Srinivas, M. N., 1965 (1952), *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Stevenson, Sinclair, 1920, *The Rites of the Twice Born*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Tarlo, Emma, 1996, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wadley, Susan S., 1975, *Shakti: Power in the Conceptual Structure of Karimpur Religion*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Studies in Anthropology Series in Social, Cultural and Linguistic Anthropology, No. 2.

———, 1980, "Women's Family and Household Rites in a North Indian Village." In Nancy Falk and Rita Gross, eds., *Unspoken Worlds: Women's Religious Lives in Non-Western Cultures*. New York: Harper and Row, pp. 94–109.

———, 1994, *Struggling with Destiny in Karimpur, 1925–1984*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wadley, Susan S., and Bruce W. Derr, 1986, "Child Survival and Economic Status in a North Indian Village." Paper Presented at the Ninth European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, Heidelberg.

Wiser, Charlotte V., 1978, *Four Families of Karimpur*. Foreign and Comparative Studies Program, South Asian Series, No. 3, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY.

Wiser, William H., 1933, *Social Institutions of a Hindu Village in North India*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University. 1958. *The Hindu Jajmani System*. Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House.

Wiser, William, and Charlotte V. Wiser, 2000, *Behind Mud Walls: Seventy-five Years in a North Indian Village, Updated and Expanded Edition with Chapters by Susan S. Wadley*. Berkeley: University of California Press.