

ACTING OUT CLASS ON MIMICKING, MOCKING, BOLLYWOOD STARS AND THE URBAN INDIAN MALE

• TEREZA KULDOVA •

ABSTRACT

.....

This research report, based on a fieldwork in Lucknow, North India, is an inquiry into the lives of young urban men and their concerns with status and class. The report approaches the topics of status and class through a focus on consumption, mimicking and mocking of ideas, commodities, mediated celebrities and lifestyles. By following five urban men and the processes of creation and re-creation of their self-definitions, it points to the ways in which they continually negotiate and renegotiate their status through simultaneous consumption and rejection of both tangible and intangible objects and ideas and through relating to and talking about their families. The case studies of these urban men reveal how they position themselves in opposition and in relation to each other and to mass-mediated celebrity lifestyles and fashions. The report touches on the topics of simultaneous mimicking and mocking of the imagined 'West' and the imagined 'ancient and traditional' vs. 'modern' India, and the ways in which 'classness' is acted out in relation to these ideas.

.....

Keywords: Indian male, class, mimesis, imitation, consumption, fashion, modernity, celebrity, media

*Introduction*¹

On my first day in Lucknow,² the capital of Uttar Pradesh, some two and half years back, my landlady invited me on a trip to show me the best features of the city. We ended up in the latest shopping mall, drinking café latté, eating blueberry muffins, admiring Western-branded clothes while discussing the famous and delicious cuisine of Lucknow, and Chikankari, traditional hand embroidery for which the city is famous. This first encounter was just a tiny tip of an iceberg of the urban India I was about to experience. It was an urban, middle and upper-class India, where images of the imagined 'West' and visions of 'modernity' merge with nostalgic dreams and memories of the great Indian civilization, thereby creating a unique fusion of real and imagined, past and present (Favero 2005). In this India, class has replaced caste, at least in terms of a 'framing paradigm' (Liechty 2003), and the young men of this India are increasingly preoccupied with showing off their 'classness' through consumption of commodities and mediated lifestyles. It is an India that desires a Western lifestyle, but at the same time expresses an ambivalent relation towards the West that manifests itself in the ever-present practices of simultaneous mimicking and mocking of this imagined West and at times even of the various Indias within India.

These practices of mimicking and mocking turned out to be a part of the continuous production and performance of what I term classness in Lucknow. Having and showing off class, variously defined and imagined, is one of the most prominent preoccupations of the young men of Lucknow that I encountered. In this 'land of men',³ as one of my informants labeled Lucknow, men do not only identify and judge one another in class-related ways (Béteille 1986, 1992), they are also constantly acting out class. They act out their classness through their opinions, judgments and fashion statements, through showing off their possessions, valuable gadgets and relations to people, or through well-rehearsed bodily techniques. Class in this context turned out not only to be 'one of the most potent idioms of identity, rank and political power' (Dickey 2000: 464), but also an object of day-to-day social theatre. The following case studies provide an entrée into this social theatre of acting out class and into the lives of urban middle and upper-class Lucknow men in their late twenties.

Case 1: 'Die-hard fans' mimicking Salman Khan: the lifestyle and the age of brands

Samir, a Muslim male in his late twenties, works in a telecommunication company during the day and runs a fashion store in a shopping mall in the evenings. He comes from a comparatively modest family background and, being the oldest brother of seven, he struggles to make it big in business or at least to create the appearance of it. He spends his Saturday nights, dressed in the latest fashion, in select nightclubs drinking Western beer and smoking popular branded cigarettes; he also drives an expensive car (bought with a loan that is hard to repay). Buying entertainment is for him the only way he can imagine to relax. However, this relaxing act is at the same time also a means to show off his class, this class being one of a kind you can buy. Sitting in a nightclub, Samir talks of his aims in life.

Samir: Clothes are the most important things I have; they make me who I am.

Tereza: Is there something else than clothes that is important to you?

S: I would say my car of course, my new Honda Civic Si Coupe and then gadgets like Blackberry, Vaio laptop and stuff like that. I cannot manage without these.

T: Why do you want to own such things?

S: It is a matter of class. You have to *have* class and to *show it*.

T: What kind of clothes do you then prefer?

S: Branded, business look for work and jeans and T-shirt for free time, but all must be in good quality only, quality is important and up-to-date fashion. That is what makes the difference. I prefer Armani, Versace or Dolce & Gabbana.

T: What do you want to achieve in life?

S: I want to have a lot of money and be famous.

T: How do you want to do that?

S: Let's see. I try to be like Sallu Bhai.

T: You mean Salman Khan, the actor?

S: Yup. I really admire him, he is a great man. I am actually his 'die-hard fan'. I prefer the same clothes and brands as he does; I even do workout routines like him. Sometimes I really feel like him, but sometimes I realize I have to acquire more.

(Conversation 13.3.2010)

Samir makes it clear that in this era, in which the 'heroes of production have been replaced by idols of consumption ('great wastrels') such as movie stars and sports heroes' (Ritzer 1998: 5), class, media and consumption are interrelated and mutually constitutive phenomena. The impact of the fashion system (Kawamura 2005)—which in India is largely intertwined with the star system, in which the celebrities themselves are turned into brands and lifestyle statements—on the individual is clearly visible in Samir's case. He seeks constant attunement (Orbach 2009) with his favorite star, be it through the acquisition of branded goods that Salman Khan promotes, uses or wears, or through adopting and internalizing his bodily movements or techniques of the body (Mauss 1934). In this respect, fashion for him 'becomes a source of personal self-development (...) In a sense, celebrity fashions offer the *potential* to participate or belong to the same class' (Nayar 2009: 75; original emphasis). However, what is interesting is that the branded goods that can be linked to the star do not only work as status and class markers, but also seem to possess a magical power to turn the person who acquires them into the celebrity who originally promoted them.

The 'magical' branded objects impregnated with the spirit of Salman Khan seem to work in the same way as, for instance, the materialized objects gifted by Sai Baba, the spiritual guru, to his devotees. These objects are believed to be transformed by contact with him and thus possess a magical transformative power within them, 'capable of transforming people's bodies and minds from sick to well and from skeptical to devotional' (Srinivas 2010: 294). In a similar way then, a branded-objects imaginary linked to Salman Khan and the lifestyle that he represents are taken to be able to transform their owner and turn him into a person of class, style and high standing; but what is more, also to generate more objects of a similar kind, the whole lifestyle universe, so to speak. This resonates with the 'widespread belief in contemporary India in the capacity of material things to absorb and transmit the essence of people and places with which they have previously come into contact' (Norris 2004: 62). Through imitation and acquisition of these magical branded objects Samir and many like him try to take on the roles of powerful, good-looking, wealthy men in society and project that image. Within this relationship of mimetic identification (Nayar 2009: 33), the celebrity is not only an object of desire, a commodity and a brand that is to be consumed, but also a guide, a person one looks up to and admires and a star whom one talks to, either in the imagination or on Twitter. A considerable portion of Samir's time, for example, is devoted to seeking contact with Salman Khan, either through mimetic identification or through the constant posting of messages on Twitter addressed to the actor. These messages give the appearance of a real relationship, written so as to convince readers that Samir is actually replying to a personal message from Salman Khan (which, however, is not the case). As Nayar (2009: 161; original emphasis) points out, 'people who mime, or resemble, celebrities somehow suggest a *personal relationship* with their fan object or celebrity. Thus the celebrity is a part of the self of the fan.' It may also be that, as the famous Indian psychoanalyst, Sudhir Kakar, once observed, 'an Indian has a heightened dependence on external authority figures he can idealize, whose 'perfection' and omnipotence he can then adopt as his own' (Kakar and Jahanbegloo 2009: xv).

Samir wishes to lift himself from his identity as a person 'in a job', a person always dependent on a higher authority, and be perceived as a self-employed businessperson.

Mimetic identification with Salman Khan and with his 'powers' has a transformative effect on Samir's self and gives him strength and guidance in his self-proclaimed 'struggle'. Samir's ultimate dream is, however, to turn into 'a notable, noticed and coveted commodity, a talked-about commodity, a commodity standing out from the mass of commodities, a commodity impossible to overlook, to deride, to be dismissed' (Bauman 2007: 13). Whenever he is in the nightclub, he puts great effort into being noticed and talked about; even his bodily movements, derived from the signature movements of Salman Khan, are used so as to draw attention to his presence.

The processes that Samir represents can be linked to the new prestige economies of the Indian middle class that were intensified by the economic policies of the 90s and the general liberalization of the Indian economy. These policies 'enabled middle-class Indians to consume what, until few years ago, were deemed luxuries but were now perceived as crucial indicators of upward mobility: household appliances, toiletries, packaged foods, and other consumer goods' (Mankekar 1998: 37), and brought about a heightened sense of social competition. Stars such as Salman Khan and Shahrukh Khan have themselves turned into 'a metaphor for the economic and social transformations of the Indian nation' (Cayla 2008: 5). The citizen-patriot of the 70s has been transformed into a consumer-patriot of the new century, in which social hierarchies are open to change and fashioning oneself thus becomes a necessity.

Case 2: 'Die-hard fans' mimicking Salman Khan: the body

Abhishek is a Hindu gym instructor in his late twenties, and also a self-proclaimed 'die-hard fan' of Salman Khan. This is inscribed in his body, which is an almost perfect copy of Salman's: a project that requires continual workout routines to attain perfection.

Abhishek: I left my home, because my mother was after my life to get married and I wanted to live my own life and be free.

Tereza: What kind of life?

A: Like this, working out and taking care of myself. But I don't want to spend the rest of my life as a gym instructor; I want to make it good in modeling. I once appeared in a South Indian magazine, it was the best thing that has happened to my career so far. [After that, he showed me photos of men on the screen of his mobile phone, all of them half-naked and focused on the ideal, masculine, worked-out body.] Maybe if I will be able to make it good in modeling, I could afford the real original brands, and not only imitations of what Salman wears. I don't want to be a copy.

(Conversation in a Lucknow gym, 19.8.2010)

A new trend has struck Lucknow, popularly called the 'Amir and Salman Khan Phenomenon'.⁴ The emergence of new gyms in the city, an increasing interest in bodybuilding and young boys' desire for star bodies are part of it, as is Abhishek. Abhishek actively tries to seek attunement with Salman Khan, whom he considers to be 'perfect', through disciplining his own body. 'Celebrity fashions and bodies are (...) about *consumer culture that emphasizes the cult of the perfectible body*' (Nayar 2009: 74; original emphasis),

and stars like Salman Khan, Amir Khan or John Abraham have created the desire for an ultra-masculine body in the minds of men like Abhishek and even Samir. This ‘branded masculinity’ (Alexander 2003) of aestheticized celebrity bodies dictates fashions, fantasies and desires, and has given both Abhishek and Samir the idea that if they are not able to achieve this ideal, they are somehow lacking and can never achieve anything. This also drives their excessive consumption; debts are a serious problem for both of them.

The power of imagination (Appadurai 2002) combined with the power of mimesis transforms the bodies, minds and selves of both Samir and Abhishek and gives them a sense of direction in their own lives. Once Abhishek told me that he wishes to ‘improve his class status’ (10.9.2010). This is an interesting remark, particularly when perceived in relation to the above statement that he ‘doesn’t want to be a copy’. The urge for ‘authenticity’, ‘authentic goods’ and ‘originals’, which we have already seen in Samir’s case, is not only a matter that a commodity that is imagined as ‘authentic’ has more magical potential to transmit this ‘authenticity’ to its owner. It also seems to be an answer to the predominant accusation faced by members of the middle-classes of being mere imitations, either of the West or of the Indian upper classes, Salman Khan included. Thus, its famous critic labels it as imitative, media-driven and culturally at hazard (Nandy 1983). Consuming the ‘authentic originals’—that is, the same goods as it is imagined the upper class consumes—seems to counteract this charge. Later on, in Pratap’s case, we will see how this line of thinking is received at the upper-end.

Branded original clothes and items such as the popular Blackberry that Samir has, and Abhishek wishes for in order to lift his class status, serve as a means of differentiation from the lower strata and fortification of one’s own class-threatened status (see Miller 1998, König 1973). The fortification of one’s classness, be it by physical barriers such as protected gates in selected urban areas (Waldrop 2004), or by the display of possessions, particular uses of language or bodily techniques, becomes a necessary daily practice in a world of increasingly unstable social hierarchies: a world where one’s class can be bought and worked out in the gym. Fashioning themselves has become a necessity for both Samir and Abhishek (see Liechty 2003), as that is the most easily visible class-differentiating marker (see Bowie 1993; Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Lurie 1992; Norris 2004; Simmel 1957).

Case 3: Bollywood inspirations: on drug addiction, politics and Sanjay Dutt

Sanjay is a Hindu in his mid-twenties. Trying to escape the nagging of his family to work and study harder, he decided to enroll at a university in Mumbai and leave Lucknow. The struggle for freedom from obligations and from pleasing various family members—such as his father, a governmental official, and his home-staying mother with high hopes for her only son—finally led him to the highs and lows of drug addiction. After several years of struggle, he managed to ‘get back on track’ and is now running an NGO in Lucknow with future plans to join politics. This is how he recounts his story.

Sanjay: One day when I was in Mumbai and on drugs, I realized that I had to stop all that. That day I saw Sanjay Dutt on TV talking about his own drug addiction and engagement

in politics. I figured out that I should follow his example, stop all that and maybe join politics as well.

Tereza: What does Sanjay Dutt then mean to you?

S: Sanjay Dutt became my hero. I followed in his footsteps. I believe he saved me. Now my family is happy with me and all is getting better, even my career. I am not fooling around that much anymore. Actually, if you want to know me, know Sanjay Dutt first. He taught me what life means, what having class means. It is something inside you, the power you have over yourself, but also eventually the power in society you might achieve, as in politics.

(Conversation held 18.8.2010)

Anytime the national anthem was played, you could see Sanjay saluting; his country became his obsession after he managed to get out of drugs. However, power and money are obsessions as well; any social relation he maintains can be reduced to his own expression, 'doing politics', be it negotiations with his family, lying to them about where he is and with whom, or smaller and bigger fights with his friends. Doing politics and acting out class are interrelated processes for Sanjay. During recent years, he has become aware that 'selfhood is what is at stake in public encounters and it must be ensured that it is maintained' (Crossley 1995: 139), and that a particular image of himself has to be reproduced. His past of drug addiction is buried in Mumbai and his current life in Lucknow is marked by continual investments in the prestige economy, in creating an image of self that is appropriate, in maintaining or rather boosting his positive reputation and in not spoiling the one he has. This is a concern that he shares with both Samir and Abhishek, though his mimetic identification with a popular star that heroically triumphed over medical-pathological odds is on a slightly different level.

Case 4: Mocking the Bollywood stars: mimicking the West

Kanav is a Hindu in his late twenties coming from what people in Lucknow like to call a 'good family', a family which has for a long time enjoyed high standing in the city, and whose members regularly appear on page 3 of the local *Times of India*. Kanav spent the last year studying in London, which only enhanced his already clear inclination towards a Western lifestyle. His education is purely English as are his ideals. He wishes to start a business of some kind, but takes things easy, having his office right next to his bedroom.

Kanav: I almost never watch Bollywood movies; to be frank it is a bunch of crap. Western movies are far (...) superior. And the stars, my god, a bunch of idiots. There is hardly anyone who can act. And I never listen to Bollywood music; the sound of it is very cheap. But people over here keep consuming it without any thought. [Driving in one of the latest Honda models, we continue our discussion.] Look around, India is full of rubbish. And look at these guys, they don't even know what traffic rules are. It is all chaos and dirt. [We get hungry and want to eat somewhere, but as it is late at night, only the street eateries are open; I suggest a nice one we can go to.] Are you serious you want to eat at this place?

T: Yes, why not, the food is nice and they have even air-conditioning inside.
 K: You must be kidding me; if we are eating here, then we are getting the food in the car, I am bloody not stepping inside. [After some time we get our order in the car.]
 K: What the hell, I ordered Coke and the only thing he has is Mountain Dew.
 T: If you were drinking water, you would not have that problem I guess...
 K: I never drink water, I drink only Coke; it's like my signature drink. Water is just so low, anyone can drink water.
 [Some time later.]
 T: Why don't you just move to London then? Why are you here?
 K: You see, India is great; it has culture, values, something the West is totally lacking. I would never live in the West.
 (From conversations on the evening of 19.9.2010)

Mimicking and identifying with what is imagined as Western and mocking India, meanwhile praising the great Indian heritage and traditions and mocking the West for its supposed immorality: this is the true legacy of post-colonialism (see Taussig 1993). Living the Western dream in India, oscillating between the discourses of traditionalism and modernity (see Favero 2005; Varma 1998), mocking the Indian popular culture and the lower classes, Kanav is almost a classic representative of the 'old rich'. He acts out his classness in almost every statement he makes, clearly distinguishing himself from some practices, while associating with others. Importing valuable goods such as watches, perfumes and suits from London (even though exactly the same things are now available on the Indian market due to globalization), and discussing this fact, he verbally enacts his classness and does not leave anyone in doubt about it. In the colonial era, Indian elite and educated men used to wear Western clothing to distinguish themselves (Tarlo 1996); little seems to have changed since then, save that the emphasis on quality and brand-consciousness is more pronounced. According to Ashish Nandy (1983: 74), the West has created a class of mimic men, of 'modernists, whose attempts to identify with the colonial aggressors has produced (...) pathetic copies of (...) Western man in the subcontinent'. Moreover, at times when listening to Kanav, it seems that he is simultaneously advocating equality and hierarchy, or liberty and authoritarianism (Joshi 2005), without seeing any kind of serious contradiction in his statements. It is a practice that resonates strongly with that of Taussig's shamans: in combining mimesis with alterity, the outer with the inner, he acquires power over what is portrayed without losing his ability to travel in his own cosmological world (Taussig 1993).

Case 5: Mocking the big Bollywood stars: making money and enjoying life

Pratap is a well-off Hindu businessperson in his mid-twenties, with two MBA's from universities in Australia and London; he comes from a family close to both politics and business. His career is not something he has to worry about; he can get anything he wants and at times he enjoys a lifestyle of excessive travelling, expensive hotels and fashionable clothes. However, he does not tend to show these things off or waste unnecessary money—

something he calls ‘keeping a low profile’; in a brief encounter one would not necessarily notice his affluence.

Pratap: Class is a simple thing. Some people have it, some don’t. Generally, those who continually struggle to acquire it and buy it, don’t have it. And it becomes their life-long problem. Then they turn into pretenders, making their way through life by ‘faking it’, but eventually they get caught, their origin always reveals them.

Tereza: What about the role of media in this?

P: You see, the people over here are media-driven; you tell them that Salman Khan has a great body and they keep running after it, as if they have no judgment of their own. Salman is an alcoholic on steroids and a woman abuser; still he is the idol of all these people who roam around like his ridiculous copies and keep imitating him in a naïve belief that it will somehow elevate their status. It does the opposite: by imitating, they are merely reconfirming their insecurities and low class origin. And *we* can see that. Why be somebody else if you can be yourself?

[Later in a nightclub.]

P: See this guy [pointing to a man with a well-worked-out body and Armani jeans], he is just over-doing it. Must be spending his life in the gym, for what? Nonsense. You know that there are some plastic surgery clinics in Delhi where they make silicon six-packs? How far will these guys go, never comfortable with who they are...

[After some time the discussion shifts to Bollywood movies.]

P: I never watch movies with Shahrukh Khan, Salman Khan or all the other big stars. It is mostly media-driven nonsense oriented towards the masses. Some Indian movies are nice, and many actors are good, but one has to have a certain taste.

(From conversations held 25.9.2010)

Plato once pointed out that ‘one should not imitate the noble, but attempt to be noble oneself’ (Kramer 1993: 249–50). In a similar way in Pratap’s world, imitating and mimicking the Bollywood stars and the upper classes is frowned upon (note the similarity with the classical line of critique of the middle-classes as imitative), and mimetic identification is clearly associated with inferiority: the ‘branded authentic original’ clothes and gadgets, and the well-trained and well-fashioned bodies of those such as Samir and Abhishek do not lift them into the ranks of the upper classes. Rather, they are mocked as mere imitations. Their practices have created a separate and different class of people with shared tastes and aesthetics, people defined by their struggle to acquire status and position within society—while for many of those they imitate it appears to be a given, it has the appearance of being natural.

However, upper-classness comes in a package together with strict moral codes, restrictions on behavior and tight family control. This is often framed in terms of respectability, honor and decency. The upper-class male thus needs to be continually controlled in order to maintain his classness. This is often packed in the rhetoric of reputation, a notion often keenly adopted by the middle-classes as well, as we have seen in the case of Samir and Abhishek. However, what becomes obvious after observing the upper class male for some time, and the ways in which he is handled particularly by the women in his family, is that much of this morally-loaded rhetoric, the discourses of

honor and respectability serve not only to manifest one's status (Baudrillard 1998), but actually to protect the money and the property of the family. It is all about not letting unknown intruders in, an aim which manifests itself in maternal and sororal insistence on constantly knowing the whereabouts of, and company being kept by, the young men of their families. The moral codes of the wealthiest business families and the upper classes tend to be much stricter than those of 'people in jobs', who generally tend to give their children a reasonable amount of freedom.

The expression 'after my life' is one shared and often used by all these men. Samir's family is 'after his life' to get him married and to make him earn faster. Abhishek's family was 'after his life' to do likewise which is why he left them and followed the call of freedom. Sanjay's family was 'after his life' so much that he sought refuge in drugs. Kanav's family is 'after his life' to start a proper business, to establish himself and get married. Pratap's family is 'after his life' in terms of controlling his actions and daily encounters, as well as his private accounts, at the same time as it softly reminds him that marriage is soon to follow. All of these young men share a desire for freedom, each seeking it in his own way. None of them want to get married in the near future, a shared sentiment that they express in similar terms: 'after marriage your life is over, I actually don't want to spoil my life'. It is thus no wonder that most of them look to the West as a space of imagined freedom, or to upper-class lifestyles marked by freedom of choice based on the possession of wealth. These single young men do not appear to be able to spend an evening away from their families, in pastimes popularized in local media and considered normal for their age cohort in the West, which is not disturbed by frequent phone calls by mothers or sisters insisting that they come home and 'behave' according to other expectations. This urge to control, however, leads to lies and concealment, to 'the politics of the everyday' as Sanjay would put it. And 'it is sad to do politics with one's own family, but there is no other option' (Sanjay, 2.9.2010). Or as Pratap says, 'you are not a thief until you get caught' (25.9.2010), and so most of the efforts of these young, single men in pursuit of a Western model of sociality, are directed towards not being caught.

Conclusion

The young Indian men we met remind us of the fundamental ambiguity of 'I', of the ways in which its boundaries stretch and contract to include and exclude people, ideas and objects, depending on situation. Through the dialectics of mimicking and mocking, through their continual merger and division (Burke 1969), differentiation and identification, the young men discussed in this report constitute their selfhood (Belk 1988; Mead and Miller 1982) and act out their class. It is in the processes of both merging into, and differentiating oneself from, the other, and in the dialectic of subject-object relations (Miller and Tilley 1996) that self and class are created and recreated. Imitation and differentiation, mimicking and mocking, are never far apart, and it is highly possible that these are some of the crucial processes in our lives. Imitation and the mimetic faculty may be the fundamentals on which our social relations are built (Tarde 1962, Taussig 1993).

The young Indian men introduced in this report have shown us that living and acting in contemporary India is a matter of relating to phantasmagoric dreamworlds (Favero 2005), to products of media, film and advertising and of navigating the terrain between 'traditional' and 'modern', the 'Indian' and the 'Western' and of finding one's own niche in this complex landscape.

NOTES

¹ This research report is based on a paper entitled 'Managing Clothes, Expressing Values: The Indian Middle Class and the Game of Aligning Values with Clothes', presented at the Finnish Anthropology Conference 2010: *Ideas of Value: Inquiries in Anthropology*, 11th–12th May, Helsinki. I would like to thank Minna Ruckenstein, Kirsi Suomi, Keith Hart and Edward Dutton for their comments.

² The research report is based on six months of fieldwork in Lucknow, the capital of Uttar Pradesh, in 2008 and three further months in 2010. Standard methods of participant observation and partially structured interviews were used.

³ Sanjay, case 3.

⁴ Amir Khan and Salman Khan are two big film stars, who have based their career to a large degree not only on their acting skills but also on their well-worked-out bodies.

REFERENCES

- Alexander, Susan M.** 2003. Stylish Hard Bodies: Branded Masculinity in 'Men's Health' Magazine. *Sociological Perspectives* 46 (4): 535–554.
- Appadurai, Arjun** 2002. The Right to Participate in the Work of Imagination. Interview by Arjen Mulder. In Joke Brouwer and Arjen Mulder (eds), *TransUrbanism*. Rotterdam: V2_Publishing/NAI Publishers.
- Baudrillard, Jean** 1998. *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structure*. London: SAGE.
- Bauman, Zygmunt** 2007. *Consuming Life*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Belk, Russell W.** 1988. Possessions and the Extended Self. *Journal of Consumer Research* 15 (2): 139–168.
- Béteille, Andre** 1986. Individualism and Inequality. *Current Anthropology* 27 (2): 121–134
- Béteille, Andre** 1992. Caste and Family in Representations of Indian Society. *Anthropology Today* 8 (1): 13–18.
- Bowie, Katherine A.** 1993. Assessing the Early Observers: Cloth and the Fabric of Society in 19th-century Thai Kingdoms. *American Ethnologist* 20 (1): 138–158.
- Burke, Kenneth** 1969. *A Grammar of Motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cayla, Julien** 2008. Following the Endorser's Shadow: Shah Rukh Khan and the Creation of the Cosmopolitan Indian Male. *Advertising & Society Review* 9 (2).
- Crossley, Nick** 1995. Body Techniques, Agency and Intercorporeality: On Goffman's Relations in Public. *Sociology* 29 (1): 133–149.
- Dickey, Sandra** 2000. Permeable Homes: Domestic Service, Household Space, and the Vulnerability of Class Boundaries in Urban India. *American Ethnologist* 27 (2): 462–489.
- Douglas, Mary and Baron Isherwood** 1979. *The World of Goods*. New York: Basic Books.
- Favero, Paolo** 2005. *India Dreams: Cultural Identity among Young Middle Class Men in New Delhi*. Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology: Almquist & Wiksell Intl.
- Joshi, Sanjay** 2005. *Fractured Modernity: Making of a Middle-Class in Colonial North India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

RESEARCH REPORTS

- Kakar, Sudhir and Ramin Jahanbegloo** 2009. *India Analysed: Sudhir Kakar in Conversation with Ramin Jahanbegloo*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Kawamura, Yuniya** 2005. *Fashion-ology: An Introduction to Fashion Studies*. Oxford: BERG.
- König, René** 1973. *The Restless Image: A Sociology of Fashion*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Kramer, Fritz** 1993. *The Red Fez: Art and Spirit Possession in Africa*. London: Verso.
- Liechty, Mark** 2003. *Suitably Modern: Making Middle-Class Culture in a New Consumer Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lurie, Alison** 1992. *The Language of Clothes*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Mankekar, Purnima** 1998. Entangled Spaces of Modernity: The Viewing Family, The Consuming Nation and Television in India. *Visual Anthropology Review* 14 (2): 32–45.
- Mauss, Marcel** 1934. Techniques of the Body. *Economy and Society* 2 (1): 70–88.
- Mead, George H. and David L. Miller** 1982. *The Individual and the Social Self*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miller, Daniel** 1998. Introduction. In Daniel Miller (ed.), *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter?* London: UCL Press.
- Miller, Daniel and Christopher Tilley** 1996. Editorial. *Journal of Material Culture* 1 (1): 5–14.
- Nandy, Ashish** 1983. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Rediscovery of Self Under Colonialism*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Nayar, Pramod K.** 2009. *Seeing the Stars: Spectacle, Society and Celebrity Culture*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Norris, Lucy** 2004. Shedding Skins: The Materiality of Divestment in India. *Journal of Material Culture* 9 (1): 59–71.
- Orbach, Susie** 2009. *Bodies*. London: Profile Books.
- Ritzer, George** 1998. Introduction. In Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*. London: SAGE.
- Simmel, Georg** 1957. Fashion. *American Journal of Sociology* 62 (6): 541–558.
- Srinivas, Tulasi** 2010. *Winged Faith: Rethinking Globalization and Religious Pluralism Through the Sathya Sai Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Tarde, Gabriel de** 1962. *The Laws of Imitation*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith.
- Tarlo, Emma** 1996. *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Taussig, Michael** 1993. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. London: Routledge.
- Varma, Pavan K.** 1998. *The Great Indian Middle-Class*. London: Penguin Books.
- Waldrop, Anne** 2004. Gating and Class Relations: The Case of a New Delhi 'Colony'. *City & Society* 16 (2): 93–116.

TEREZA KULDOVA, Ph.D. Cand.
 SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
 MUSEUM OF CULTURAL HISTORY
 DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOGRAPHY
 UNIVERSITY OF OSLO
 tereza.kuldova@khm.uio.no