

Notes

CHAPTER 1. HERE AND NOW

- 1 The absence of specific citations in the text of this essay should not convey the impression that it was immaculately conceived. This introductory chapter, like the book that follows it, builds on many currents in the social and human sciences over the past two decades. Many of these debts will be apparent in the notes to the chapters that follow.
- 2 For a fuller treatment of this idea, see the introductory essay by Appadurai and Breckenridge on "Public Modernity in India" in *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 1–20. This collection of essays exemplifies one strategy for engaging the global modern in a specific site.

CHAPTER 2. DISJUNCTURE AND DIFFERENCE IN THE GLOBAL CULTURAL ECONOMY

- 1 One major exception is Fredric Jameson, whose work on the relationship between postmodernism and late capitalism has in many ways inspired this essay. The debate between Jameson and Aijaz Ahmad in *Social Text*, however, shows that the creation of a globalizing Marxist narrative in cultural matters is difficult territory indeed (Jameson 1986, Ahmad 1987). My own effort in this context is to begin a restructuring of the Marxist narrative (by stressing lags and disjunctures) that many Marxists might find abhorrent. Such a restructuring has to avoid the dangers of obliterating difference within the Third World, eliding the social referent (as some French postmodernists seem inclined to do), and retaining the narrative authority of the Marxist tradition, in favor of greater attention to global fragmentation, uncertainty, and difference.
- 2 The idea of *ethnoscape* is more fully engaged in chap. 3.

CHAPTER 3. GLOBAL ETHNOSCAPES: NOTES AND QUERIES FOR A TRANSNATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGY

- 1 These ideas about the cultural economy of a world in motion, as well as the logic of terms such as *ethnoscape*, are more fully developed in chap. 2.
- 2 This is not the place for an extended review of the emergent field of cultural studies. Its British lineages are carefully explored in Hall (1986) and Johnson (1986). But it is clear that this British tradition, associated largely with the now-diasporic Birmingham School, is taking new forms in the United States, as it comes into contact with American cultural anthropology, the new historicism, and language and media studies in the American tradition.
- 3 The following discussion draws heavily on Appadurai and Breckenridge (1991a).

CHAPTER 5. PLAYING WITH MODERNITY: THE DECOLONIZATION OF INDIAN CRICKET

- 1 These materials include the Marathi-language magazines *Chaukar*, *Ashtapailu*, *Kriket Bharati*, and *Sbatkar*, which have their counterparts in Tamil, Hindi, and Bengali. These magazines provide gossip on cricket stars, reviews of cricket books in English, news and analysis of cricket in England and elsewhere in the Commonwealth, and sometimes also coverage of other sports, as well as cinema and other forms of popular entertainment. In them, therefore, both in the texts and in the advertisements, cricket is textually simultaneously vernacularized and drawn into the glamour of cosmopolitan life. A detailed analysis of these materials warrants a separate study. These magazines, along with books by cricketers such as *Sbatak aani Sbatkar* (ghostwritten Marathi autobiographies of Ravi Shastri and Sandip Patil), form the basis of the linguistic and readerly decolonization of cricket. I am deeply grateful to Lee Schlesinger who hunted down some of these materials for me in the bookstores and byways of Poona.

CHAPTER 6. NUMBER IN THE COLONIAL IMAGINATION

- 1 By *territorial*, I mean the concern of the census with boroughs, counties, and regions (Ludden 1991).
- 2 I owe this contrast between special and limiting cases to Dipesh Chakrabarty, to whom I also owe the reminder that this problem is critical to my argument.

CHAPTER 7. LIFE AFTER PRIMORDIALISM

- 1 Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, the Program in the Comparative Study of Social Transformations at the University of Michigan, and the Center for Asian Studies at the University of Amsterdam. I am grateful to the audiences on each of these occasions for their probing questions and useful criticisms.
- 2 Here, I am delighted to heed a call by Fredrik Barth, whose own work on ethnic groups and boundaries (1969) remains a classic study of the social context of ethnic processes, for more studies of the relationship between globalization and the mobilization of ethnic identity (Barth 1995). For an early and prescient effort to link ethnicity to the international order, see Enloe 1986.
- 3 In many ways, this chapter is a dialogue with the important collection edited by Clifford Geertz, *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*

(1963). Produced under the auspices of the Committee for the Comparative Study of New Nations at the University of Chicago, this volume contains essays by sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists and represents a major moment of cross-disciplinary interaction on the subject of modernization. Deeply influenced by the heritage of Max Weber and the subsequent efforts of Edward Shils and Talcott Parsons to interpret Weber in the United States, the essays in the collection generally represent a positive enthusiasm about modernization that I do not share. Some of the essays also subscribe to the sense of a primordialist substrate in Asian and African societies that is the direct target of my critical remarks in this chapter. Other contributions, notably the one by Clifford Geertz, are careful to note that what appear to be the primordia of social life—language, race, kinship—are just that, appearances. Geertz sees them as part of the rhetoric of nature, of history and roots to which many politicians in the new states appealed. The primordialist view still has widespread currency. One example among many, more than two decades after the appearance of the Geertz volume, is *The Primordial Challenge: Ethnicity in the Contemporary World* (1986), edited by John Stack. It shows the sturdiness of the idea of the primordial as a fact, not just an appearance or a trope, in the social life of ethnic groups.

- 4 This theory of the extreme violence now frequently associated with ethnic clashes is adumbrated in the most preliminary of forms here. In developing it, I have relied on a variety of sources and interpretations. Notable among these have been Benedict Anderson's specific formulations about racism and violence in *Imagined Communities* (1983). The work of Ashis Nandy and Veena Das on communal violence in South Asia in the past decade (in Das 1990) and Das's most recent work on Sikh militant discourse in India since the late 1970s (1995) have given me valuable insights into the ways in which violence is localized, narrativized, and personalized. Finally, a chilling essay by Donald Sutton (1995) on cannibalism among counter-revolutionary peasants in China in 1968 offers a powerful glimpse into the ways in which the most extreme forms of political violence can be linked to state-level politics and policies. Liisa Malkki's brilliant ethnography about Hutu refugees in Tanzania (1995) has been a painful inspiration. Taken together, these works (and many others) lend support to the idea that brutal damage to the embodied Other (as instanced in the bodies of Others) is closely tied up with the link between individual identities and extralocal labels and categories. The full development of this argument about rage, betrayal, state-sponsored categories, and intimate knowledge of persons must await another occasion. Sherry Ortner is responsible for persuading me that this chapter as well as this book needed some serious engagement with the topic of ethnic violence.
- 5 I should note here that my view should not be strictly identified with a state-centered perspective on contemporary ethnic violence. I am sympathetic to the general argument of Robert Desjarlais and Albert Kleinman (1994) that not all contemporary violence can be attributed to the violent disciplinary techniques of the modern nation-state. There is certainly a great deal of uncertainty and anomie that feeds the worst scenes of ethnic violence in the world. This notion of uncertainty, rather than knowledge, as characterizing the moral economy of violence certainly needs systematic exploration. For the moment, it is worth noting that even in those situations in which moral disorder, epistemological breakdown, and social uncer-

tainty are rampant, the facts of violence often show the remarkable salience of state-sponsored techniques of identification and politically staged dramas of uncertainty, scapegoating, and exposure (see, for example, de Waal 1994 on the genocide in Rwanda).

CHAPTER 8. PATRIOTISM AND ITS FUTURES

- 1 Earlier versions of this essay were presented at the Center for the Critical Analysis of Contemporary Culture at Rutgers University, at the Center for Transcultural Studies (Chicago), and at the University of Chicago.
- 2 See the convergence between this proposal and the argument from the Chicago Cultural Studies Group (1992, 537).
- 3 I am grateful to Philip Scher, who introduced me to the term *transnation*.

CHAPTER 9. THE PRODUCTION OF LOCALITY

- 1 There is no ideal way to designate localities as actual social forms. Terms such as *place*, *site*, *locale* all have their strengths and weaknesses. The term *neighborhood* (apart from its use in avoiding the confusion between locality as the singular form of localities and locality as property or dimension of social life) also has the virtue that it suggests sociality, immediacy, and reproducibility without any necessary implications for scale, specific modes of connectivity, internal homogeneity, or sharp boundaries. This sense of neighborhood can also accommodate images such as circuit and border zone, which have been argued to be preferable to such images as community and center-periphery, especially where transnational migration is involved (Rouse 1991). Nevertheless, it carries the burden of co-opting a colloquial term for technical use.
- 2 This critique is entirely consistent with (and partly inspired by) Johannes Fabian's critique of the denial of coevalness in ethnography and the resulting creation of a fictive time of and for the Other (1983). Yet this essay does not take up the vexed question of the relationship between the coproduction of space and time in ethnographic practice, nor the debate (see below) over whether space and time tend to cannibalize each other in modern, capitalist societies. The present argument about locality is in part intended to open up the question of time and temporality in the production of locality. I am grateful to Pieter Pels for reminding me that the production of temporality is equally relevant to how ethnography and locality have historically produced one another.
- 3 At this point, my view of localization converges with the general argument of Henri Lefebvre (1991), although he stresses the relationship of capitalism and modernity to this negative sense of localization. Lefebvre's own account of the nation-state is brief and cryptic, although it is clear that he also saw the links between the presuppositions of the modern nation-state and the capitalist process of localization. The question of how my argument might relate to those of Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (1989), although important, exceeds the scope of this chapter.

Bibliography

- Abu-Lughod, L. (1989) *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . (1991) Writing against Culture. In R. Fox (Ed.) *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe: School of American Research.
- Ahmad, A. (1987) Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the "National Allegory," *Social Text* 17: 3-25.
- Ali, S. M. (1981) *Cricket Delightful*. Delhi: Rupa.
- Allen, D. R. (1985) *Cricket on the Air*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation.
- Amin, S. (1980) *Class and Nation: Historically and in the Current Crisis*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press.
- . (1984) Gandhi as Mahatma: Gorakhpur District, Eastern UP, 1921-2. In Ranajit Guha (Ed.) *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, vol. 3. Delhi and London: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- . (1991) Census, Map, Museum. In his *Imagined Communities* (rev. edition). New York and London: Verso.
- . (1994) Exodus, *Critical Inquiry* 20 (2): 314-27.
- Appadurai, A. (1981) *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . (Ed.) (1986) Commodities and the Politics of Value. In his *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . (1988) Putting Hierarchy in Its Place, *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (1, February): 37-50.
- . (1990) Topographies of the Self: Praise and Emotion in Hindu India. In C. A. Lutz and L. Abu-Lughod (Eds.) *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.