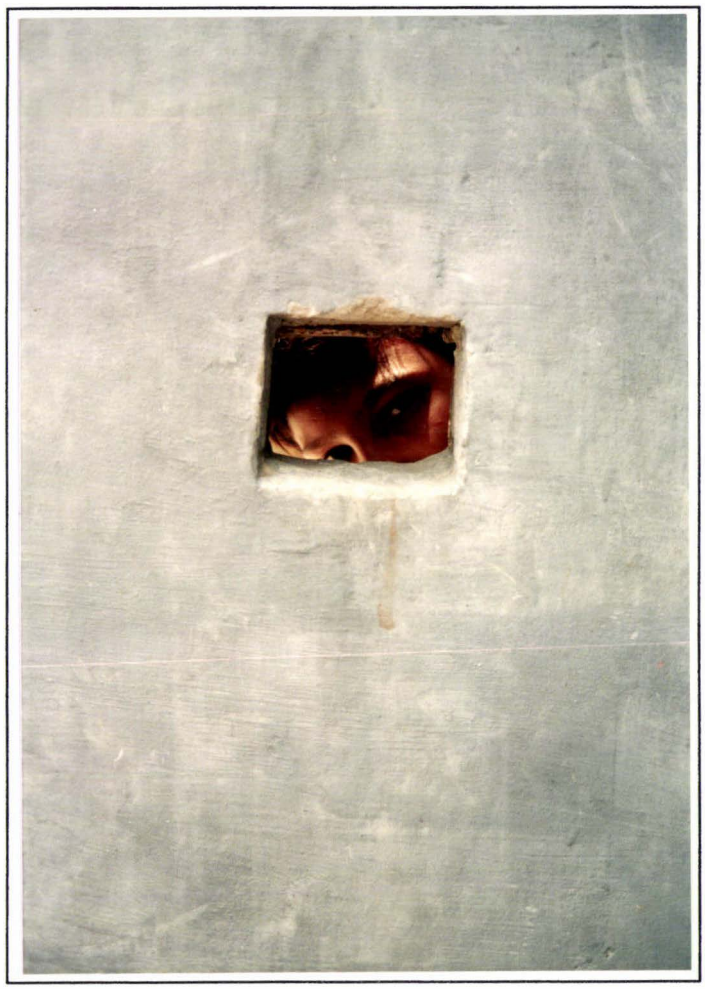
"Would you Like to Listen or Not?" :

A Dissertation Which Explores the Relationship Between Research Participants and Anthropologists in Karimpur

A dissertation presented
in partial fulfilment of requirements
for the degree of
PhD
in Social Anthropology
at Massey University

Amanda Jane Rudge

1997



0.1 What do research participants think about anthropologists and the work they do?

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to state the research carried out for the Ph.D. thesis entitled "Would you like to listen or not?" : A Dissertation which explores the relationship between research participants and anthropologists in Karimpur. was done by A.J.Rudge in the Social Anthropology Department, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. The thesis material has not been used for any other degree.

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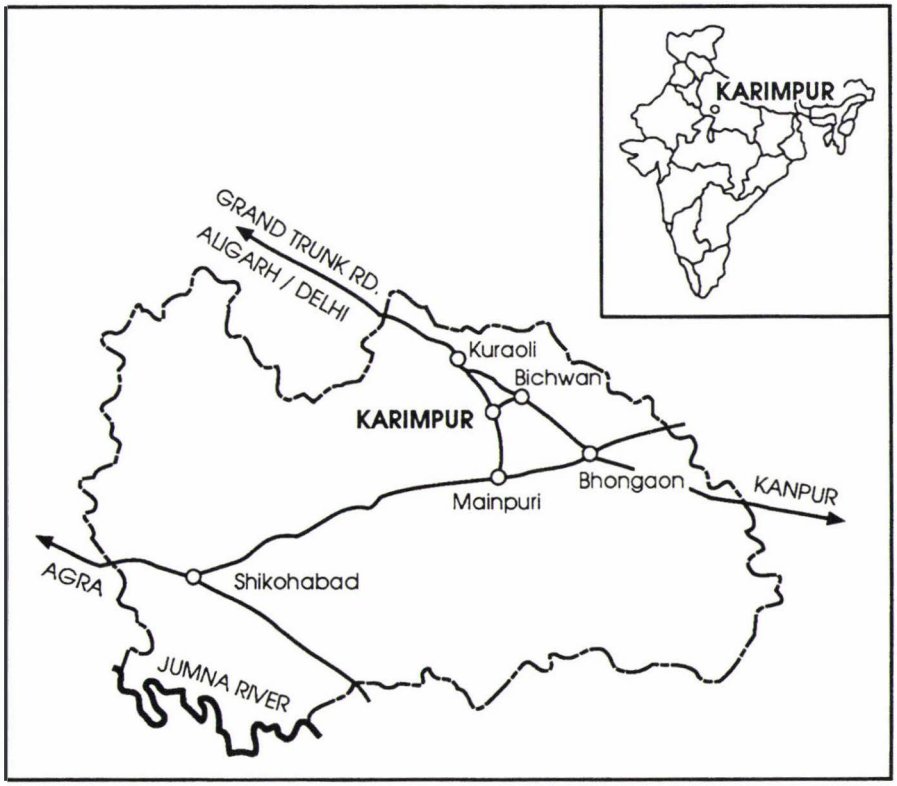
This is also to certify that the thesis material has not been used for any other degree.

Mandy Rudge

Date: 20 DEC. 96

Abstract

This dissertation explores the relationship between anthropologists and people who live in Karimpur, a north Indian village situated on the Ganges plain, 120 kilometres east of Agra. *Karimpur* is an anthropological pseudonym for "one of the most studied communities in South Asia" (Wadley 1994:xviii) which has been researched by anthropologists for over seventy years. As a result of this history, the village is currently the subject of four PhD dissertations, one MA thesis, six monographs and over fifty articles and conference papers. This dissertation concludes that an experience of living in such a well researched community has had an effect on the way people relate to the anthropologists who work in Karimpur. While the villagers referred to these researchers as fictive kin, a majority didn't treat them as family but as respected guests. People positioned anthropologists in a fictive *jati*, or caste, of their own, and had an expectation that they will 'help' them by giving them clothing, money, and medicine in return for the information they gave them. However, few of the people spoken to were aware that the anthropologists who conduct research in their community also write about them. Future research must therefore take account of the villagers' need to read what has been written about them, but it must also address their desire to comment on that work. It is suggested that anthropologists engage in a dialogue with the villagers about what research currently does and what it might do in the future, and that people in Karimpur work with these anthropologists to devise a research policy which addresses their needs for representation.



Adapted from *The Location of Karimpur in Mainpuri District and India (Wadley 1994:9).*

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to anthropological research participants everywhere. Without their generosity, their profound hospitality and a willingness to share their lives, the discipline of anthropology would not exist.

Acknowledgements

While this dissertation has my name on its cover, it disguises the three year process in which I and many others have been involved. It is a testament to the contribution of many people, and I wish to begin by acknowledging the villagers of Karimpur. I would like to thank them for giving so generously of their time and sharing their lives and experiences with yet another anthropologist. I hope that I have listened well and conveyed their experiences in the spirit they were shared.

More specifically, I would like to thank my two research assistants Nanhe Khan and Umesh Pandey. My debt to them can never be fully repaid. Firstly, I would like to thank Umesh for writing to the American Anthropological Association and asking if I would like to listen, as well as for all his work in Karimpur and Mainpuri. Secondly, I would like to recognise the very great contribution of Nanhe Khan, my research assistant and 'brother' who worked so hard with me on that second trip. Nanhe is a man of extraordinary skills and a special friend, and without his work and insight this dissertation would have never been completed. May his God recognise his efforts.

I would like to thank Professor Susan Wadley for putting up with a novice and rather ignorant anthropologist in Karimpur, as well as for her gracious hospitality. I know that being 'fieldworked upon' is challenging, but I thank her for her support. Although she was not in the village when I worked there the second time, I often felt her presence in the words of others and in her writings about the village which have helped me to understand more about the life of the people I worked with. Sunil Khanna also shared my first visit to Karimpur, and I would like to thank him for his friendship, humour, support and advice. I would also like to recognise the work of my patron Anil Misra, who was without doubt the very best patron any anthropologist could wish for, as well as a very special friend.

I also want to acknowledge the very significant contribution of my colleague and supervisor, Dr. Jeff Sluka, whose teachings, enthusiasm, advice, support, encouragement, and superb proof reading skills kept me moving steadily towards the goal of completion. I respect him immensely for allowing me to explore my own directions, while at the same time providing me with boundless encouragement and support. I know just how fortunate I was to have had such a skilled and able supervisor. It was Jeff's knowledge and willingness to share his experiences that was fundamental to my becoming an anthropologist, and for that I will always be grateful.

Dr. Kirsten Lovelock, my co-supervisor, gained her PhD in 1994 and in doing so provided me with a fine role model; she showed me that it was possible to complete a doctorate and survive the experience. In addition her sense of humour kept me buoyant, and her fine academic advice has kept me moving steadily in the right direction. I would also like to recognise the contribution of another colleague Henry Barnard

who has not only been a fount of knowledge, but has the very extraordinary skill of being able to ask just the right questions at the right time, many of which have become pivotal points in the progress of this work. Not only did he ask the right questions, but he provided encouragement and support at times when pursuing this project seemed like a futile and professionally risky pursuit.

Family and friends have a huge and important role to play in the construction of any work. They, perhaps more than any other, have lived with the researcher and her thesis in all its phases. My partner Clif and my son Tom shared the experience of India with me, and a reflection of the depth of their support was that I often felt we were conducting a team approach to data collection. Clif offered me a male perspective on events, while my son gave me a child's perspective, both of which added profoundly to the way I perceived things. Tom also taught me a lot about how to behave as an anthropologist in India, because, unlike his Mother, he had less cultural baggage to shed. Although my daughter Phoebe didn't come to India with us, she also deserves special mention. As the returning traveller said to those who congratulated her on having made the journey: "Well done the staying at home" (Ochs in Sampson 1993:68). I would like to thank my partner Clif for listening to me practice my arguments and reading and commenting on all stages of my thesis. This was no mean feat, but then he is no ordinary man. I also wish to express my gratitude and love for the new members in my family, my much loved parosi (neighbours) in Bate Vale Gale, Mainpuri. They will always have a special place in my heart, and were without doubt the very best neighbours anyone could wish for. I thank all of my family for being with me in that experience.

I would like to acknowledge the very important contribution that friends have made to this dissertation. Janet Reid and Lisa Emerson have provided endless support and interest in this work from its inception to completion. Not only have they listened, encouraged and supported me, they have proof read my work and listened to me rehearse my arguments. I appreciate their opinions, humour, time and energy.

I am grateful to have had the time and the funding with which to do this research, a luxury that many of the people anthropologists study cannot afford. This has been made possible by Massey University who granted me a Doctoral Scholarship, and the Department of Social Anthropology who supported and facilitated this project from its inception to completion. I would like to thank Brian Shaw for his efforts to gain funding on my behalf, and special mention should also be made of my colleague Professor Margaret Trawick who in June 1993 gave me the copy of Umesh's letter which started this project, and who has shared an interest in its progress.

Finally, I would like to thank the Department of Social Anthropology at Massey University as a whole. It was there that I grew up, in the professional sense, and it was my colleagues who engendered my passion for anthropology. It is a reflection of you all, both as people and professionals, that you saw an anthropology of anthropology not

as a threatening exercise, but as an event that should be welcomed. I would like to conclude by thanking all the people I have mentioned for believing in me, and for their very real and practical support. The value of this thesis is a reflection of you all.

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CHAPTER 1

Beginnings

> There is no primordial moment that can be called an absolute beginning,
> no culminating moment that can be called an end
> (Jackson 1995:157).

1. A SERIES OF BEGINNINGS

Because any anthropological research "is always already looking for something" (Berger 1993:182) it is appropriate to begin by outlining the series of "critical incidents" (Fook 1996:2) which led me to conduct this research. These incidents, or series of beginnings, contributed to my own professional development as an anthropologist, but they also detail why and how this research was done.

I completed my undergraduate training in Social Anthropology, not in my late teens or early twenties, but as what is tactfully called a 'mature student' in my mid thirties. On leaving school I trained as a primary school teacher and then a librarian, but despite fulfilling parental expectation to become 'something' (i.e. a teacher and a librarian), I knew that 'something' was still missing. So, at the age of thirty one, separated from my husband with two children aged eighteen months and eight years, I returned to university and in my first year took an introductory paper in Social Anthropology at Massey University. By the end of that first year I knew that I was addicted, not only to learning, but to the subject of anthropology, and over the next four years I enrolled in almost every anthropology paper that the Department offered. I completed my B.A. and then began a Masters degree, but I remember a significant degree of apprehension at having to put my learning into practice. As I found out, *doing* anthropology for a Masters thesis was very different from *learning* about it.

Throughout those five years of study I had struggled but successfully negotiated life as a single parent, and single parenthood was then an integral part of my own identity. In the final year of my undergraduate degree I was asked to be the subject of a student's research paper about single parents, and enjoyed the time we spent talking about what it was like to bring up children on your own. However, the enjoyment of that afternoon contrasted sharply with my reading of the research report written by that student some weeks later. What she wrote about me and my children was academically excellent, but I felt as if it treated me as a faceless sociological category. While I felt empowered, unique, and very happy with my life as a single parent, this student's representation of me was that of a statistic and a victim. I remember wondering if all research participants felt like I did. Like Kirsten Hastrup, an anthropologist who had also been studied, I felt the student's account of me was "not me" (1995:134) because, despite being based in truth, it failed to convey the person I thought I was. As a result of being researched, Hastrup felt as if she had been stripped naked,

and like me, she temporarily lost her sense of Self (1993:123). Neither of us will ever forget the experience of being researched (ibid:124).

In the following year, as a first year Masters student, I was employed by the Social Anthropology Department at Massey University as a Graduate Assistant, and was able to relinquish the Domestic Purposes Benefit, a government benefit for single parents. While receiving this benefit I had been told by a variety of people, directly and indirectly, that as a government beneficiary I was a 'taker' of other people's taxes. This, combined with my age (I was then 35), resulted in a strong urge to challenge those opinions, and to think about ways of giving something back. Contributing to this idea was the realisation that, while my anthropological reading had broadened my own understanding of the world, much of this work had little relevance to the subjects of that work. Epitomising this was a fictitious paper, described by one of my lecturers as "Colour Symbolism in Bongo Bongo Land" . My lecturer wondered how an analysis of colour symbolism would be of any relevance or benefit to the inhabitants of the fictitious 'Bongo Bongo Land', and I wondered how those people might feel about about being used as fodder for an anthropological argument. The term 'ego-I anthropology' (Faris 1992:257) epitomised what I came to view as a self centred type of anthropology: one which failed to be of direct benefit to anyone apart from the academic who authored it and the proponents of the discipline in which they worked. The idea that anthropology should be of relevance to its subjects, that it must empower them, was an idea further reinforced by my Masters supervisor who was pursuing a collaborative project in liberation anthropology.

It was the combination of these influences which made me, the impending fieldworker, seriously question the purpose and practices of anthropology, as well as my own position within the discipline. Therefore, it wasn't surprising that in June 1993 I decided to actively pursue a collaborative anthropological project for my Masters thesis which was based on a research partnership with a *hapu* (sub-tribe) of Maori living in the Whanganui River valley (Rudge 1993). While I wanted to conduct research in order to produce a Masters thesis, the elders of the *hapu* wanted a record of their community's relationship with the Whanganui river in order to pursue future economic, educational and cultural developments, and from the outset the research was designed to meet both of our needs. The decision to pursue this collaborative anthropological project was a crucial point in my professional training; had I been unable to conduct research in this way I suspect I would have probably sought out yet another career.

It was while I was conducting this research that a colleague, Margaret Trawick, suggested I read a letter published in the American Anthropological Association Newsletter. Unlike most of the correspondence in that journal, the letter she referred me to was written by a man who lived in a North Indian village, a subject of anthropological research. This voice from the 'field', from the 'Other-side', spoke simply, clearly and forcefully about his personal experience with anthropologists and being an anthropological 'subject', but his words also validated many of my own concerns about anthro-

pology. I could not help *but listen* to what he had to say:

Would You Like To Listen Or Not?

My name is Umesh Pandey and I am a farmer from a North Indian village. I have been the subject of research by American anthropologists since my birth. I want you — members of the American Anthropological Association— to help me tell what effects this study has had on my life and the life of my village. I am willing to tell the story; would you like to listen or not?

The story began in the 1920's when my grandfather was 13 years old. A young American couple pitched their tent in our mango grove. We rejected them because of our strict social system. Eventually we lost fear and let them visit behind the mud walls of our village. When we came to like them, they built their house among us and we grew old together.

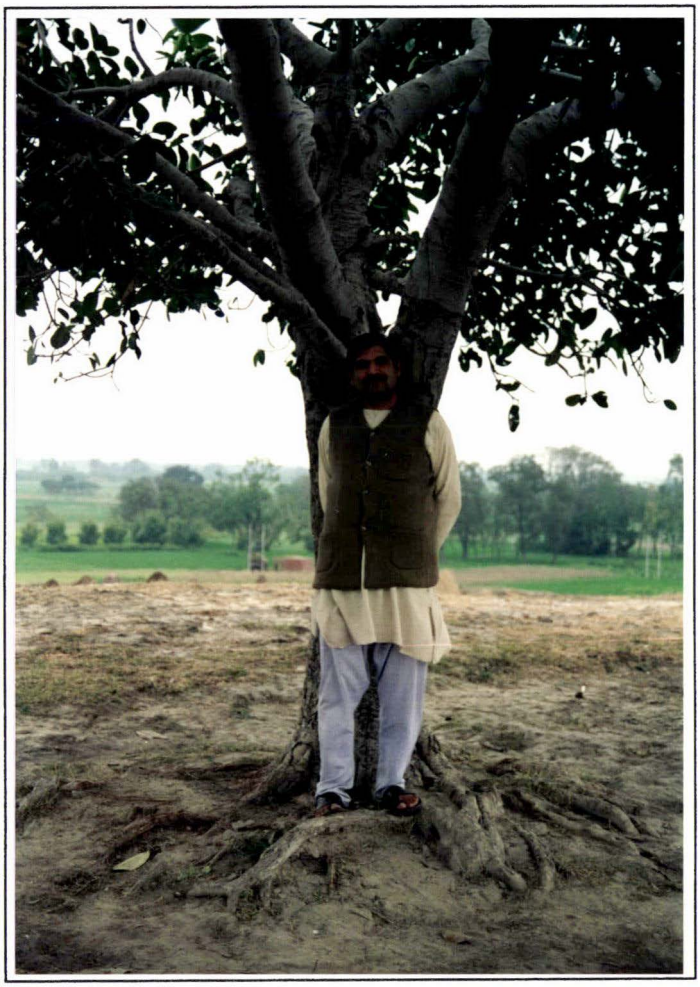
A new generation of American anthropologists appeared in the 1960s. They were not like the old couple - though it took years for us to learn this. One tall, small white and blond was there, and we boys watched and followed. This image kept appearing in our lives from time to time till now. It was wonderful to learn English and to help this white and blond learn village Hindi.

Slowly we grew up. As far as I know, we gave the PhD to three American Scholars. I don't know how many papers have been written about us because we don't usually get copies.

Day by day we talked to these new anthropologists in friendship, we didn't know this information would go into books and disclose our privacy. Over the decades the village people learned what you anthropologists were searching for. To please you, to get things and money out of you, we learned to tell any story you want. I fear your writings would hurt the people if they could read; they will certainly hurt our great great grandchildren who will read.

My story began with excitement and love, then turned to anger, fear and suspicion, and finally hope. It is the story of waiting - waiting for the next glimpse of you. Our villagers don't understand how you appear all of a sudden. There is always excitement to see you because whenever you leave our territory, our people ask you "When will you be back?" Then you say "I don't know".

Why do we wait for the next glimpse of you? Is it love or greed? Loving you Americans has destroyed our peace of mind and greed for your money



1.1 Umesh Pandey on top of the hill which overlooks the village of Karimpur.

> has destroyed our dignity. While you are among us we feel that you have come from somewhere to take off our problems and burdens. And when you have gone we always hope that whenever we are in trouble you will take care of us. You have left a question mark on our hearts -whether or not, whether or not -always suspense.
>
> We want friendship, you want information; we want life-long relations, you want information; we want to think of you as part of our families, you want information. You anthropologists come and go like a dream. It is difficult to know what to like or to hate. Still, we love you.
>
> I am asking you to help me to write my story...The scholars I have met gave me two kinds of advice: (1) go ahead and write a book; (2) become an anthropologist. I do not wish to become an anthropologist but I do wish to write my story for you. You professionals have a path. You are in academic life and writing is your duty. How can a farmer do this.
>
> As you have made a path into our private worlds, will you make for us — the people you study— a path into your private circle?
> Would you like to listen or not?
> (Pandey 1992).

I can still remember my first reading of this letter; it felt as if the world had ground to a halt. Umesh's letter confirmed so many of the issues I had grappled with in previous years, and I wrote to him telling him of my willingness to listen further. I also offered to help him tell his story. To my delight he wrote back inviting me to come and stay in his village.

That first trip to India in January 1994 was an exploratory exercise with a twofold intention: Umesh and I needed to establish whether we could work together and if both of our needs could be met through a research partnership[1] . While he was looking for someone to help him tell his story, I was looking for a topic to research for a PhD. So, with the best wishes and the advice of friends and colleagues and a reminder from my supervisor that it was all right to fail (the best piece of advice I ever received), I flew into Delhi on the sixteenth of January 1994 with screeds of paper, twenty rolls of film, my eyes wide open and a huge dose of naive enthusiasm.

After checking into a hotel room and sleeping solidly for twelve hours, I met with Professor Susan Wadley from Syracuse University whose research over the last thirty years has focussed on the people of Karimpur, the residents of Umesh's natal village. Over breakfast in the guest house at the American Institute of Indian Studies we discussed my intention of recording Umesh's story and Sue's experience of Umesh's concerns. It added considerably to what I knew to be able to speak with her and I admired her not only for her hospitality but for the honesty with which she spoke. She very

kindly offered me a ride to Karimpur later in the week, and in the late afternoon on the twenty first of January we arrived in the village where at last I was able to meet Umesh.

I spent the next three weeks getting to know Umesh and his family (as well as Sue and another anthropologist Sunil Khanna who was working in the community) and, by the end of my stay, Umesh and I had agreed that we could work together. I was very aware that Umesh might feel that through my own research the villagers were giving yet another PhD to an anthropologist, so during that visit I asked him three times whether he had any concerns about this. Three times he answered no. He explained that because this research was going to address issues he felt were important, he had no objections to my gaining a PhD[2]. It was vital that this was clarified. We agreed I would return to India later in the year, this time bringing my family with me. But before I left, I interviewed Umesh informally, and with his help conducted seven interviews with people in Karimpur about their experience with anthropologists.

By November of that year I had obtained the necessary funding to work in India for six months. My partner Clif, my son Tom, and I decided to live in Mainpuri, a city thirteen kilometres from the village of Karimpur, and we chose to live there for two reasons: firstly, it was where Umesh and his wife and children now lived, and secondly, the city gave us access to facilities not available in the village. I knew, before we left Aotearoa / New Zealand, that Umesh was in the States teaching a paper at Trinity College in Connecticut and returning to India in January, and I planned to spend that first month settling into life in Mainpuri before he returned. However, sometimes the best plans go wildly astray.

When we arrived in Mainpuri Umesh's family told us that Umesh was not coming home until June 1995. We were returning to Aotearoa in May, one month before he returned. Hearing this news not only radically altered the focus of my research, but left me wondering why such an apparent disaster had happened to me. Umesh had decided to remain in America to teach at Trinity College for a further semester. I knew this was a lucrative opportunity for him and one that he felt couldn't be missed, but while I understood his reasons for staying, I was annoyed that Clif, Tom and I had travelled so far only to find that my 'key informant' was not at 'home'. After recovering from the initial shock, I was not quite as devastated as I thought I would be, but it was still comforting to discover later that I was not the only anthropologist to experience such an apparent fieldwork 'disaster'. Like me, another anthropologist, Carol Breckenridge, had travelled halfway around the world and arrived in India only to discover that her 'key informant', a Hindu priest, had gone to serve parishioners in Houston (Fox 1991:4). I knew how she felt.

Knowing that we didn't have the budget to travel to Connecticut, or the money to live there for six months, and wondering what I was going to do for the next six months, I rang Umesh that first night in Mainpuri and asked him what he thought I should do. He felt that it was important to record the experiences of villagers in Karimpur in

relation to anthropologists, so taking a deep breath, and using Umesh's letter to the AAA as a foundational document, that is what I did. These were the critical incidents which instigated the research process, and which temporarily culminate in this dissertation.

I should make it quite clear that I didn't follow up Umesh's request to tell his story (or his suggestion to record the experiences of the people in Karimpur) because I wanted to work in India. Nor did I decide to conduct this research because of any specific interest in Indian culture. Unlike a majority of American academics who in the 1970's took up the study of Indian culture "because of previous links with India's traditions by way of guru's, the Peace Corps, childhood residence, or gypsy wanderings" (Raheja 1994:xii), I went to India because that was where Umesh lived (or where I thought he was going to be living!). Admittedly his story shared similarities with my own personal and professional story and I was keen to find out more, but I would have as willingly travelled to Denmark or Zimbabwe had that been where he lived. When conducting collaborative research for my Masters thesis, I found that, while I was primarily interested in Maori Development,[3] an interest in associated subjects such as traditional fishing techniques developed as the research progressed. The same is true of this research: prior to the event I was more interested in what research participants had to say about anthropologists, but because of the relationship of Indian culture to this project, it became an additional focus as the research progressed.

While I had my own personal reasons for wanting to investigate the experience of research participants, research into anthropological fieldwork practices also echoed broader trends within the discipline of which I was a part. Conducting an 'anthropology of anthropology' (as suggested by Berreman, 1972:xvii) was a logical extension of the reflexive or interpretive trend in the discipline, and the inevitability of this type of subject being researched was reiterated by one of my colleagues who told me that he had been wondering how long it would be before someone did such a study. The inevitable has happened.

But conducting an anthropology of anthropology is not an entirely new trend. The reflexive trend in anthropology has already precipitated numerous personal reflections on anthropological practice in the prefaces of books, articles in edited volumes (such as Altorki 1988, Bell 1993, Beteille 1975, Harrison 1991, Okely 1992), and monographs (such as Barley 1983, Bohannan 1964, Cesara 1982, Deloria 1969, Ellen 1984, Kumar 1992, and Malinowski 1967). However, at the time of writing, a majority of these works are from the perspective of the anthropologist. The few exceptions which explore fieldwork practice from the research participant's perspective are an article by Raheja and her research assistant (Gujar 1992), an article by Valencia (1990), a short piece by Hong (1994), Hastrup's article (1995), Gilliam's interview with Rooney (1992) and of course Umesh's letter to the AAA. Brettell's edited volume (1993) explores the reactions of subjects to what has been written about them, and a variety of other works address the position of indigenous people involved in research (WGIP 1993, Minha

1989, Mudrooroo 1995, Stokes 1985, Te Awekotuku 1991, Trask 1993, Vanuatu Cultural Centre 1994). Despite this, it would appear that, to date, no one has intentionally set out to explore in depth what it is that research participants think about anthropologists and their fieldwork. It is this "enormous gap" (Clifford 1988:59) which this research seeks to address.

It has been said that if you want to understand what a science is you should look at what its practitioners do (Geertz in van Maanen 1988:73), and I was well aware that researching this subject would also enhance my own understanding of the discipline, and my place within it. But in choosing to research this subject from a research participant's perspective, I was all too aware that by doing so I doubly threatened not only the discipline but the 'ritual experience' (Freilich 1970:ix) of fieldwork, the discipline's governing trope (Berger 1993:174). If doing an anthropology of anthropology is "tantamount to burning the flag" (Brettell 1993:103), researching fieldwork practices from a subject's perspective felt at times as if it was tantamount to burning the flag and chopping down the flag pole as well. Furthermore, I was aware that this type of research was likely to challenge and put at risk, not only the discipline and some of its practitioners[4], but me, the person doing that research. Like Sheehan (1993b:87), I had to protect my research participants but I also had to protect myself. Despite this challenge, it has been recognised that an interpretation of the culture of anthropology by research participants has potential benefit for the discipline (Madan 1994:134), and this overshadowed any difficulties I faced. It is my hope that this dissertation will be of benefit to the discipline and its practitioners, as well as to the people who have already been studied and future anthropological research participants.

The experiences I have had while conducting this research have been interesting, at the very least, but at times have bordered on the schizophrenic or surreal. This was largely due to my own unusual positioning in the research relationship which was often difficult to define. This derived from the fact that I was an anthropologist working with and studying not only anthropologists but their research participants as well, and because of this I often found myself liminally and reflexively positioned in relation to the classical anthropological positions of 'Self' and 'Other'. Because I spent time listening, observing and participating in the lives and concerns of Umesh, his family and fellow villagers, as well as the lives of anthropologists, my position vacillated not just between the traditional poles of Self and Other but at times felt as if I was spinning between them. Consequently, there have been times when I felt distinctly like an anthropologist, and times when I was very unwilling to acknowledge that I was one. Throughout, my own concept of Self has been constantly defined and redefined, and there have been times when I have been unsure of who I was, and who others thought I might be. While this experience may be a part of any fieldwork, it was exacerbated by the subject of this research. Multiple mirrors and windows are particularly apt metaphors for the anthropologist doing an anthropology of anthropology, an anthropology of anthropologists, and an anthropology of anthropologist's research participants (not to mention an anthropology of research assistants and an anthropol-

ogy of my own research participants). With more than one mirror or window it is easy to lose track of who you are, and what your own virtual reality is[5].

After the experience, I understand more about the discipline and its practitioners and feel more like my own sort of anthropologist, but I also feel a profound empathy with people who have been studied. In short, I feel very much like I am part of a "WE-relation" (Schultz in Narayan 1993:677), that I was involved in a relationship *with* anthropologists *and* research participants. While I cannot claim to speak for the people of Karimpur, or for the anthropologists who have worked there, I do speak from a third position (Rudie in Bell 1993:104) about the relationship those people have with each other and with me. Viewing anthropology as a 'we-relation' (rather than as ego-I anthropology) brings to light the things we share, as well as our differences, our successes and our failures, but it also highlights the relationship upon which anthropological writing, anthropological knowledge, and the discipline is based.

Unlike the field of the classical anthropologist, my 'field' encompassed a vast geographical area including Delhi, Mainpuri, and the academic environment in Aotearoa/New Zealand in which I worked as a tutor between trips to India[6]. Spanning three years, two countries and four cultures, it focussed on the anthropological culture of Umesh's village (as constructed through anthropologists' texts and villagers' experience), my own experience of Karimpur, the wider cultures of Northern India, Aotearoa/New Zealand and the United States, and the academic culture of anthropologists in all three countries. It encompassed not only the physical spaces that we inhabited, but the intellectual spaces that we shared. The one connecting (and at times comforting) theme in this disparate 'field' was an experience of anthropology and being 'anthropologised'.

Despite the potentially threatening nature of this research, a majority of the people involved have been extremely supportive. Although many people in Karimpur had already shared their experiences with other anthropologists, most were only too willing to share them with me. Likewise, anthropologists working in Karimpur and beyond were also generous in sharing their time, their experiences and their knowledge. However, on the odd occasion, the threatening nature of my research surfaced. Knowing that anthropologists would read what I wrote, several people in Karimpur wanted their words to remain anonymous, and one claimed to know nothing about anthropologists when in fact they did. Similarly, several anthropologists had concerns about the research I was doing. One threw their arms in the air as I entered a room saying: "Well, are you watching me?", and another accused me of spying and lying about my research intentions[7]. All of these reactions are understandable considering the threatening nature of the subject I was researching, but what I found interesting was that anthropologists' reactions were very similar to those that they could expect from their own research participants. Despite our best attempts at impression management, how often are anthropologists thought to be spies, and how often do research participants expect an anthropologist to be on duty 24 hours a day? It would seem that anthropolo-

gists have more in common with their research participants than perhaps they realise, and it is this commonality which gives me hope.

Because it was important to me that this research be of benefit to both anthropologists and research participants, I have intentionally written this dissertation with two audiences in mind. While this has been challenging, and contrary to my own professional training, I believe it is important that both groups have access to what has been written about them. Writing for a dual audience became even more important when I learned that a number of the people in Karimpur were unaware that books have been written about them, and only one or two had ever seen these monographs. Because access to knowledge has physical and intellectual components, in writing for this audience the language that I use purposefully avoids, as much as it can, the heavy use of 'anthro-speak'[8] .

While anthropologists are aware that ethnographic accounts are based on an empirical reality but shaped by the perspective of the researcher, other readers may not be aware of this. This dissertation is based on an empirical reality but influenced by my own perspective and experience. Like any other anthropological work it is inherently "partial, committed and incomplete"(Clifford 1986:7). It is not a mirror image of either the community or its residents, but a representation of the place and its people. Knowing this, I have intentionally tried to make my own perspective and fieldwork practices as transparent as possible, and included the comments of a variety of people in the final draft. Two anthropologists; Susan Wadley and Sunil Khanna, and two men who have worked as research assistants in Karimpur, Nanhe Khan, and Jageshwar Dubey, have read the penultimate draft. Where I agreed with their criticisms I altered the text, but when I disagreed I included their words in the final chapter[9]. Including their comments was purposefully done to illustrate that my words provide only one perspective from which to view the experience of anthropology in Karimpur.

However, including these comments also has a correcting role. Because I conducted fieldwork in Karimpur for a total of seven months, I do not have the vast experience of anthropology or anthropologists that Susan Wadley or the people of the village have. In relation to them, I will always feel like the novice. Towards the end of his fieldwork, anthropologist Robert Jay was approached by a small group of villagers who said:

> You are a professor in an American University who has studied our village for a whole year. You must have learned a lot about us in that time that could help us with our problems here. Will you please tell us some of what you know? (1974:378)

Jay was surprised by this request but realised that had he treated his research participants as "intellectually able to share" in his knowledge, his study would not have been the "shallow, distorted, even arrogant effort at understanding" (ibid) that he believed it was. Similarly, after reading a book about her community, an elderly woman commented that "some people don't know as much as they think they do" (Farrer 1996:172). I know that I am fallible and that I might get some things wrong, therefore

seeking out the comments of other people who have been involved in this research was an intentional move on my part. Scheper-Hughes' (1992:27) maxim that anthropology is not only a field of knowledge but a field of action can be applied not only to fieldwork but also to the process of writing. Secondly, I have included people's comments because I believe that the subjects of an ethnography have the right to read what is written about them, as well as the right to comment. They have the right to be involved in the process beyond the data gathering stage and it is my belief that including these viewpoints makes this work more multivocal and richer[10]. Thirdly, these comments also illuminate the dialogic nature of anthropology. Data collection (or construction) begins with conversations in the 'field' which I believe should continue in the text itself. Anthropological writings are not seamless definitive accounts and, accordingly, the text should reflect this conversational and ongoing nature. Therefore, I share my "defining power" as an author (Schrijvers in Bell 1993:156) in an attempt to keep the conversation going.

Although this dissertation may look like a completed product and while there is a common 'Western' perception that the narrative structure must terminate (Hastrup 1993:123), this project will in fact continue beyond the last word of the last chapter. At a later date it will be translated into the village dialect and recorded on tape, and in this way the people of Karimpur, whose words form its foundation, will also have the opportunity to access and comment on it. Just as Wako recognised that his dissertation should be judged by the elders of his natal village (Worsley in Foerstel 1992:xvi), I want the people of Karimpur to comment on this text, and I would like to record their reactions and include these in a later publication.

2. METHODOLOGY

The ethical guidelines for this research were the Ethics Code of the New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists (1995) and the Mataatua Declaration (WGIP 1993) (Appendices I and II), and the data from which it has been constructed has derived from a variety of sources. It utilises my own experience as an anthropologist working in an academic environment and India, my observations of and experiences with anthropologists, but also includes formal and informal interviews with the residents of Karimpur and Mainpuri.

In Karimpur I conducted interviews with the intention of assessing the villagers' relationships with anthropologists and the first seven interviews were done with the help of Umesh. On the second trip a further ninety seven interviews were conducted with my research assistant, Nanhe Khan. Each of these 104 interviews was recorded on tape and sections were played back to the interviewee. In every interview either Nanhe and Umesh acted as my translator because, despite Hindi lessons, I felt that my language competence was not sufficient to enable me to conduct interviews on my own. Both Nanhe and Umesh had grown up speaking the village dialect, both had worked as anthropological research assistants before, and both had a far greater experience of interviewing than I did. Utilising their language skills, research experience and stand-

ing in the community was an intentional move on my part.

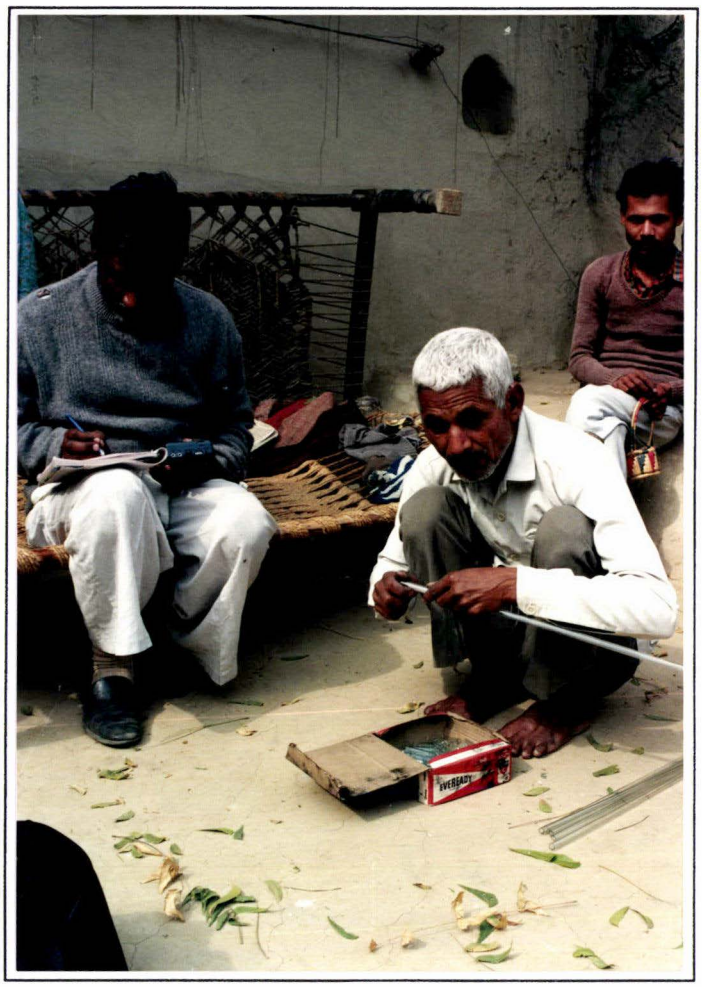
I aimed at interviewing one hundred people (approximately 5 percent of the population of Karimpur in 1984) as well as a representative number from each *jati* and both genders. However, of the 104 interviews that Nanhe, Umesh and I conducted, sixty four were with men and forty with women. While this group is not representative of the total population[11], this ratio occurred because of the protocol associated with interviewing senior males of the household before speaking to other members of his family[12]. Because a majority of interviews were done during the winter and early summer, men were at home more often than they would be at other times of the year when many would be engaged in intensive agricultural tasks. This further influenced the gender balance. Rather than discard some of the interviews to keep the numbers balanced in terms of age and gender, I decided to include all responses. Nanhe and I also aimed at interviewing a representative number from each *jati*[13], and spoke to people from 21 out of the 23 *jatis* present in Karimpur in 1984 (see Table I), but I have not focussed on *jati* distinctions (or gender) unless they are of significance to what the speaker said. Instead, I primarily chose to order the data around the emic[14] categories that arose from the interviews.

TABLE I: *JATI* DISTRIBUTION ('HIGH' TO 'LOW') FOR INTERVIEWS 1-104

Number of individuals interviewed (Total Population 1984 (Wadley 1994:15))		
Brahman[15]	22	(443)
Bard	2	(16)
Kyasth	2	(25)
Kachi	11	(415)
Lodhi	2	(14)
Barhai	5	(76)
Gararіya	8	(107)
Bhurji	2	(29)
Kahar	7	(236)
Mali	2	(20)
Banya	1	(38)
Thakur	-	(6)
Kumhar	3	(10)
Dhobi	3	(9)
Darji	1	(28)
Manihar	2	(24)
Teli	4	(55)
Dhanuk	5	(167)
Dhuna	2	(38)
Faqir	3	(71)
Nat	-	(7)
Chamar	3	(96)
Bhangi	5	(118)
TOTAL	**95**	**(2048)**
(9 people of unspecified *jati*)		

Recording a person's biographical data was not always easy, primarily because of my own preconceptions about what that data should look like. Once I was aware of the way in which people defined themselves, gathering this data became much easier. *Jati* could easily be established by asking someone but, as Table I shows, nine people made it clear that they no longer liked being referred to in this way. In Karimpur, a majority of people no longer rely solely on their traditional *jati* occupation as a primary source of income (see Wiser 1978:xxii). Some of the people we spoke to were engaged in a variety of jobs throughout the year, and this made defining their occupation difficult. A number were also unemployed. Where a person's occupation was crucial to what they had to say I used their own description for the work they were engaged in at the time.

In Karimpur, women are usually referred to in kin terms and, because of this, some of the older women had difficulty remembering their given name. In these cases, if a woman wanted me to use her name, I refer to her, for example, as the 'wife of Ram', rather than create a pseudonym for her. People in Karimpur tend to estimate their age in terms of a ten year range[16] and would tell us they were "between forty and fifty" or



1.2 Nanhe Khan recording biodata.

"between thirty and forty", rather than specify their exact age. "Very old" was a common response for people over 70. Table II lists age distribution as defined by respondents[17].

TABLE II : AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR INTERVIEWS 1-104

	FEMALE	MALE
20-30	4	8
30-40	4	5
40-50	7	14
50-60	11	9
60-70	7	9
70-80+	1	6
Total	**34**	**51**

(19 people did not specify their age).

After the purpose of my research had been explained and their biographical details had been recorded, people were asked to recall their experience of anthropologists. I was aware that in doing this we were asking people to speak about things they would perhaps not normally talk about, therefore it was possible that the logic that entered into their accounts may have had little bearing on the reality of their practice. Therefore, it was important that the exchanges I observed, or was a participant in, were discussed in this dissertation. They complemented, and in some cases contrasted with, the remembered experience of interviewees.

People in Karimpur were as keen to know about me as I was to know about them. Trained to think that I was the one with all the questions, I was surprised to find that people had a lot of questions for me[18]. This gave me an insight into the experience of being interviewed, simply because their questions were often as strange and difficult to answer as mine probably seemed to them. But because of this combined need to ask questions of each other, what may have started out as a structured interview (in my mind) often turned out to be highly unstructured, with the length and content of each conversation being determined by the combined number of our questions. Just as my questions illustrated what was important to me, theirs established what was important for them, and what they chose to talk about often back-grounded and conditioned what they said about anthropologists. In addition, both of my research assistants, Umesh and Nanhe, had questions of their own which were included in the interviews; Nanhe wanted to ask people about inter-*jati* relations while Umesh wanted people to compare the anthropologists they had known. I was only too happy for them to explore these topics.

In Karimpur, interviewing is a relatively public affair and it was extremely unusual to talk with a someone alone. In almost every case the family of the interviewee and their

neighbours came to listen, and in some cases participate. This audience affected what people said in various ways: they either jogged the respondent's memory, constrained what they had to say, or they kept them honest. Because I was focussing on remembered experience, at times it felt as if I were conducting a social history of the village rather than an anthropology of anthropology, and like an historian I knew that I was constrained by foreshortened and limited evidence (Clifford 1988:59). Because of this, it was hard to assess exactly what happened in any encounter between a resident of the village and an anthropologist, but I do draw on my own experience of working in the village and the experiences of other anthropologists. This enabled me to more fully describe what might have happened[19].

Rather than focussing on all the anthropologists who have ever been to Karimpur (and all the anthropologists people told us about), I have concentrated in this dissertation on the remembered experience of five. I estimate that there have been as many as thirty five researchers who visited the village in the last seventy years, a number greatly increased by a group of about twenty five academics who visited the village in the 1960's for several days[20]. Their visit was remembered by one elderly man as the time there were "hundreds of anthropologists" in each of the narrow alleyways in Karimpur. Excluding this party, there have been ten anthropologists who have worked in Karimpur for more then a few days and, of the five that I focussed on, all have worked in the village at least twice.

The first researchers to work in Karimpur were Charlotte and William Wiser, who originally worked for the North India mission of the Presbyterian church. In 1925, wanting to conduct a survey as part of their missionary work, they chose Karimpur as the site for their survey because it was a "reasonably typical[21]" of the villages in the area (Wiser 1963:1) and it offered easy access by road[22]. The villagers, after some initial caution, were generally very welcoming. Because of their research, William and Charlotte Wiser are currently recognised by the discipline not as missionaries, but as anthropological pioneers in the field of intensive village studies (Madan 1994:90n)[23].

Charlotte and William co-authored their first monograph *Behind Mud Walls* in 1925, which was based on their experience of living in Karimpur. This was one of the first accounts of Indian village life by "sympathetic observers who knew the villagers as friends and neighbours" (Mandelbaum in preface to Wiser 1963). William later received a doctorate in rural sociology for his work on inter-*jati* relations (1933) which was later published as *The Hindu Jajmani System* (1936), and Charlotte gained a Masters degree for her work on nutrition, published as *The Foods of a Hindu Village in North India* (1936).

Charlotte and William worked in Karimpur during six camping trips between 1925 to 1930 and for the next thirty years were involved in work for the India Village Service, an experimental rural development programme founded by William (Wadley in Wiser 1978:ix). The Wisers continued to visit the village when they could, and in 1959, with

1.3 A photo of William Wiser from the Pandey album.

1.4 A Photo of Charlotte Wiser from the Pandey album.

the intention of retiring in Karimpur, they built a house in the community. Sadly, William never lived to see it completed. He died in 1961, but Charlotte continued to visit the village for several months a year between 1962 and 1971 (Wadley 1994:xviii-xix), living in her house which by then was occupied by Umesh's family. In 1978 Charlotte published her last monograph *Four Families of Karimpur*.

The third and fourth anthropologists I focussed on were Susan Wadley and Bruce Derr. Between them their association with and writings about the village span a thirty year period. Both gained their doctorates from fieldwork in the village and Sue is widely known for her work on religion (*Shakti: Power and Conceptual Structure in Karimpur Religion*, 1975), women, textual and oral traditions, and long term studies of the village (*Struggling with Destiny in Karimpur, 1925-1984*, 1994). Bruce Derr's doctoral dissertation (1979) related to the growing poverty in Karimpur and his subsequent work focussed on agriculture and socioeconomic change. Sue first went to Karimpur in December 1967 because of a professional connection with Charlotte's work[24]. Norvin Hein had shown her an eight hundred page collection of oral traditions written by the Wisers and this led Sue to conduct her doctoral research on the ways in which oral traditions act as a key to religious belief systems (Wadley 1994:xix). Sue and Bruce conducted stays in the village in 1974, and again in 1983 with their two daughters, and since then Sue has visited Karimpur between 1993-1996 for stays of a shorter duration. She is currently a Professor at Syracuse University, while Bruce, who taught anthropology for ten years, is now working in the field of computer science.

The fifth anthropologist I focussed on was Sunil Khanna who currently teaches at Oregon State University, and has conducted research in the village on maternal health. Both Sunil and Sue were working in Karimpur when I first visited in 1994, and Sunil returned later in the year to conduct further research. As expected, it was the older people we spoke to who had a greater experience of Charlotte Wiser, but many older people remember Sue when she first came to work in the village in December 1967. Because Sunil first worked in Karimpur early in 1994 people's memories of him were still relatively fresh. But because he, like Bruce, spent less time in the village than the Wisers or Sue, people's memories of him were not quite as detailed. Because I am an anthropologist, references were often made to me and my own work in the course of an interview. Although I never intentionally set out to ask people their opinions of me, I have included these references because I felt that, if I was going to record the relationships people had with other anthropologists, it was also important to subject myself and my own anthropological practices to scrutiny.

Between them these five anthropologists have published six monographs and more than fifty articles and conference papers about Karimpur[25] and this, combined with its seventy years of association with anthropologists, makes the village, in Sue's opinion "one of the most studied communities in South Asia...perhaps the world"[26] (Wadley 1994:xviii).

1.5 A Photo of Sue, Bruce and their daughter, from the Pandey album.

1.6 Sunil Khanna at the Republic Day celebrations.

3. DISSERTATION FORMAT

In each of the 104 interviews participants were asked, before and after their interview, if they wanted their names to be used in this dissertation. Sometimes, after reflecting on what they said (or listening to their interview on tape), they chose to remain anonymous[27]. I have respected their wishes but in addition I have anonymised other people's words when I think that what they said may have a detrimental effect on them. In such cases I have either removed references to identifying features (such as name, *jati*, gender and age), or combined their words with those of other people who wanted to remain anonymous[28]. This conglomerate of ideas and experiences was then attributed to one fictitious individual and I take full responsibility for doing this. Pseudonyms have been used only in these cases.

In preference to terms such as 'subjects' or 'informants' I have used the term *research participants* because it recognises that the people studied actively participate in the process of data construction, but as Finnegan points out, any label becomes irrelevant once an anthropologist relates to these people as human beings (1992:221-2). When they become our friends, our adoptive family, our neighbours, and a central part of our world, terms such as these are no longer necessary. I have tried, where possible, to use people's names, and only when referring to people as a group have I used the term 'research participants'. Likewise it would have been all too easy to use the term 'We' or "Us' when speaking about anthropologists, a pronoun used in colonial (Gupta 1993:14) and masculinist discourse, often to the exclusion of those outside the 'West' (the 'Rest' to use Trouillot's term 1991:43[29]). Instead I chose to use the equally distant and clinical term 'anthropologists', realising that it is of course also open to the same criticisms. The choice to do this was done out of a recognition of my dual audience; that I was writing for research participants as well as for anthropologists.

A month after we arrived in Mainpuri, I began actively researching the issues that Umesh had raised in his letter by interviewing people about their experiences with anthropologists. What follows are seven chapters which address this, and their order is intended to reflect the process of fieldwork itself. While this chapter details why and how this research was done, Chapter Two explores the following excerpt from Umesh's letter:

> We want friendship, you want information; we want life-long relations, you want information; we think of you as part of our families, you want information.

I felt that it was important to begin by discussing the "WE-relation" (Schultz in Narayan 1993:677) that is formed between an anthropologist and research participant. Therefore, Chapter Two explores the use of kin terms for anthropologists working in Karimpur and it addresses the meanings attributed to those terms. Expanding on this subject I detail, in the second section, my own experience of incorporation in Karimpur and Mainpuri. As a whole, this chapter highlights what it is that binds those people together and the emotions involved in those relationships.

While Chapter Two explores the emotional tenor of those relationships, Chapter Three addresses their material aspects. I therefore detail what research participants have received from anthropologists and what the people of Karimpur gave to those researchers. Once again this chapter takes its origins from Umesh's words:

> Over the decades the village people learned what you anthropologists were searching for. To please you, to get things and money out of you, we learned to tell any story you want...Loving you Americans has destroyed our peace of mind and greed for your money has destroyed our dignity. While you are among us we feel that you have come from somewhere to take off our problems and burdens. And when you have gone we always hope that whenever we are in trouble you will take care of us.

Chapter Four details a collaborative photographic project that I became involved in while working in Karimpur. While this chapter differs from the previous ones in that it doesn't take its foundation from Umesh's letter, it further explores the question of what constitutes an equitable exchange and issues associated with representation. The photographs included in this and other chapters are not merely provided as illustration of the text[30], but are included because they, along with their captions, contain meaning which complement and supplement my own words and the words of others.

Chapter Five addresses Umesh's request for someone to:

> Help me tell what effects this study has had on my life and the life of my village.

Although this subject is implicitly addressed in the preceding chapters, I have chosen to discuss more fully the effects that anthropologists have on the lives of people who have been employed as research assistants. They, unlike others, have an intimate understanding of what it is like to work with an anthropologist and their suggestions for future anthropological practice should be heard. In this chapter I focus on the experience of three men, Nanhe Khan, Umesh Pandey and Jageshwar Dubey, all of whom have worked as research assistants for a number of anthropologists in Karimpur.

Chapter Six addresses the publications that have been written about the community. It focuses not on what I or other anthropologists think of this body of work, but what forty people from Karimpur think of them and their ideas about representation. Although I set out to ask people about their relationships with anthropologists in the village, the subject of representation arose in forty of the 104 interviews. Its foundation is the following section of Umesh's letter:

> Day by day we talked to these new anthropologists in friendship, we didn't know this information would go into books and disclose our privacy. Over the decades the village people learned what you anthropologists were searching for. To please you, to get things and money out of you, we learned to tell any story you want. I fear your writings would hurt the people if they could read; they will certainly hurt our great-great grandchildren who will read.

Chapter Seven draws the preceding themes together, presents conclusions and poses further questions about the effects of anthropology and anthropologists on the people of Karimpur. It is purposefully constructed in an attempt to 'speak truth to power' and points to possible changes in anthropological practice which derive from what research participants in the village have said. It is my belief that anthropologists and others will listen, as Umesh has asked, that they will reflect upon their own research practices, and continue to strive for a more equitable exchange between themselves and the people with whom they work.

The final chapter addresses the comments which were made by four people who read the penultimate draft of this dissertation. It also reflects upon the process of incorporating those comments, as well as on the research process as a whole. As stated previously, where I agreed with these people's criticisms I changed the relevant portions of the preceding seven chapters, but where I disagreed I included their comments in this final chapter. I have chosen to do this to facilitate the reading of this document. To include other voices throughout all chapters would have been distracting and confusing for the reader, but to include them in the final chapter allows these voices to be heard without the distraction of my own arguments.

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[1] As Julie Park notes, partnership "does not imply that the partners must be equal in all respects, but that the relationship is one of joint engagement based on negotiation" (1992:582). Umesh and I had to meet and talk before any partnership was formed.

[2] Therefore my dissertation is different from those based on fieldwork in Karimpur that preceded it, because it addressed the self defined needs of one of the residents of the village.

[3] Development for and by Maori, sometimes referred to as "ethno-development" (McHugh 1991:214).

[4] Okely suggests that by observing diplomats wives she violated her status as one of those wives (1992:3). Some anthropologists might also think there is an element of disloyalty in an anthropologist researching other anthropologists (and their research participants).

[5] Talking to people about the experience and recording the process in my fieldnotes were two particularly effective ways of 'keeping track' of my Self.

[6] This 'field' was composed not only of temporal, intellectual and geographical grids but further compounded by factors such as class, gender and ethnicity.

[7] Sheehan, an American researching Irish academics, experienced the same thing (1993a:255).

[8] I recognise that by doing this I am opening up my work to arguments about the text lacking seriousness (an accusation made of Edith Turner's work because her writing was not "couched in indecipherable language" 1995:2). However, I question the need for 'indecipherable language', excessive 'anthro-speak', and complex abstract arguments. Srinivas supports the belief that it is possible to write for an audience of the intelligent layman and the specialist (1976:49) and this was my intention.

[9] A format used by other anthropologists (see Brettell 1993:21).

[10] In the past fieldwork approaches have attempted to provide a variety of viewpoints such as

'the view from above' and 'the view from below'. By including additional viewpoints in the final draft one voice is not privileged over any other. All have equal validity and "their utility lies in their mutual contestation" (Madan 1994:105).

[11] In 1984 there were 814 females to 1,000 males in Karimpur (Wadley 1994:14).

[12] As Sue pointed out in her comments on this dissertation, this protocol had to be observed because I used male translators. If I had used female translators, or interviewed people on my own, it would not have been necessary to observe this protocol.

[13] The Hindi word for caste.

[14] The research participant's perspective as opposed to the perspective of the researcher.

[15] Besides having the highest spiritual ranking *brahmans* are also the largest and most powerful *jati* in Karimpur.

[16] Susan Wadley and Bruce Derr note a similar experience. Because the 'real' age of a person is not an important concern for villagers they found a bias towards ages ending in 0 and 5 in all the census done between 1920 and the 1980's (Wadley and Derr 1989:86). Reflecting this bias, Appadurai found that people he worked with used "hyphenated measures" to describe plot measures and crop yields (1989:263).

[17] It should be noted that people who were forty years old could define themselves as being either in the thirty to forty age group or the forty to fifty age group. Likewise people who were thirty nine may have said they were between forty and fifty. This table merely gives an approximation of age and is not accurate.

[18] Many anthropologists discover that anthropology is a two way process in which they *and* their research participants ask questions of each other. For examples see Caplan 1992:3, Evans-Pritchard 1980:12-13, Kondo 1986:80, Kuhlman 1992:281, MacIntyre 1993:59, Madan 1975, Srinivas 1976:26 and Streefkerk 1993:8.

[19] This enabled me to contrast what I was told about interactions with anthropologists (or research participants)with interactions that I observed and was involved in. As anthropologists well know, what people say they do is not always what they do.

[20] Karimpur is not alone in being visited by large numbers of researchers. Elmdon, a village in Essex, had a total of thirteen students working in the community over a period of five years (Robin 1980:xxv). Work done by a geographer, a sociologist, an historian, and several anthropologists, added to the fieldwork done by these students (ibid:xxvi-xxvii).

[21] Sue notes that the village is typical in the sense that it shares patterns of mutuality, hereditary rights, obligations, and oppression of women and the low with many other rural communities in India. It is better off than some communities in that it has had irrigation facilities and agricultural inputs for some time. Unlike many villages in Uttar Pradesh *brahmans* are a powerful and numerically dominant group (Wadley 1994:249-250).

[22] A common consideration for fieldworkers, but one that lead Robert Chambers to describe this as the 'tarmac bias". In studies of rural poverty this has resulted in research being done in areas accessible during the rains, but which tend to be densely settled and closer to urban areas (1981:2).

[23] For further discussion about anthropologists who were originally missionaries see Clifford 1982. For discussion on the way in which missionaries incorporate the values of the people they live with see Burridge 1979:191-212.

[24] Although, as Sue noted in her comments on this dissertation, she and Charlotte soon became

friends. Sue visited Charlotte in Delhi prior to going to Karimpur for the first time and Charlotte stayed for several weeks in the village early on in Sue's first visit. Charlotte introduced Sue to her favourite friends in the village, taught her how to administer medicine and left her with tuberculosis medicine for the children of a woman who had recently died of the disease. Charlotte helped Sue to settle into the village and enabled her to meet people.

[25] See Karimpur Bibliography.

[26] A claim made on the basis that Karimpur has been studied since 1925. Other communities such as the South African !Kung could claim similar numbers of publications but few could claim to have been researched so regularly for such a long period of time.

[27] Wako notes how this provided research participants with the opportunity to make additions or amendments (in Foerstel 1992:257). Although people in Karimpur tended not to do this, they did sometimes decide to remain anonymous.

[28] Sheehan used a similar technique. She divided up portions of one person's interview and attributed them to two fictitious people (Sheehan 1993a:83-4).

[29] As Trouillot implies, and as Madan states "India is not the non-West; it is India" (1993:73).

[30] As Bresson notes "one must not film in order to illustrate a thesis, or to show men and women fixed in their external appearance, but in order to discover what they are made of " (in Chiozzi 1987:13).

Chapter 2

Close and Distant Kin: Anthropologists in Karimpur

> Knowledge...becomes a way of carrying us into more fruitful and caring relationships with others, rather than distancing others in the name of objectivity (Jackson 1995:163).

Anthropological knowledge is "deeply marked" by the social relations a researcher forms with the people they study (de Pina-Cabral 1992:19). More specifically, that knowledge is dependent upon research participants recognising an anthropologist's humanity, incorporating[1] them into their world, and giving them a name (Jackson 1995:119). In his letter to the AAA Umesh said that the people of Karimpur want to think of anthropologists as part of their families, that they want friendships and 'lifelong relations' with the anthropologists who come to study them. While he suggests that the villagers want to form close and enduring relationships, Umesh believes anthropologists merely want information, information, and more information. Therefore, this chapter discusses the social relations that anthropologists and people in Karimpur form through the processes of incorporation, naming, and a recognition of each other's humanity, but it also seeks to find out whether people in Karimpur agreed with Umesh.

The first section of this chapter is constructed from the words of people in Karimpur. It details the way in which they referred to anthropologists and the meaning they attributed to those terms. The second section explores, from my own perspective, issues associated with the process of incorporation. As a whole this discussion is expanded by Chapter Three which addresses the material nature of those social relations: the objects and services which were exchanged by villagers and anthropologists. It should be noted that dividing the subject in this way is a pragmatic and artificial division done only with the intention of simplifying discussion: people are not merely object or commodity exchangers, nor are the exchanges in which they participate merely a social and emotional experience. For this reason, this chapter and the next should be read as one.

PART ONE: HOW PEOPLE IN KARIMPUR INCORPORATE ANTHROPOLOGISTS

1.1 REFERRING TO ANTHROPOLOGISTS

The terms used for anthropologists by people in Karimpur provide a tool with which to begin assessing the social relations villagers form with the researchers who work in their community: they illustrate the ways in which anthropologists are named and incorporated into the community and how villagers recognise their humanity. In the interviews that Nanhe, Umesh and I conducted, people used a variety of terms and

descriptions when referring to anthropologists, and I recorded the 290 times that a range of terms were used for individual anthropologists, as well as the 242 times these terms were used for anthropologists in general[2]. The latter are listed below, and a discussion about the use of these terms follows this table. Collectively these terms illustrate the variety of ways in which anthropologists as a group were referred to, but it should be remembered that they don't necessarily provide a definitive representation of all the relationships any one anthropologist might have formed. In this chapter, and in subsequent chapters, people's behaviour with anthropologists is discussed and this adds to the picture.

TABLE III: RANGE OF TERMS USED FOR ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN GENERAL

Family Member	35
Daughter / Son	29
Sister / Brother	56
Mother / Father	9
GMo / GFa	22
Mem Sahab / Sahab	37
Friend	16
Acquaintance	2
Not a Family Member	7
Respected Person	20
Guest	9
TOTAL	**242**

INDIVIDUAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS: CHARLOTTE WISER

What was initially striking was that of the 104 people that we interviewed, a majority (86.7 percent) of the people who referred to individual anthropologists spoke about female anthropologists more often, and in far greater detail, than they did their male counterparts. For example, many of the older people remembered Charlotte Wiser's presence in the village, but they also recalled what she ate, what she said and what she gave them. This was no mean feat considering that Charlotte last visited the village 26 years ago, but these detailed memories are also indicative of the general high regard for Charlotte, the duration of her association with the village, and people's ability to remember the details of an exchange[3].

Of those who spoke about Charlotte using kin terminology, 26 percent referred to her as *dadi* (grandmother), 8.8 percent as *mataji* (mother), and 21.3 percent as *bahinji* (sister). These differences reflect the ages of respondents: older people tended to refer to Charlotte as 'mother' or 'sister', while younger people spoke of her as *dadi* (grandmother). When people used the suffix *-ji* and spoke about her as *dadi-ji* or *mata-ji* they indicated their respect for her as an older woman with status. Only a minority referred to her as niece or aunt (1.4 percent). Instead of assigning her a specific family position,

13.8 percent spoke about her in general terms as a 'family member', but an overall majority (71.3 percent) referred to her using kin terminology.

In categories beyond those of kin, Charlotte was referred to as *mem sahab* (20 percent), and the use of this term was more common among people from the lower *jatis*. Only 6.3 percent spoke about her as a friend. Those that didn't refer to her using specific terms used descriptions such as as "the faithful worker of the village", and the "village guardian". In people's relayed experiences she was frequently described as a "helpful person", but only occasionally did people refer to her as a foreigner or an anthropologist.

WILLIAM WISER

William was not only spoken about less often than Charlotte, but was less frequently referred to in kin terms. This was perhaps due to the fact that he didn't visit people's homes as often as Charlotte did; while there were numerous references to Charlotte "going door to door" and visiting people, from the accounts I have, William tended to spend more time with the men either in public places, or in the fields. This in part relates to the fact that in Karimpur the house is the family domain while public spaces are used more commonly by men; as a woman Charlotte was expected to visit people's homes but William was also expected to occupy more public spaces as well. Secondly, William's interest in farming practices and Charlotte's interest in nutrition and families further influenced where they went and who they spoke to. Illustrating the difference between people's memories of Charlotte and William, one woman told us:

> Charlotte was a sister of mine. She came to my house many times and wrote down many things. William? I have seen him.

Women, particularly those from the higher *jatis*, spend little time outside the home compared with male family members, and thinking that the men would have a greater experience of William I checked how often they recalled an experience of him. While men spoke about William more often than women did, men had more to say about Charlotte; she left a greater impression on both sexes.

Half of the people we spoke to referred to William as *sahab*, but unlike those who referred to Charlotte as *mem sahab*, these responses derived from people from a range of *jatis*. William was referred to as "father" by 16.7 percent, while 8.3 percent referred to him as a "family member". Only a small number (2 percent) referred to him as their "friend". Like Charlotte, William was also spoken of as a "good person" or was occasionally referred to by his Christian name. Of the people that we spoke to, a majority referred to Charlotte in kin terms, while William was referred to as *sahab*.

SUSAN WADLEY

Sue was the most frequently referred to of all anthropologists (38.8 percent). Although Charlotte probably spent more months in Karimpur, Sue has spent the most time in the village in the recent past. In addition, she has worked with a range of people. A majority (63.9 percent) of the people we spoke to referred to her using kin terms; 10.8

percent referred to her as a family member, 27 percent as *bahin* (sister), 18.7 percent as *bitia* (daughter) and 7.4 percent referred to her as *bua* (aunt). Once again these distinctions corresponded to the ages of the respondents. In categories beyond kin 13.3 percent referred to her as *mem sahab*, sometimes with the prefix *choti* (meaning small) to differentiate between Charlotte and Sue's age. As in Charlotte's case, this term was used more often by people from the lower *jatis*. Sue was spoken about by one person as "Sue" and by another as "the person who loved me very much".

BRUCE DERR & SUNIL KHANNA

Bruce and Sunil were the least referred to and correspondingly they have spent the least amount of time in the village. In addition their research has tended to focus on specific groups within Karimpur[4]. In combination these factors contribute to the low response rate for both men. Bruce, like William, was referred to as *sahab*, and like Sunil, was referred to as an acquaintance. Sunil was also spoken about by some people as 'brother'. What people saw as Sunil's pleasant disposition and ability to make friends easily was sometimes attributed to his place of birth. Born in the Punjab, but now living and working in the States, he was sometimes referred to in casual conversations as *Punjabi*. People asked about his family, his *jati*, and where he came from, more often than they did for Sue and I. We were simply seen as a New Zealander or an American, and some people knew, from past experience, that anthropologists born outside India don't usually have a *jati*.

MANDY RUDGE

If I listed the way in which other anthropologists were referred to, I felt it was only fair that I recorded how people referred to me. I was referred to in 38.5 percent of cases as *bitia* (daughter) and 42.3 percent as *bahin* (sister), and once again this relates to the age of the respondents. Those from the lower jatis tended to refer to me as *mem sahab* (11.5 percent), but because I was present at the interviews (and the other anthropologists were not), my presence influenced the number of times I was referred to.

1.2 THE MEANING OF TERMS OF REFERENCE

While these statistics indicate the frequency with which people used specific terms, they don't illustrate what people *meant* by the use of those terms. What follows are illustrations of the use of these terms and the meaning attributed to them by the people who used them.

The most common way of referring to anthropologists was to use kin terms, and when people were asked to explain what they meant by those terms they frequently used the phrases "like a family member" or "like a daughter" to qualify what they meant. By doing this, a majority were making it clear that they didn't regard anthropologists as kin, but as *fictive kin*. While a majority regarded anthropologists as fictive kin, only a minority spoke about them "as family". Qualifying the difference between fictive kin and anthropologists they regarded 'as family', people spoke about the degrees of closeness they felt for an anthropologist. Taking Charlotte as an example, one man

described her as being "like a family member" and said that although she was not like the closest of his family members, she was close to him. Contrasting this, another person said that the love he had for Charlotte was like the love you have for a real grandmother. Degrees of closeness therefore indicated the depth of their relationships with individual anthropologists.

People had different reasons for the degrees of closeness they felt for anthropologists. For Panchilal, his feelings were based on the "habit of the person": if they were of "good habit" then he liked them and referred to them as a "close family member". But more specifically, Narayan Teli's feelings for Charlotte were based on the way she treated him; because she treated him like a son, he treated her like a grandmother[5]. Similarly, Umesh's father regarded Sue as a sister and he evidenced this by the traditions they had shared:

> To be frank Sue treats me like a brother and I treat her like a sister. She comes to the village and celebrates the traditions of the year. She put a handkerchief on my head [during the *Rakshan Bandhan* festival, the celebration of brother-sister relationships].

Ram Swarup, a man who has worked closely with Sue, believed that she loved him "from the start" and therefore he regarded her as his sister, as a "real family member". Similarly Madan Sen remembers the Wisers as being "close" to his family:

> There were two of three houses that were very close to them; my house and this house. But we could never find out who they loved the most. They may have liked one family more, but they never showed it.

A majority regarded anthropologists as fictive kin, a minority spoke about them as family, and when asked why they did this people qualified their relationships with anthropologists with degrees of closeness. Those who regarded anthropologists 'as family' often recalled their good qualities, and the experiences they had shared with them.

1.3 WE TREAT YOU ALL "LIKE FAMILY"

While a majority referred to anthropologists in fictive kin terms, there was also a general belief that everyone in the village treated anthropologists 'like a family member'; as Ram Sagar told us, "All foreigners are treated like family". Ratiram felt that the villagers treated anthropologists this way because of what they had done for the village as a whole. Using the example of Charlotte and William, she said:

> They worked for the village. The first time that they came they got to know the people. They gave out medicine and met with everyone in the village. In this way the love they had for us, and the love we had for them increased.

Not only did many believe that subsequent anthropologists were treated 'like family' by everyone in the village, many also believed that, like William and Charlotte, anthropologists were regarded as members of the 'village family[6] '.

1.4 ANTHROPOLOGISTS ARE RELATED TO EACH OTHER "LIKE FAMILY"

In addition to thinking of anthropologists as being 'like their own family members' and members of the 'village family', people also spoke about the relationships *between* individual anthropologists in kin terms. Nanhe and I often heard people say that "Sue is the daughter of Charlotte" or, that I was Sue's daughter. Ram Swarup Sama reiterated this idea:

> Charlotte treated me like a mother. I was like a son of hers...Because Charlotte is my mother, Sue is treated like a sister; she was the daughter of Mrs. Wiser.

It was also repeated by Narayan's wife who said:

> Mrs. Wiser was my grandmother. You [Mandy] are the niece of Mrs. Wiser and therefore we all treat you like a sister.

Read at face value one would think that Ram Swarup was Charlotte's grandson, that Narayan's wife was her granddaughter, or that Sue was Charlotte's daughter and I was her niece. But Charlotte, Sue and I are not related either by blood or marriage, nor are we related by blood or marriage to any of the residents of the village. These terms were used by Narayan's wife and Ram Swarup for several reasons. Firstly, they highlight the difference in anthropologist's ages; Sue is younger than Charlotte and therefore from a younger fictive generation. Secondly, they were used to express the similarities and professional connections between anthropologists. Only one person that we spoke to incorrectly believed that Charlotte, Sue, and I, were in fact related by blood or marriage. However, in using fictive kin terms, people were also referring to the relationship between anthropologists and their own families. By referring to me as 'Sue's daughter' people highlighted the fact that they regarded Sue and I as being "like family members" of their *own* family. If Sue was regarded as being 'like their sister' then, because I am younger than Sue, I was referred to as the daughter of Sue and by association was also 'like a daughter' to them. In a similar way, when a man referred to Sue as his sister he may also be referring to her as his wife's fictive sister. Sue illustrates this in an interview with "Sheila"(1994:111). When she told Sue about her husband making *harira* (a special food made for women who have given birth) she referred to him as "your brother", rather than "my husband", indicating that because Sue was her fictive sister, by association her husband was also Sue's fictive kin. In Karimpur husbands and wives rarely refer to their spouse by name and usually seek out other ways of referring to them, such as the 'mother of my children', or in this case "your brother".

When we asked people why they thought anthropologists came to Karimpur, people spoke about the similarities between them. While they recognised their professional connections, some told us how they believed the United States Government had sent Sue to work in the village. Government workers are common visitors in Karimpur, and people often explained the presence of an anthropological 'visitor' in terms of their own experience of these workers. Both Sue and I learned a great deal from older female anthropologists who have worked in the village before us, but one man went so far as to assume that Sue and I were apprentices to our respective teachers who

would one day take over from them when they retired. Because Sue had begun her work in Karimpur at a time when Charlotte visited the village less often, he assumed Sue had been sent to take over from her. He also mistakenly thought that I had come to take over from Sue. While most people were aware that these people were professionally related, it was Draupadi, a woman who had worked closely with both Charlotte and Sue, who pointedly told me that while she spoke about Sue as the daughter of Charlotte, she knew very well that she was not!

1.5 FICTIVE KIN WITH A FICTIVE JATI

While Charlotte and William thought of themselves as "casteless " people who could "mingle with everyone" (Wiser 1963:47), because caste is such an all pervasive category in Indian society anthropologists working in Karimpur must be incorporated into the *jati* hierarchy[7]. Therefore, while Sue and I were able to mingle with everyone, in practice we were treated as 'powerful untouchables'. *Brahmans* wouldn't usually eat our food, but they did act respectfully towards us, partly because of our comparative wealth, and there was certainly no untouchability associated with our money. This positioning, like *jati* itself, was flexible; at times we were treated as powerful and at others we were not. With time and in certain situations I was treated as being 'like a *brahman*', but at other times I remained literally 'untouchable'. But the way in which individual anthropologists were treated in Karimpur was further influenced by where they lived, how they behaved and how stringently the people they were interacting with observed *jati* distinctions. Just as those of the same *jati* were once related through their occupations and are currently related in terms of their position in the *jati* hierarchy, foreign anthropologists were related to each other by the work they did, as well as their position in the Karimpur social hierarchy. They were therefore treated as a kind of fictive *jati,* which may not have the same social connotations associated with caste but did have the same politico-economic ones[8]. However for Sunil, who already had a *jati,* there was no need to assign him another. He was a member of the fictive *jati* of 'anthropologists', yet at the same time he was also a member of the *jati* he had been born into.

While people used fictive kin terms for anthropologists, regarded them as a part of the 'village family', and treated them as members of a fictive jati, no-one fooled themselves into thinking that they were related to an anthropologist, unless of course they regarded them as adoptive kin, which a few did. While Umesh believes that people want to think of anthropologists as part of their families, a majority of the people we spoke to spoke about them as being *like* a member of their own family. The minority, who regarded them 'as family', generally tended to be those who lived with anthropologists or worked closely with them, and this group included Umesh's family (who Charlotte and Sue lived with), and perhaps twenty other individuals who have worked closely with individual anthropologists.

1.6 "ANTHROPOLOGISTS ARE RESPECTED BECAUSE THEY ARE OUR GUESTS"

When explaining why they used fictive kin terms people spoke about the Indian tradition of treating the guest as a family member. 18.9 percent spoke about anthropologists as their guests, and, emphasising the connection between a guest and the family, Ramveti had this to say:

> I treat anthropologists like family. Sister [Mandy] is a family member. She is at my house therefore she is family.

Highlighting the fact that respect should be shown for a guest is also seen in the following statements:

> I have respect for you. In my culture we must respect our visitors...You are God for me.
>
> Because I am Indian it is my duty to respect these people.
>
> Anthropologists are respected by me. They are not part of my family but I treat them like a respected person. I will treat Mandy like a daughter.

Emphasising the pride he felt for his village, Akhilesh was sure that the reason anthropologists worked in Karimpur was the respect villagers showed for their anthropological guests :

> In other villages sister [Mandy] would be treated badly. Even the children of Karimpur respect these people. The behaviour of the people of Karimpur is always good for guests, we always welcome them. We always treat them like a brother, sister or grandmother.

This was reiterated by another person who told us that:

> Karimpur is famous. Anthropologists like the village very much because we are faithful, and because we always respect our guests. Anthropologists take time researching us because we respect them.

Premvati likened the hospitality villagers show for anthropologists as being similar to the way people in Karimpur treated people from other villagers:

> My husband employs men from outside the village. He treats them like family.

Being 'like family' was, for many people, closely associated with the anthropologist's status as a respected guest. Therefore, while anthropologists were referred to in kin terms, they were not, for a majority "family", but "like family" because they were a guest in the village[9]. However, it is important to note that while a guest should ideally be treated as if they were family in many cases the anthropologist was treated far better than this. In most homes I was offered food, tea and always given the best seat in the house, and this treatment was certainly not accorded to all family members. Conversely, anthropologists were not accorded the responsibilities of a real sister or brother. While people in Karimpur certainly treated anthropologists well, they didn't expect them to behave 'as family'. Female anthropologists experience certain pressures to behave like 'good Indian women', but they were not always expected to behave as one; they are not consulted about marriage partners for their fictive siblings, nor are they expected to cook and clean as their fictive sisters, aunts and mothers do, and unlike a daughter they visited people from all *jatis* and talked openly to men who

are not related to them by blood or marriage. Furthermore, it would have been impossible for an anthropologist to be a sister (or a brother) to all of the families that referred to them this way. Time, money and family loyalties mean that in fulfilling their obligations to one family they would have been ignoring their obligations to others. While I was unable to behave like a member of every family that thought of me as being 'like their sister', people in the village were also aware that they couldn't behave like members of my own family.

As with all relationships it is inevitable that any anthropologist will come to like some members of the community in which they work more than others. Barbara Roll thinks of the village she worked in as a large extended family, but adds:

> As in all families, we love some more than others, find some more congenial, some more admirable. We try to be reasonably even-handed and good-natured about the inevitable few who are regrettably venal (1993:13).

Anthropologists were thought of in the same way by the people in Karimpur; people get on better with some anthropologists than they do with others, but they also try to be even-handed and good-natured to the ones they don't like. This is part of the tradition of respecting the guest.

1.7 "THEY ACCORD US RESPECT"

While many people believed that the community accorded an anthropologist respect, many also thought that anthropologists respected them. This was evidenced in the fact that anthropologists "talk to everyone", regardless of *jati*, gender, or age, and this feeling was particularly evident among people of the lower *jatis* who were rarely treated as equals in their society. While it may be unsettling for a teenager in some cultures to become an "instant authority" with status equal to that of the (usually older) researcher interviewing them (see Deloria 1969:85), people from the lower *jatis* were particularly appreciative of the fact that anthropologists wanted to talk to them. As Bachai, a member of the *dhanuk* (midwives) *jati*, said:

> I am respectful of anthropologists. They never think of you as a *bhangi* [sweeper] or *dhanuk*. They always help poor people, not just one *jati* or one section.

2.1 Sue with Umesh's grandmother, Jiya.

1.8 "ANTHROPOLOGISTS LOVE THE PEOPLE"

Not only did the people we spoke to believe that anthropologists respected people in the village regardless of *jati*, gender or age some, like Jagadesh, spoke about the love between anthropologists and people in the village:

> The attraction is always from both sides. Without the love of the people, anthropologists could not work in Karimpur.

Like Jagadesh, Deepshan believed it was impossible for an anthropologists to work in the village unless they loved the people:

> I am sure that these anthropologists love the people in the village very much. Without love you cannot work in this village...First the anthropologist loves me, then they start work. Without love no one can work. If politicians love me they will get my vote. You can't work without love. Without love anthropologists can't work here.

An older *brahman*, acknowledging that people's feelings for anthropologists varied, came to the conclusion that:

> I think that they love all of us too much. They love even the dust and the

> land. Without love you can't visit a house. It is their profession to do this, but still they love us very much.

Love was integrally related to what you do for people[10], and Dharmendra was sure that Charlotte loved the people. He evidenced this by telling us that if a boy in the village was injured then she felt their pain as if it were her own son who had been hurt. Another person fondly recalled how Sue had picked up his children in her arms, and Nanhe Khan, my research assistant, remembered how Charlotte hugged him the first time they met.

1.9 "LIFE LONG RELATIONS"

For Ramvati, the proof that anthropologists loved the villagers was evidenced in the fact that they came "again and again". This was reiterated by what the Wisers were told:

> "Others come and make profession of friendship, and go away. Our Sahib [William] shares our happiness and our troubles, and does not desert us" (Wiser 1963:26-7).

While some people wanted anthropologists to visit the village regularly, a few wanted them to live permanently in Karimpur. Batoolan asked me to "Come and live with us always" and similarly the Wisers were asked if they would live permanently in Karimpur (Wiser 1963:136). Sant Kumar told Nanhe and I:

> William always said he didn't want to go to America. He said 'I want to stay in [Karimpur]'. They [Charlotte and William] did not want to go back to America. They said 'Please arrange my death arrangements according to your tradition'. If *Dadi* [Charlotte] had died here she wouldn't have been buried here, she would have been cremated. That was her wish.

A minority therefore wanted "life-long relations" (Pandey 1992) with anthropologists, and wanted them to have enduring relationships with the villagers. The "waiting", the "suspense", the fact that anthropologists "come and go like a dream" and that the people are never quite sure when they will return (ibid), were feelings echoed in the words of the few who wanted anthropologists to either visit the village regularly or live there permanently. Villagers tended to have enduring relationships with others in their community, but their relationships with anthropologists were based on irregular visits and communication from a distance. Consequently, some people wanted closer and more enduring relationships with them. But asking anthropologists to visit more often or to live in Karimpur permanently was also done for other reasons. In asking someone to 'come and live with us always' people were also being hospitable. Secondly, a minority cared deeply about an individual anthropologist and therefore wanted them to live in their community. Thirdly, I suspect that some people wanted to be employed by anthropologists more often, while others want more frequent access to the help that anthropologists provided. Reiterating this, and that fact that these relationships were not static but fluid things which develop and change according to circumstance, Deepschan said:

> If we are in difficulties we treat them like a family member not a professional person.

1.10 "FRIENDLY RELATIONS"

Despite Umesh's claim that people in Karimpur wanted friendship with anthropologists, the term *dost* (friend) was not commonly used. Only a minority (5.6 percent) spoke about individual anthropologists as their friend[11], and referring to this Dharmendra said:

> There are two types of people on this earth; friends and enemies. Both persons give you pain. When you meet an enemy they give you pain. Friends give you pain when they leave.

Despite the fact that a majority didn't refer to anthropologists as friends, this doesn't exclude the possibility that under the guise of fictive kin terms some people might regard them as one. However, this is more likely to occur in the case of men who have greater opportunities to develop friendships outside the family than women do (Wadley 1994:57). As "Saroj" said "women have friends in their parents village, but not in their in-laws place (Wadley 1994:206), and this was largely because she, as a *brahman* wife, was expected to work within the household and therefore didn't have the time or the opportunity to make friends. As a result the women she related to on a daily basis were usually her affinal kin. Although women from lower *jatis* may have a greater opportunity to make friends, women as a group tended to refer to anthropologists using kin terms; of the twelve people that referred to an anthropologist as their friend only one was a woman. Srinivas found that in Rampura, the Indian village where he worked, men valued friendship more than women, but to complicate the issue further he found that men spoke about their friends as being "like brothers" (1976:276). The same applies to the men we spoke to in Karimpur: the few who referred to individual anthropologists as friends also spoke about them as being 'like a sister' to them. In the 'West' friendship connotes intimacy, but in an Indian village it is brotherhood (or sisterhood) which conveys intimacy (ibid). Therefore fictive kin terms could well have been used by some men who regarded anthropologists as their friends, but this was not as likely in the case of women.

1.11 THE INDIAN CONCEPT OF FAMILY

In order to more fully understand the concept of 'like family' it is important to explore the use of kin terms in the local context. Cross culturally notions of family can be categorised in terms of blood ties, sexual acts, law (such as marriage and adoption), economic obligations and dependencies, or as social, emotional or psychological relationships (Gilling 1993:1). But in Karimpur, kinship terms were used for all of these categories; they were used for people who were kin by marriage or blood, for the anthropological guest who was fictive kin, and by those who felt great affection for an anthropologist.

Illustration of the varied uses of kin terms can be found in the way the terms *bhai* (brother) and *bahin* (sister) were used. When Clif, Tom and I arrived in Mainpuri, working out just who belonged to each family was confusing until we understood that the terms *bhai* (brother) or *bahin* (sister) applied not only to your siblings, but to people in your immediate neighbourhood as well as to friends and associates of a similar age. In

our neighbourhood, I was called *"Mandy-sister"*[12] by the adults and *"Mandy-anti*[13] *"* by their children. Women a generation older than me tended to call me *bitia* (daughter). Similarly, Clif was referred to as *"Clif-ankal*[14]*"*, *bhai* (brother), or *beta* (son), depending upon the age of the person talking to him. Tom was referred to as *beta* (son), *bhai-a* (a more casual form of brother which Tom translated as "bro"), or by the English word *"brother"*. The prefixes *aspas* (literally meaning near about, but in this case meaning the wider neighbourhood) and *parosi* (meaning close neighbours) were used to indicate that the people they were referring to were not related by blood or marriage, but were related in terms of the proximity of their homes, daily contact or psychological importance. One very effective way of recording the connections between people was to draw up a fictive kinship chart which recorded the households who referred to each other as *parosi* or *aspas* kin (see Appendix III). This illustrated who people interacted with regularly, how they might address them, and how they might relate to them.

The longer we lived in Mainpuri the more we understood who people chose to include in their 'family' and when. While most of our immediate neighbours (a group of 12 households) referred to each other as *parosi* kin there were several exceptions. One day I asked Gaurabh, a boy in the neighbourhood, if he was going to the birthday celebrations for a girl who lived across the lane. He told me he hadn't been invited because he wasn't a member of the girl's 'family'. Although they played together, their families didn't interact socially and he hadn't been invited to her party. Gaurabh was therefore *parosi* kin to his friend, but not to his friend's family. Living close to someone did not always guarantee a *parosi* relationship. After an argument, two families in our neighbourhood didn't speak even though they only lived two doors away from each other, and from that point on they never referred to a member of the other family using kin terms. In our neighbourhood *parosi* kin were not related by blood, marriage, or physical proximity, but by emotional proximity. A third use of the term brother or sister indicated the platonic nature of a relationship. One day I jokingly accused a neighbour's son of liking a girl because he was whispering in her ear at the time. He recoiled in horror at the thought and told me: "But *Anti*, she is my sister!" His reaction doubly illustrates two uses of kin terms; those who were emotionally close to him in the neighbourhood (*Anti*) and the platonic nature of his relationship with the girl.

Nita Kumar, an anthropologist working in Benares, purposefully used the term *bhai* (brother) for her male research participants in order to prevent any confusion about the nature of her relationship with them, both for herself, and for the men she was interviewing. It was easier, she says, for "most Indian men to get along with strange women in the role of elder brother or younger brother-in-law"(1992:175), but not only was it easier for them, it was also useful for her as an anthropologist:

> I reaped the advantages of that. Because I was a woman, I could impose on strangers, draw them away from work, press them for information or guidance, or make them lead me to places and people more easily. They treated me with greater gentleness and consideration than if I were a man (ibid).

In another case, a young single woman living in Mainpuri had been blackmailed but was helped by my patron Anil. To indicate the depth of her gratitude she referred to him as her brother, and to formally recognise the relationship (and her gratitude) every year, during *Rakshan Bandhan* (the brother-sister festival), she gave him a *rakhi* (a sacred thread) to celebrate the relationship she had with Anil. In return her recently acquired 'brother' was expected to give her a gift of money and his promise of (continued) protection. Similarly, the brother-sister relationship is invoked in Karimpur when a woman who has been abducted will ask to "live as your sister for twelve years", or when a woman is improperly approached (Wadley 1994:43).

People also used fictive kin terms when they wanted to intentionally and temporarily emphasise the closeness of a relationship. Shashi, a young girl who lived in our alleyway, referred to a shopkeeper as "*Ankal*" in an attempt to get him to lower his price, while people asking for my help in Karimpur would place emphasis on the word *'sister'* or *'bitia'* regardless of whether they knew me or not. When Shashi began to call me "*Mummy*" rather than "*Anti*" I knew that she regarded me with more affection than she had before.

Kin terms in Mainpuri and Karimpur cover a wide range of relationships: they were used to indicate not only kin relations, but fictive kin and adoptive kin relationships with an emotional and psychological importance (and sometimes material importance) to the speaker. To accord an anthropologist the status of fictive kin is a way of incorporating the outsider, structurally rather than individually[15], but these terms were also used to indicate respect and were a way of avoiding scandal (see also MacIntyre in Bell 1993: 51). The variety of ways and contexts in which these terms were used illustrate that these relationships have an instrumental component. While kin relations "are something that people make, and with which they *do* something" (Bourdieu 1990:167 my emphasis), the same is equally true of fictive kin relations.

1.12 CHANGES IN ANTHROPOLOGISTS OVER TIME

It is clear that people in Karimpur notice changes in individual anthropologists throughout the duration of their stay, as well as on subsequent visits. When they first arrived they seem different, but after some time, as Panchi Burji points out, people no longer noticed those differences:

> In the beginning Charlotte and William were different [from us]; after years they were not.

Behaving appropriately was also highly valued and Charlotte was often used as the standard for this. Jagadesh, an elderly *brahman*, told us about the time Charlotte and William came to his house for a meal:

> Once I invited Charlotte and William to my house. William asked that maize bread be cooked [for him]. Both ate...Charlotte asked me if I could wash the pots. William said that he could. In India it is the duty of the women to wash the pots. It is the women's duty to serve her husband, so Charlotte washed the pots.

Observing fewer differences and a greater number of similarities is related to the fact that with time anthropologists become more socialised, and deeper more enduring relationships develop when they make return trips to Karimpur. One woman told Sue how she remembered her as being waist high when she first worked in the village, and although Sue was not a child when she first visited Karimpur thirty years ago, she was a lot younger and less socialised. Through repeated visits and acculturation, in this women's mind, Sue had 'grown up'. Further illustrating this idea, my research assistant Nanhe Khan, told me that while I was 20 percent Indian, Sue was 100 percent Indian. Anthropologists who worked in the village for long periods of time were regarded by Nanhe and others, as more like the villagers than those who had only visited for a short time, and generally speaking these anthropologists were of greater emotional importance to the people. As one person said "because Sue comes back again and again she is always on our minds". While changes in anthropologists over time are noticed, with the passing of time legends about them develop during their lifetime, but more especially when they die. This is evidenced in the construction of Charlotte's image and the glowing accounts about her, which were not always based on reality, but were used as a standard against which all subsequent anthropologists are measured. Chapter Three expands on this theme.

1.13 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGISTS

Because some people in the village had known several anthropologists they had the ability to compare one against the other; as one man told us: "*Dadi* used to appreciate games, but Sue appreciates *dhola*[16]". Some people made comparisons when arguing about who was their favourite anthropologist, and sometimes these comparisons weren't entirely fair:

> Sue's job is to use people as a business, Dadi's job was like if you have a bullock; you use them but you also take care of them...People are dealing with Sue like in a business, with Dadi it was not like that, it was deep love.

Charlotte's research gathering process was far less visible than other anthropologist's and initially she never took a pencil and paper with her when she visited people because it would have "alarmed them into speechlessness" (1936:9). In contrast, Sue's recording process was highly visible. With a video recorder set up by the *Ram Lila*[17] stage everyone, including the audience and the performers, knew that she was recording the performance on video. People also spoke about 'filling up' her tapes when she interviewed them. People knew that Sue was collecting data, but many did not know this about Charlotte and William. As Atah's wife told us:

> William came to watch what I was doing in my work. I don't know why they wanted to know, but they did take photos...of me milking with a bucket.

While anthropologists who make repeated trips to the village are able to observe the changes in the community over time, the people with whom they work are also qualified assessors of the changes in the anthropologists. Sue told me how the standard of women's clothing at a *brahman balua* (women's gathering) had improved over time,

how roads in the district were much better than when she first worked in the village, and how thirty years ago an anthropologist couldn't buy film in the district. But the villagers also noticed the physical changes in Sue and observed the changes in her research focus. They remember how she had visited Karimpur as a young woman, then as a wife, and later as a mother. Although village history is constantly being rewritten, so is an anthropologist's biography, and while changes in an anthropologist's age and status allow them to view their subjects in different ways, these changes in the anthropologist also facilitate a different viewing by people in Karimpur.

1.14 THE WIDER COMMUNITY

People in the village knew that Charlotte, Sue and I were different people, but in surrounding communities, people tended to overlook these differences in favour of our similarities. Sue recounts a story she was told, by a man who lived in a village not far from Karimpur, about how there has only ever been one female anthropologist working in the village:

> People say that earlier there was someone from America who came here, a queen. She built a house on some land here. She sometimes comes, that Mem Sahab. She is called Queen Sahab (*rani sahab*). She asks the village people about their conditions, what are their troubles, what difficulties there are. In marriages she may give a little money. And she gives medicine and help to people who are poor (1994:xvii).

In Sue's mind, "the differences of missionary and scholar, of age...of friendships within the community, of method and theory" (ibid) made her and Charlotte very different, but while Sue was very aware of these differences, this person was not. Similarly, I was told by a man in Mainpuri that I had been to his city long before I actually had. I assume that he had probably seen Sue making trips to the city and mistakenly thought we were the same person. Echoing this, Nancy Scheper-Hughes noted how she, like some "ethnographic Elvis", was reported as having been seen in communities long after she had left Ireland (in Sheehan 1993a:79). While the 'King' still lives, in the Mainpuri district so does the Queen (*rani sahab).*

1.15 ANTHROPOLOGIST'S CHILDREN

Since 1925 there have been five children of anthropologists visiting or living in the village. Alfred and Arthur Wiser were aged five years and eighteen months respectively when they first came to Karimpur with their parents, and in 1983 Shona and Laura Wadley-Derr visited the village with their parents. My own son Tom visited in 1995. While people in Karimpur tended to regard anthropologists as being "like family", they also regarded their children in the same way:

> We treat the children of Sue and Mandy like my nephew, my niece, my son. All children [anthropologist's and my own] are the same .

Ram Dube also recalled how "Sue's children played at my house many times" as if they were his own children. While anthropologists were generally referred to as fictive kin, so were their children.

1.16 SUMMATION

Although the majority of the people (63.6 percent) used kin terms for anthropologists it doesn't automatically follow that people think of anthropologists as "part of their families"; for a majority they were '*like* a family member' because they were a guest in the community. This is expressed by Jageshwar Dube in his concept of a family:

> There is a Sanskrit saying that if you only think about your family, your family members, your sons, then this is narrow minded thinking. This is our tradition and our culture. But you should also help the whole world; the whole world is your family.

Admittedly, some anthropologists do become adopted kin, or fictive kin with whom people have a close relationship, but this was not the case for a majority. Only a minority specifically spoke about their wish for "life-long relations" or referred to them as friends. Summarising many of the ideas discussed so far, Ramsaki said:

> I feel good to see anthropologists. If I feel bad what can I do? You people come from very far away. You are our guest therefore we respect you. We treat you like family members. Because there is no blood relationship between us you are not family members, but I treat you like a sister or daughter. It does not mean you *are* family, but you are near to me. Of course I love you and respect you and therefore you are close to me.

PART TWO:

MY EXPERIENCE OF INCORPORATION

2.1 IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT

Although Karimpur is unique in that it is "one of the most studied communities in South Asia"(Wadley 1994:xviii), working in the village means that an anthropologist must not only be incorporated into the community, but incorporated (by the residents of the community and anthropologists who have worked there) into the fictive *jati* of 'anthropologists'. In order to work in Karimpur you must either fit people's expectations of how an anthropologist should behave, or modify those expectations to fit you.

When I arrived in Delhi on my first trip I felt decidedly unlike an anthropologist. One of the first things that I noticed about the female anthropologists I met was that they either wore a *sari* or a *salvar-kamiz* regardless of whether they were Indian or not. I knew female anthropologists sometimes wore a *sari* in order to "look like a typical married woman" and to avoid unwelcome advances from men (Kumar 1992:173), and began to wonder whether I would attract unwelcome advances because I wore Western clothing. But I also remember wondering how much I could retain of my own identity, and just how much I was prepared to sacrifice for anthropology. Two days later I went out and bought several *salvar-kamiz*. Three weeks later I bought my first sari, but feeling comfortable in it took some time[18]; comments about how beautiful I looked only partially quelled the feelings of unease about wearing five metres of material without a single pin or button to hold it in place. While it took time to feel at ease in Indian clothing, it also took time before I would feel comfortable with people and my surroundings.

In the early stages of fieldwork the fieldworker must face three cultures: the culture of socialisation, the culture of the field site, and the fieldwork culture (Freilich 1970:19), but the latter two overlapped in Karimpur because of the villagers' seventy year association with anthropologists. Not only was it assumed that I was American, but some people thought I would want to research the same topics as Sue and other anthropologists had. Just as Zuni Indians resented their favourite anthropologist working with people beyond their immediate family (Gould 1975:210), I got the feeling that some of the people in Karimpur were slightly resentful of the fact that I wasn't going to do research on the *Ram Lila* or *Dhola* as Sue had.

Establishing my credentials as honestly as I could became increasingly important for me in this early period[19]. Although I was called *Didi* (elder sister) by Umesh's family, and in part expected to behave accordingly, I was ascribed a variety of other roles by people in the village who thought I was either Sue's sister, a friend of Charlotte Wiser, or someone on holiday. Trying to explain that I was an anthropologist from Aotearoa / New Zealand was only partially successful until the eventful day that Kapil Dev (the

Captain of the Indian cricket team) toppled Richard Hadlee's[20] test wicket record. This gave me the opportunity to explain that, like Richard Hadlee, I was from Aotearoa. However, once people understood which country I came from, some of the villagers were suddenly very keen to watch me play cricket, and made polite comments about my "very good bowling". Conveying an accurate impression of myself was important for me personally, but it was also important to my research (see also Berreman 1962:5), and on one particular occasion I spent several hours with a group of people explaining what life was like in Aotearoa, what we ate, what people did when they retired, and what happened to children if their parents divorced[21]. These were all questions that people wanted answered. They wanted to know about these things in order to contextualise me, and my answers were just as important to them as what they chose to talk about in their interviews was to me. Both contextualised the speaker and back grounded what we said about other things. Explaining that I was there to investigate the possibility of recording Umesh's story was later more fully understood when Umesh and I began talking to people in the village.

LOST TOURISTS, SPIES, RESEARCHERS ...AND ANTHROPOLOGISTS

On the second trip, people in Mainpuri initially came up with a variety of explanations for our presence based upon previous experience of outsiders. Unlike villagers in Karimpur, they didn't have a wealth of experience of anthropologists and several people were convinced that we were tourists who had got lost on their way to the Taj Mahal. They pointedly told us that the Taj, two hours drive from Mainpuri, was where white people went, but Mainpuri was not. While some thought we were lost tourists, one man was convinced that Clif was the Prime Minister of Aotearoa., but others were sure we were spies, either for the Pakistani Government or the Congress Party. When we explained that we had come to India to conduct research many assumed that Clif was the researcher, but one woman remained convinced, no matter what I said or did, that we had really come to do research on peanuts, not people. When one man discovered I was a social anthropologist and that anthropologists study culture, he jokingly suggested I study agriculture because that was the only culture you would find in India![22] People positioned us in terms of their own experience, and found a variety of ways to incorporate our visible white presence. Even when people knew I was an anthropologist, they were at a loss to understand some of the things I did. One man couldn't understand why I would want to visit a village to the west of Mainpuri, and politely reminded me that there was no Taj Mahal there. As I noted previously, in Karimpur people tended to think of me as being like the anthropologists they knew, and on my second trip some still thought I was there to record *Dhola* or perhaps to do a census. Slowly people in both communities came to understand that I was there to research the relationship between anthropologists and research participants. And slowly I came to understand more about them and their lives.

FOREIGNERS

While I was slowly incorporated as an anthropologist, Clif, Tom and I were incorporated into the group of foreigners living in Mainpuri. Although we were the only white people in Mainpuri, there were 20 black Kenyan students living and studying at the Mainpuri branch of Agra University on the outskirts of the city. Most were in the final year of their Masters degree, having lived and studied in India for about four years. Meeting these men, who spoke English-English (rather than Hindi or Indian-English), and who had names like John, Robert and Henry, reinforced our own cultural selves and provided an immediate basis for friendships. We shared much in common with these men and learned to value their advice. Like them we suffered from the heat and amoebic dysentery, and we were often charged inflated prices for the things we bought. But, in sharing our experiences we found that there were also differences. We were not used to shaking hands every time we met someone, nor did we make formal speeches when visiting people as the Kenyans did.

2.2 Tom, Josh, Abner and Clif.

As our friendships with the Kenyans and people in Mainpuri and Karimpur grew, we found that we had less and less in common with white people, particularly with the tourists we saw. Every six weeks we would take a break from the 'field', and on trips to Jaipur, Delhi, Chandigargh and Agra we encountered white tourists in shops, hotels and restaurants. On our first trip away those tourists looked very much like the way we felt, they all looked decidedly lost. But towards the end of our stay we had to agree with our neighbours who thought that the tourists at the Taj were often shamefully dressed and looked rather silly. I became appalled at the way they haggled ferociously to reduce the price of the already cheap souvenirs they bought.

While white tourists looked and felt less like we did, Indians looked more and more

like people we knew back in Aotearoa. Clif and I were amazed by the physical similarity between a young girl who visited our neighbourhood and Clif's daughter back in Aotearoa. And one day, towards the end of our stay, I was utterly astonished to see a white American woman standing on a balcony not more than two metres from our courtyard. She was visiting Mainpuri with her Indian husband, but I was convinced she was an apparition until she actually spoke. I suddenly understood why a young boy we met in a village near Mainpuri, who had never seen white people before, was sure that Clif, Tom and I were ghosts.

2.3 Tom and friends at St Thomas' Catholic School, Mainpuri.

In the bazaar complete strangers would stop us to ask us our names, where we lived, where we were going, and what our "purpose" was for being in Mainpuri[23]. On his first day at school, Tom was besieged by crowds of children all asking him the same questions, but fortunately for Tom, at the school assembly that morning, the principal, Sister Jose, told the school that the new boy's name was Tom, he came from New Zealand, and was staying in Mainpuri for six months while his mother did research. She then told the children that now that they knew all about him, under no circumstances were they allowed to ask these questions again. She asked the children if they understood, to which they chorused in unison: "Yes Sister". There were times when I wished I could have explained my presence in the community by making such a public statement, but instead I had to account for my presence to individuals (see also Berreman 1972:xxiv) who all had varying experiences and assumptions about foreigners, anthropologists, and women.

Besides being asked the inevitable series of questions by complete strangers, people we had never met would call at our house. One morning a young man came knocking on our door wanting advice about love, and another day a man came striding through

the door inviting us to his village. Others called to find out our opinions on religion and the meaning of life, and young women came to practice their English. Some just came to look at us. From this vast range of people we acquired some very special friends and new family members.

2.2 FAMILY AND FRIENDS

While a majority of people in Karimpur referred to anthropologists using fictive kin terms, anthropologists, particularly those who work in tribal, peasant or *jati* based societies, also refer to some of their research participants as *family*. This is evidenced in anthropological writing which abounds with references to research participants as fictive, adoptive or temporary kin (Harrison 1991:104) and in the fact that many fieldworkers commonly refer to the site of their fieldwork as *home*. Because some of their research participants regard them as family, anthropologists consider some of those people as members of their own family. The length of time anthropologists spend in the field, the quality of the relationships formed and the formative nature of the first field experience in terms of an anthropologist's personal and professional development, ensure that *some* of the people they work with not only hold a special place in terms of their professional development, but in their hearts as well.

Karimpur is only one of many societies which incorporate anthropologists using kin terms. Karim, an anthropologist working on Carey Island, and Abramson, working in Fiji, were respectively ascribed the roles of daughter and son in the families that they lived with, while O'Brien was formally adopted (in Bell 1993:20). Hutheesing, working in Thailand, was accorded not one but a variety of statuses including grandmother, aunt, and even father (ibid 1993:98). MacIntyre was accorded the role of mother (ibid:20) and Leela Dube, working in India, was treated as a well-protected *brahman* daughter-in-law (in Beteille 1975:160). But despite the fact that many anthropologists are referred to as kin by the people with whom they work, it is important to remember Powdermaker's caution that while she was happy at being assigned fictive kin status she never fooled herself that she was part of the clan (1966:81).

During our stay Clif and I acquired many friends and new family members[24]. Clif and I gained a 'daughter', and accordingly Tom gained another sister. Shashi lived across the alleyway from us and when we first arrived she called us *Anti* and *Ankal* like all the other neighbourhood children, but towards the end of our stay she began to call us "Mummy" and "Daddy". She 'adopted' us. Tom was also 'adopted' by two women in our neighbourhood. Towards the end of our stay he had three mothers; Shakuntala (Shashi's Mother), myself, and Ramvati, the mother of his best friend Monu. He would judiciously divide his time between all three of us maintaining a balance that would keep the peace, but each of his mothers would let him know when he wasn't spending enough time with them.

2.4 Nanhe Khan, my' brother' and research assistant, in his shop in Mainpuri.

Nanhe Khan was not only my research assistant, he became my 'brother'. Although he is shorter than me he walks as if he is ten foot tall and we would stride through the streets of Mainpuri together to the Karimpur *busisstand* (bus stop) talking about the latest village gossip, our work, our lives, and our dreams. By working together and through these travelling conversations we came to know each other well. As my relationship with him developed, the Muslim call to prayer, broadcast over loudspeakers in Mainpuri 5 times a day, was not a blaring intrusion, but a reminder that my 'brother' was leaving his radio repair shop and going to the mosque.

2.5 Anil Misra, the very best patron an anthropologist could wish for.

Anil Misra was my patron, and we were all eternally glad that he was. He was a man with influence in the district of Mainpuri who helped me obtain medical treatment for a person in Karimpur and who guided me through the process of obtaining permission from the the SSP (Senior Superintendant of Police) to conduct research. He was an ex-lawyer, a correspondent for a large newspaper, a voluntary social worker and civic figure, a person who had a constant supply of good humour and caring concern. Anil kept a close and caring eye on us all and he often seemed to know what we were doing long before we did. He once described himself as a Yogi and a Bogey, a saintly man who enjoyed the pleasures of life, and although he worked extremely hard, he enjoyed life and we enjoyed his company. He called Clif "Mr Clif, and he called me "Mrs. Mandy". I called him "Anil, my patron".

2.6 Shakuntala, my friend, my son's 'mother', and the mother of our 'adopted' daughter, Shashi.

Shakuntala is Shashi's mother and my son's 'mother', but she was also our much loved neighbour who insisted on saying say "Hi" whenever I said "*Namaste*[25] ". We spent a lot of time at each other's houses, went to the Mainpuri fair together and went to visit her friends. We made trips to the *Phoolbaag* (park) and to her Temple, but one of my favourite memories is sitting outside her house on sunny afternoons preparing vegetables for the evening meal, talking to other women in the neighbourhood, and discussing how we were going to get Muni, our friend and cook, married. Besides being a good friend Shakuntala was the one who kept a watchful and caring eye on Tom when I was working in Karimpur. I valued her friendship immensely.

2.7 Bunty, whose real name is Anarag.

Anarag Yadav was a young man of 22, a graduate with a bachelor's degree in engineering, the great grandson of a *dacoit*[26], the grandson of a saint, and the son of an advocate whose passion was Shakespeare. Anarag had a profound ability to ask the most penetrating questions about my work and on one occasion he spontaneously interviewed our neighbours about us. It was an illuminating conversation and in my mind Anarag was already an anthropologist, even though he had to look up the word in a dictionary. Even though his given name was Anarag, we, like his other friends, called him Bunty.

2.8 Sunita (right), a friend with hug as big as her smile.

Sunita was a large woman with a hug that took the breath out of you, and a smile as big. Whenever I went out to special events she was the person who dressed me in my sari, making sure that it was exactly the right length and perfectly draped. She also passed numerous plates of her wonderful cooking over the wall that divided our houses and made sure that Clif was getting enough to eat when I was working in Karimpur. She was the person who told me to pull myself together when I couldn't stop crying the day we left. Sunita had a solid presence, and I liked her for it. She was a wonderful friend as well as being my neighbour.

2.3 HOME: A SENSE OF PLACE.

Closely associated with family and friends is a sense of place, of *home* (Jackson 1995) and a sense of place has been a recurrent theme for me on both trips. On my first trip, the night before Sue, Sunil, and I, left Delhi for Karimpur, Sue told me to enjoy my last hot shower and approach the trip as if we were going camping. Early the next day the car and driver that Sue had hired waited outside our hotel for every available space to be packed with three anthropologists and their copious supplies. We took the usual array of anthropological equipment (such as tripods, cameras, tape recorders, and plenty of blank tapes, film, and paper), but we also took supplies of bottled water (a particularly effective way of preventing amoebic dysentery), gifts for Umesh's family, toilet paper, tinned cheese, water biscuits and coffee. The things we took with us said something about us as professionals and as people. As we drove through the outskirts of Karimpur in the late afternoon, past the shrine to Khan Bahadur, a landmark for both Sue and the Wisers (Wadley 1994:11, Wiser 1963:140), Sunil asked Sue how she felt to be arriving in Karimpur. "It's like coming home" she said.

While it was like returning home for Sue, for me Karimpur was then Umesh's natal

village and it was wonderful to finally meet the man behind the voice on the phone and the letter (AAA 1992:3), but also waiting our arrival was Umesh's extended family. I had no idea how I was going to remember all of their names, let alone their position in the family. Neither did Sunil, so in true anthropological style Sue drew up a kinship chart, an invaluable aid in understanding who was who and how they were all related.

Sue, Sunil and I were staying in a section of Umesh's family house which I came to think of as the Wiser wing. It was not a series of rooms, but a long narrow room with two doors; one that opened out onto the household courtyard, and one which led to a small corridor and the front verandah of the house[27]. As Sue pointed out in her comments on this dissertation, this was the only remaining portion of a house which had been designed by a young Delhi architect (Wiser 1963:135) and financed by the Wisers in 1959. This unusually long room and its adjoining corridor was all that was left of the house that "they built among us", the house which Umesh referred to in his letter to the AAA (Pandey 1993). In 1962, after William's death, Charlotte returned to Karimpur to find that Umesh's family, "following the village maxim that no housing space should be left untenanted" (Wadley in Wiser 1978:x), had moved in. Between 1962 and 1971 Charlotte visited Karimpur for several months of each year, and often sat in the narrow room in a comfortable chair by the window during the day. At night she slept in a room across the courtyard with the other women of the household, sometimes sharing a cot, as Sue did, when the house was overly full.

Sue stayed in the house when she first visited the village in 1967, and lived there a second time when she visited with her husband Bruce in 1974. In the early 1980's the back half of the house collapsed, and four years later Bruce and Sue provided funds to rebuild that section and add on more rooms. During their 1984 visit Sue and Bruce lived in Mainpuri with their two daughters, but visited Karimpur daily. The wing became their second home while they were working in the village and was used to store equipment, eat meals, and as a place to sleep when the family stayed overnight. When I visited, two very visible reminders of the original owners, a photo of Charlotte (with her son) and one of William (with a young boy from the village), hung on the walls of the Wiser wing. They left me in awe to be a resident in a room that was dripping with so much anthropological history. I felt very much like the novice.

In this unusually long room there was equally long table which took up almost half the available space, emphasising its importance as a site for anthropological writing[28]. At one end of the table was a double bed, a rarity in a village where most people slept on a *charpai* (rope bound cot)[29]. Besides a very large metal trunk, the only other furniture was a small sideboard and a china cabinet for treasured Pandey possessions such as photo albums and books that had been given to the family by visiting anthropologists. During Sue, Sunil's and my stay, the cabinet housed more practical items such as plates, cups, and cutlery which had been brought by Sue on a previous visit to prevent polluting the family's utensils. At first sight the wing looked like extremely comfort-

able lodgings, not at all like the camping that Sue had warned me to expect, and I was reminded that its financier had spent many months living under canvas in the mango grove not far from the house. For Charlotte and her family this room would have been luxury. Despite the lack of a shower and hot running water, there was a toilet and a bathroom on the other side of the courtyard and there was electricity. The later had been installed for a wedding in 1988 but was also used by Sue, Sunil and me for lighting and to recharge the video-recorder and Dictaphone batteries which seemed to have voracious appetites. But it was the unusually long table in the room that became a central point for many of our activities; this was the site where we wrote, ate, and gathered in the evenings.

Despite being warned that we would mostly be eating potatoes served in three different ways (a diet described as *aloo, aloo, aloo*), each meal seemed like a feast. A woman from Etah, Dundavey, had been employed to prepare meals for us, but besides our regular meals, the food we had bought in Delhi became the key ingredients in 'mental health meals', a time to relax and celebrate our own cultural selves[30]. Sue had brought about a dozen sachets of instant hot chocolate drink ("just add water and stir briskly") and a mug of hot chocolate accompanied by tinned cheese and crackers became the instigating mechanisms for a time in which to talk anthropology, discuss the day, and on one occasion dream of the food we would have when we returned to Delhi. All three of us ate meat, but not while living in a *brahman* household, and Sue and Sunil thought the idea of a *hot sizzling platter* (a steak meal) sounded particularly good. Like us all, Sue experienced protein cravings while living in Karimpur and peanuts and cashews only partially satisfied them. One evening, word association games with foods that we craved led us through a menu of delight; Sunil couldn't decide whether what he really craved was buttered chicken (an Indian dish with a thick creamy sauce), or butterscotch. That particular night I wouldn't have said no to a scotch. But this thing called 'field work' seemed to me unusually easy compared to many of the angst ridden accounts I had read. I tried writing a letter telling colleagues of my discovery, but it seemed a rather irreverent action. Perhaps you were supposed to discover the fallacy of these myths and keep your discovery to yourself, or maybe I was just lucky[31].

On my second trip, within three days of arriving in Mainpuri, Clif and I had rented rooms and bought enough furniture for a six month stay. Our neighbourhood welcomed us, and Anil Misra appointed himself as our patron. We had a place to live, a patron, a *parosi* (neighbours) and we began to feel 'at home'. Taking a colleague's advice to "do nothing for a month", those first four weeks were no holiday. Every day was filled with people and lessons in how to operate in a new environment. On the first night in our house we had a visit from two jeep loads of heavily armed police. While I was concerned about their presence and the casual way they waved their weapons about, ironically they were concerned about our safety in a city that is commonly regarded as the "the murder capital of India". To protect us a police guard was stationed at the end of our street, and while we felt rather honoured, we became slightly worried. Was the city as dangerous as everyone really seemed to think it was? Gunfire

in the night suddenly became a cause for concern[32].

More information fed our worries. We slowly learned that our landlord had been implicated in a murder earlier in the year. A man had been shot at close range in a sweet shop in the city after he failed to pay money to members of an extortion racket and the police believed that our landlord had arranged for our neighbour's son to do the killing. The day after the murder there had been a shoot out on the ground floor of our house between the police and our landlord, and although the house had since received a fresh coat of paint there was still a large chip out of the concrete on the ground floor which neighbours claimed resulted from bullets fired by the police at our landlord. We only learned this story in pieces as friends and neighbours came to trust us.

So, in semi-ignorance, we set about living in Mainpuri with a landlord who had been implicated in a murder and with the family of an accused murderer for neighbours. But I am glad we stayed because our *parosi* were one of the most loving and caring groups of people I have ever known. The family of the accused murderer suffered their own private agony. The accused was in jail awaiting trial for murder and will probably be there for a long time, while the brother of the accused was without a job because people were reluctant to employ him. His fourteen year old nephew was traumatised by the shoot out and the ransacking of his home by police, and cringed at every loud noise. His mother was unable to move freely in the neighbourhood for fear of a retribution killing, which was a likelihood in a country with a very slow and ineffective justice system. We came to care for this family deeply.

'Our house' was an integral part of achieving a sense of place. We owned a minimal number of possessions (compared to those we have in New Zealand) and many were surprised that we didn't have more. Unlike wealthy Indians we didn't have the lounge suite or beds, and made do with several *charpai*. We didn't have a lot of kitchen equipment, a large household staff, or a car. We did employ Muni to cook the evening meal and a woman to clean the toilet (more out of sympathy than necessity), but there was no gardener, no driver, no one to sweep the floor, and no one to make the *chai* (tea) except us.

Just as our home helped us establish a sense of place, where we lived was important to the wider community. If people wanted to find us they simply asked for directions to "the white people's house". One day Kamal, a neighbour's son, told us that some other white people had arrived in Mainpuri and were staying for six months in a house not far from ours. Until this time we had been the only white people living in the city and were curious (as curious as *Mainpuri-wallahs* had been about us) to meet these people and find out exactly what they were doing in Mainpuri. But we never actually met them because upon further investigation we found that the neighbourhood information network had got a few facts wrong; Kamal was quite correct in telling us that the white people were staying for six months, but they were not living in the 'King's house', they were living in the alleyway nearby, and they were in fact us.

In the houses around us, and in the village, it was quite acceptable to drop paper, orange peel and peanut shells on the floor because they are swept at least twice a day. We swept once a day and thought that was enough. We therefore made the rule that you didn't drop rubbish on the floor and found that close friends and neighbours generally respected this rather strange request. However towards the end of our stay standards 'dropped'. My fieldnotes for the thirteenth of April record our neighbour Shakuntala trying out our New Zealand potato peeler and enjoying it so much that she peeled several potatoes all over the floor. Her daughter Shashi was also in the kitchen making mango chutney, and the mango peels added to the pile of rubbish on the floor. Out in the courtyard Clif was seeing how far he could spit orange pips, and a pile of orange peel had been thrown in the corner of the courtyard under the *Peepul* tree for the monkeys to eat. While we relinquished some of our cultural habits, visitors were free to relinquish their pollution taboos. After some time some of them did.

2.4 POWER

On my first trip to Karimpur I was appalled at the reverence some Indians have for white foreigners. Three years later, I still am. One day Sue, Sunil and I went to Mainpuri to take Umesh's young nephew to see a paediatrician, and as we arrived at the doctor's rooms a path in the large crowd opened up before us. Unlike the mothers and small children who had already waited in line for hours to see the doctor, we were shown to chairs in front of the doctor's desk within seconds of arriving. The paediatrician seemed more interested in talking to two doctors (even if they were PhD's rather than MD's), than he was in treating Umesh's young nephew.

2.9 The backdrop for the Ramlila.

At the performance of the *Ram Lila* several days later an awning was erected in front of the verandah to protect the audience from the cold winter wind, and three chairs were lined up at the front near the stage for three anthropologists. While these front row seats gave Sunil and me a great view and allowed Sue to monitor the video equipment, I found it difficult sitting in such an honoured and visible place[33]. I was only too aware that people sitting on the ground behind us had to move to see what was happening on the stage. But helping to negate my own unease was the performance itself. Despite my minimal Hindi it was absorbing and at times absolutely hilarious. I loved the sound of the children's laughter as they giggled at the antics of the actors and the brilliance of a man dancing provocatively as a woman. I loved the way goats and dogs walked nonchalantly across the stage completely oblivious to the importance of the event, and the way the performance was further interrupted by actors pledging money to the *Ram Lila* fund (which then set a challenge to their friends in the audience to pledge even more). Some of the performers left the stage at crucial moments during the play to peer into the lens of the video camera, ensuring that their image was well

2.10 The awning erected for the audience.

and truly recorded. But, although I had been told by a villager that the *Ram Lila* was a good thing because it would benefit the whole village, in reality not all the village attended. Several days later another performance was staged by the lower *jati* in much simpler fashion at the other end of the village.

"YOU ARE WHITE, RICH AND POWERFUL"

Almost everyone in Mainpuri and Karimpur was sure that Clif and I were extremely rich because they made the association between our white skin, our comparative wealth and therefore our power[34]. From the perspective of many people those from the higher *jati*s were regarded as having lighter skins and greater power, while those at the lower end were thought to be darker skinned, poorer and have less power. While frequent references were made to the colour of our skin, people were also conscious of variations in the colour of Indian skin. Women in our neighbourhood in Mainpuri used face creams which claimed to lighten the skin, but in reality all they contained was an SPF factor of 8, which might prevent tanning of the skin but certainly didn't make it any lighter. The skin of newly born babies was examined and if they were seen as dark they were often jokingly called black monkeys. We were *safed bundari* (white monkeys), that is until summer arrived and we got a tan. The Kenyan students we knew in Mainpuri had darker skin than even those lowest on the *jati* hierarchy, and because of this were thought by many to be sub-human. Racist beliefs abounded about them raping women, having AIDS, eating dogs, and making women pregnant simply by taking their shirts off. Some of those from the lower *jati* enjoyed their presence (because they were no longer the 'darkest' people in town) but others were sure I would be raped if I went to visit them. Initially our neighbours were reluctant to shake their hands or speak to them, and some would disappear inside when they arrived in our alleyway, but by the end of our stay most would talk to them, and two were invited to

a celebration to mark the opening of a temple in our neighbour's home.

For Tom, being male, white, blue eyed and blonde was undoubtedly an ego enhancing experience, especially in those first couple of months in Mainpuri. Charlotte Wiser noted that for her son Alfred, being a boy with power was particularly satisfying:

> He knows what game he wants to play, and summons the children of lower castes to follow. Or he wants a ride in a cart, and lets them pull him indefinitely. If one of them resists, he applies his bat or bow, or anything at hand. The unhappy victim flies for shelter (1963:91).

Initially Tom never needed to use physical power to get his own way because his white skin gave him all the access to people and experiences he wanted. He was given numerous rides on motorbikes and bicycles and lots of small presents, but by the end of our stay he, like any other child, had to pay to hire a bicycle and had been involved in several fights.

2.11 The 'VVIP' handing out prizes at a volleyball tournament.

While Clif enjoyed the role of VVIP (very very important person) at the parades, festivals and district functions we were invited to, I found it difficult to accept the racism the Kenyans experienced, and the reverse racism we experienced. I knew we were invited to many events which the Kenyan students were excluded from, and my fieldnotes detail enormous numbers of invitations to meet family, attend weddings, birthday parties, festivals, *kirtan*[35], parades, performances, meals, *puja*[36], meditation sessions, and picnics[37]. I remain convinced that many of these invitations, especially when we first arrived, were because we were perceived as powerful and seen as "status objects" (Streefkerk 1993:12). But, in return for these invitations, we were expected to help people and many were convinced that we could help. Having powerful friends

is important in a community where power can influence a whole range of things such as obtaining government jobs, bank loans, favourable treatment by the police, and even a constant supply of electricity to your house. Many thought that our white skin and money gave us that power and influence, and in some respects they were right[38].

However, there were two occasions when skin colour did not work in our favour. One was when I was introduced to a senior police official at a volleyball tournament. Normally I greeted Hindus with the *Namaste* greeting (in which hands are placed palm to palm in front of the face), but on this occasion I followed the lead of my *brahman* patron and extended my hand only to find that I was given the 'one finger hand shake'. The man who offered me a single finger was obviously reluctant to grasp my whole hand out of fear of being polluted. At another social engagement one person made it quite clear that as whites and descendants of the British we were not be trusted.

2.5 PRIVACY AND A SENSE OF COMMUNITY

On my first trip I discovered that my body space needs were quite different from the people in the village. They not only stood much closer to me than people would in Aotearoa[39], but had no hesitation in looking at me for long periods, often without saying a single word. In those first few days we were definitely the entertainment[40], but I also I began to wonder just who the anthropologists were. Sitting on the verandah one afternoon I was surrounded within minutes by a group of a dozen people who stood so close to me that they seemed like a crowd of five hundred. While they were just as interested in me as I was in them, they were much more assured and far less disguised in their intentions[41], and with their incessant questions I soon began to feel rather panicky and slightly claustrophobic[42]. I asked Sunil how to politely say "go away" in Hindi, and he told me to relax, and said that they would soon leave. He was right; they did, but it was a reminder of just how hard it is to make such a rapid shift from independence and mastery to one of interdependence (see Kondo 1986:78). It was from this same spot on the verandah that Charlotte described the view she saw early one morning; stretches of green fields, a pale rose sky, and a peacock of breath taking beauty. For her it was a moment of silence when God seemed very near (1963:142), and while there were many moments like that later in my stay, my first experience on the same verandah was not one of serenity. As the days passed I found I could sit outside without as many people gathering to stare, but because boundary maintenance and defence are key features of maintaining a sense of Self (Sampson 1993:36) in the 'West', feeling relaxed was often associated for me with a sense of physical space.

Privacy was something on my second trip that we gradually (but not always successfully) learned to live without[43]. It has been said that Indians see 'Westerners' as closed, insincere, and lacking in warmth (Tyler in Madan 1994:97), and this perception relates in a large degree to a Western 'need' for space and privacy. The Wiser's found that in Karimpur "(e)very room is everyone's room" (1963:139) and the same was true for our house in Mainpuri. Besides coming through the front door people would come and

visit us by climbing over the wall from our neighbours rooftop, and children as young as three (with help from older children) would climb the wall thirty feet above ground and navigate the live electric wires that draped it[44] to visit us.

People didn't necessarily have to come into the house to communicate with you, they could also engage you in conversation from the street below, or from a neighbouring balcony. Our neighbours always knew if we were at home and would call out repeatedly until we answered. If you dared to ignore them they were likely to accuse you of being a *proudy-proudy* or of being *gusa* (angry), but once you acknowledged them you were then duty bound to engage in conversation, often until they had got exactly what they wanted. We became a neighbourhood source of plasters, antiseptic, someone to talk to when they were bored, as well as the local attraction. As part of the *parosi* we were expected to meet any visiting relatives and friends, give them *chai*, and show them our photos and our house. By the late afternoon the house was usually full of people, and one evening as my research assistant Nanhe arrived to work on translations I commented on my very large family. It was not an idle statement; I meant it. All of the people present that day were not just visitors they were my temporary *parivar*.

2.12 A rare moment of space and privacy in which to write up fieldnotes.

2.13 Tiredness is also experienced by the children of fieldworkers.

A lack of privacy and demands made on us by neighbours did lead to tiredness, a state often mentioned by other fieldworkers (see Agger 1996:16,18,24 and Malinowski 1967:30,33,35), but I have never laughed so much, never been so scared, and never been so hot or cold as I was in India, and it was my *parivar* who shared all of these things with me. A man in our neighbourhood told me that the *parosi* "were crazy about us". We were just as crazy about them. But while we cared for our *parosi* deeply, their expectations of us sometimes drove us crazy. But we did discover their wonderful sense of humour, something which it is not often conveyed in anthropological literature (Srinivas 1976:283). They cracked jokes at our expense and we learned to make jokes about them. The local translation for *pagal* was 'half-mind' so from the minute our neighbours first saw Clif wearing shorts (which were referred to as half-pants) the association between half-pants and a half-mind was made. It was a pun which lasted the duration of our stay, but at times I am sure they thought we were 'half minds'. My slowness to learn Hindi, my need for privacy, the fact that every *chapatti* (unleavened bread) I ever made ended up square rather than round, was proof for them that I only had half a mind. However, they were always too polite to say so.

2.6 A RULE FOR FITTING IN

Raghubar told me of a time, twenty years ago, when he accompanied Sue on a visit to Delhi. It was his first trip to the capital and the first time he had been so far away from Karimpur. They visited the Ashoka, a five star hotel, and had tea in the dining room which was a new and confusing experience for him because the components were served separately; the tea came in a pot, the sugar in a bowl, and the milk in a jug[45]. Fruit pips also posed a problem; at home he would have spat them on the floor, but in the hotel dining room he was told to put them on a plate. As he was desperately trying to adjust to these new surroundings, he was shocked to see through the window a naked body flying through the air. He was unaware that beyond the window and out of sight was a swimming pool, and the people he could see were not naked and flying as he thought, but wearing swimming costumes, and diving into the pool. His rule for surviving in this new and strange environment was to be patient and follow the lead of others. I often tried to apply this rule to my own behaviour in the village and in Mainpuri but sometimes this advice was hard to follow; I couldn't accept the way people from the lower *jatis* were treated, the way puppies were drop-kicked, and the effects of poverty always concerned me.

2.14 Half an hour before we left.

2.7 THE PAIN OF LEAVING

Leaving India, after my second stay, was one of the hardest things that I have ever done[46]. As we began the long round of goodbyes our cook, Muni, began to cry, and it didn't take long for me to follow suit. Tom's best friend Monu joined in, and then Tom followed. Within minutes all of the women and children were in tears. Tom and I continued to cry long after we had cleared the outskirts of Mainpuri and passed through the village of Karimpur. It was an emotionally exhausting day and a large part of the repatriation stress that we all suffered was directly related to missing our *parosi* and our adoptive kin. As MacIntyre said when referring to the grief she suffered in being separated from her adoptive daughters: "sometimes the experiences of the field do not transform themselves into ethnographic prose, and sometimes the language of emotional attachment seems sentimental or inadequate"(1993:54).

2.8 HOME, 'MY HOME'

Sue Wadley said that she never felt whole or complete unless she visited the village regularly, and that because of this, arriving in Karimpur was like "coming home". I now understand what she means. For Sue, Karimpur is like a second home, not just because some of the people regard as her kin, but because over a twenty five year period the village and its people have assumed an integral role in Sue's construction

of her own sense of self[47]. While the temporarily dislocated anthropologist may be flattered at being referred to as kin, they know that for the majority of people who use these terms they are fictive kin, not temporary or adoptive kin. Claims to the fact that anthropologists are referred to as kin can in the extreme become the basis for unrightful claims of authenticity (MacIntyre 1993:53), but anthropologists working in Karimpur do differentiate between the varied uses of these terms. They distinguish between research participants who refer to them as fictive kin and treat them as guests out of convention, and those who refer to them as fictive kin but have a close attachment with them. They know when people care deeply for them, just as they know when people don't care for them.

Writing up my thesis in Aotearoa I miss my brother, my daughter, my patron, and friends[48]. While I miss them, they also miss us:

> My Dear sweet family. I love you. Your letter came here. Muni liked the sari you sent. Tom August the tenth is brothers and sisters festival. I am giving you 3 *rakhi*; one for you, one for Michael and one for Richard[49]. I am showing other people your letter. Tom on August 10 I will be missing you...Mum I am going to school every day and working hard. I will pass my exams. Mum quick send me a letter. My Mum Shakuntala says Namaste. My Father says hello. I am missing you. O.K. Bye-bye, Namaste.
> Your daughter Shashi. (Letter dated August 1995)

Fieldwork, says Wilson rather grandly, is for life, and the friendships and associated responsibilities that an anthropologist has with people in the field can stay with the fieldworker for ever (Wilson 1992:198). While Sue must visit Karimpur, I know that one day I will also have to return to visit people in Karimpur and Mainpuri, and this is something about which I have no choice. There is a point in fieldwork where the people become more important to the anthropologist than the stories they tell (Karim 1993: 82), and it is those people who mean that I now have "one more place to belong, to think about nostalgically, to plan to return to; one more set of people to ache for" (Kumar 1992:241). While I went to India to gather information (and probably saw people in the village initially as "data bearers", Kondo 1986:83), people are now the primary reason I want to return.

However, there is often a close and confusing connection between belonging to a community and ownership which can sometimes surface in anthropologists' speech and writing. An echo of a familial relationship with research participants is often expressed indirectly in the fact that many anthropologists refer to the people they work with as "my people", and the field as "my village". While these terms may be used to signify the closeness that the anthropologist feels towards the people, in the current political climate these terms can also have political, possessive and imperialistic implications. The term 'field' can now imply a type of ownership which is:

> reflected in disciplinary turf battles but understood better as an economic trope; when an anthropologist, even casually, talks about "my people", he

> or she inadvertently makes literal the trope of the 'field' as personal property (Berger 1993:178).

Bell illustrates this when looking for a field site in Australia. She was "firmly warned by one senior woman in the discipline not to to intrude on her territory" (Bell 1993:33) and comments that "the territoriality of Aborigines is only surpassed by their ethnographers"(ibid).

While Charlotte Wiser used the term "our village" in her introduction to *Behind Mud Walls* in 1930 (1963:xv) she did so with the intention of indicating the place where she had lived and worked and her emotional attachment to those people, but 65 years later the terms *my* or *our* can be read as indicative of a type of ownership[50]. Reiterating this I recall an anthropologist using the term "my village" at a gathering of friends and colleagues. An accountant told the anthropologist somewhat mockingly that they must be extremely wealthy in order to *own* a village. Later I would also hear a man, who was grumbling about anthropologists, say: "I own this house, but anthropologists think they own this village!" In order to avoid the assumption that field sites and our research participants are in some way *owned* by anthropologists, ethnographers now use these terms in inverted commas or quotation marks. This is intended to indicate that while they may have a close relationship with these people, they do not own them or their community. One would like to think that the use of inverted commas or quotation marks forces the writer to check any tendencies they may have towards intellectual imperialism, but Torgovnick is doubtful about this. She says that a writer's decision to place a word or phrase (such as *my village*) in quotation marks is indicative of the writer's political stance; either radical or conservative, but it also can have the effect of "wish(ing) away the heritage of the West's exploitation of non-Western peoples" (1990:20). She reminds us that the use of quotation marks does not relieve the writer of the responsibility for the meanings of the words they use, despite the "seeming sophistication" (ibid). While anthropologists can easily place these terms in inverted commas or quotation marks when we write, it is not always as easy, as in the case I have just mentioned, to do that when they speak[51]. Furthermore, merely circumscribing the term with inverted commas does not relieve anthropologists of the political responsibility they have for addressing any tendency they may have, conscious or subconscious, implicit or explicit, to think and act as if they own the community or its people. Nor does it relieve anthropologists of the responsibility for addressing the part that the discipline has played (or may directly or indirectly continue to play) in the exploitation of the people they study[52]. Just as the term "my village" currently needs commas or qualification (or a search for a better replacement), so do the terms that we use for the relationships we have with the people with whom we work.

CONCLUSIONS

MacIntyre suggests that the close relationship that develops between anthropologist and research participant has no parallel in either the anthropologist's own culture or in the academic culture in which they work (1993:56). In some respects I think she is

right. While only *some* of those relationships are close ones, they are unique because they arise in conjunction with a professional and personal need to be incorporated. As I have shown in Karimpur and Mainpuri there are a variety of factors which affect the way in which this occurs. Gender, ethnicity, age, marital status, the focus of their research, the length of time they spend in the community, their skin colour, wealth and personal attributes, along with a previous experience of anthropologists, affect the way in which these researchers are incorporated and regarded by the people they study. As will be shown in the following chapter, in Karimpur, a capacity for helping also affects the process of incorporation.

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[1] I use the term 'incorporation' advisedly. Like other terms used in anthropological discourse, such as 'rapport' and 'trust', it could be assumed that anthropologists achieve these states totally and permanently. Trust, like incorporation, is a variable state and I suggest that anthropologists only attain it in varying and changing degrees. There are times during the course of fieldwork when similarities are enhanced, but conversely there are times when differences are made quite apparent for both the research participant and the anthropologist.

[2] These terms derived from translations done by Umesh and Nanhe of the 104 interviews that were conducted in the village. These translations as literal as translations can be, and the terms discussed were those used by interviewees.

[3] Other anthropologists who worked in India reiterated people's ability to remember the details of an exchange.

[4] As Sunil pointed out in his comments on this dissertation, the figures relating to anthropologists as a group (Table III) and to individual anthropologists would have been different had we spoken to the people some anthropologists were more closely associated with, rather than a cross section of the population. It could be claimed, for example, that because Bruce worked more closely with farmers and because these figures derive from women and men as well as a range of *jatis*, they do not provide an accurate picture of his relationships with people in Karimpur. Similarly, because Sunil's research focussed on the *dhanuk* and *kachi* communities in the village, these figures do not provide a definitive picture of Sunil's relationships with his research participants. However, the range of terms and their overall frequency do provide an indication of how a cross section of the village refer to anthropologists as a group.

[5] The reason he treated her like a grandmother (rather than a mother) relates to the differences in age between Narayan and Charlotte.

[6] Karimpur is conceptualised by the villagers as being a big family (Wadley 1994:64) which anthropologist are incorporated into.

[7] A colleague, Henry Barnard, tried to explain to the Indian villagers he worked with, that in his country people don't have a *jati*. No matter how he tried to explain this, people were sure that what he meant was that New Zealanders all belong to *one* caste. Not having a *jati* was inconceivable.

[8] This is addressed more fully in the following chapter.

[9] See also Trawick 1990:113 for further discussion of the way in which an anthropologist is referred to in kin terms to indicate respect.

[10] Definitions of love, as Trawick shows, are related to the cultural context (1990:92). With the people we spoke to, love for anthropologists was related to their actions and expressed in degrees of closeness. While people in Karimpur talk of the love between family members, they

also talked about the love (or lack of love) between members of the village family: between different *jatis*, employer and employee and between Hindu and Muslim. By the use of the phrase "Now love is totally lost" (Wadley 1994:210-248) Sue illustrates how the concept is used when speaking about a variety of relationships.

[11] Diane Wolf believes that friendships between anthropologists and research participants are the exception rather than the norm, and because most anthropologists don't live permanently in the communities they work in, or visit them regularly, most friendships are short lived (1996:20).

[12] In Mainpuri, our neighbours used the English word *sister* and their children called me *Anti*. Tom was generally called *bhai*, not brother. In Karimpur people used English words less often and would refer to me as *beti* (daughter) or *bahin* (sister). Umesh's children called me *Didi*, meaning elder sister.

[13] Mandy-Aunty (see Vatuk 1982:85).

[14] Clif-Uncle (see Vatuk 1982:85).

[15] Illustrating this, women in Karimpur are referred to in kin terms rather than by their given name. This "non-naming" has the the effect of denying their individual personality and as a result women become a series of kin roles (Wadley 1994:56).

[16] An oral epic telling the story of Raja Nal and his son Dhola. The singer is accompanied by a group of 4 or 5 musicians.

[17] A performance based on the *Ramayana*, a Hindu text.

[18] Clothing is an important issue for female anthropologists working in India. Gloria Raheja arrived in the village she worked in wearing a *sari* only to be told by the women she lived with that she should wear a *salvar kamiz* (1994). Conversely, when Sue first went to Karimpur she wore a *salvar kamiz* but was told to wear a *sari* (1994:xx). I usually wore a *salvar kamiz* because it was comfortable and a compromise between wearing a *sari* and Western clothing, but I did wear a *sari* to weddings and festivals. Women in Karimpur would have liked me to wear a *sari* all the time as well as several sets of toe rings, *sindur* (red dye in the parting), a *bindi* (a dot worn between the eyebrows), and *churi* (glass bangles). I compromised and wore a *salvar kamiz* and *churi*, but the women wouldn't miss a chance to tell me I should wear at least one toe ring, citing the example of Sue. My compromises never satisfied everyone; I could please some of the people some of the time, but not all of the people all of the time.

[19] A process fundamental to learning about the people being studied (see Berreman 1972:xviii).

[20] A cricketing icon in Aotearoa.

[21] Diane Wolf notes how feminist ethnographers have lied about their marital status, their national identity, and their religious, class and ethnic background (1996:11). While I was advised by two people in Karimpur not to reveal the fact that Clif and I were not married, if people asked I would not lie. While many people in Karimpur assumed we were married, most people in our neighbourhood in Mainpuri had asked and knew we were not.

[22] About 70 percent of Indians live in villages and a majority are directly or indirectly involved in agriculture.

[23] Srinivas also found that he was asked a similar series of questions: people wanted to know where he had been, what he had seen, and who he had met (1976:23-4, 334).

[24] Here I use the term 'friends' (and 'family') to refer to what Edith Turner calls "real friends" (as opposed to relationships developed for the sake of scientific research) (1996:221). While

these relationships developed because of my research, the people involved in them were, in the terminology used in Karimpur and Mainpuri, close. These 'close friends' included not only people I refer to as friends, but a 'brother', a 'daughter' and a patron. Even though the research is now completed these people and I still communicate by phone and by letter. We miss each other.

[25] The most common form of greeting in Mainpuri.

[26] Social bandits who define themselves as *baghis*, as rebels fighting for a cause (Sen 1993:25).

[27] This was the area where Bashir, Charlotte's cook, lived ,cooked and washed dishes. Although it is now used for storage, as Sue pointed out in her comments, for much of her time in Karimpur, " it housed Bashir whom Charlotte had asked me to hire in 1967 so that he would continue to have a full salary (she was able to afford a partial retirement salary for him)".

[28] I only saw two other tables in any of the homes I visited in the village, and these were small desks usually used by children to do their homework on.

[29] As Sue notes in her comments on this dissertation: "the double bed was given by Bruce and I after our 1984 trip and was intended as part of the dowry for Umesh's sister, but by the time the marriage was arranged four years later, the bed was too used to be good as a gift".

[30] Food was a mechanism for maintaining ourselves as what Sampson calls a "self-determining entity" (1993:39). Eating familiar food with it's connotations of 'home' was one way of maintaining ourselves in a new environment.

[31] As a colleague pointed out, there is often an element of luck in most fieldwork.

[32] We later found out, these were shots being fired in the air during wedding celebrations.

[33] Srinivas notes a similar feeling of unease at being asked to leave his non-brahman friends at a shrine and move into the inner sanctum where the priests and two other *brahmans* were standing (1976:37). MacIntyre notes a similar experience (in Bell 1993:51).

[34] Srinivas notes that the association between light coloured skin and attractiveness was made among the people he worked with (1976:155, 264).

[35] Women's singing parties.

[36] Prayer.

[37] Which are more like a holiday lasting for several days.

[38] This is explored further in the following chapter.

[39] Sampson points out that a Western concept of Self equates with a container where the boundary of the individual is coincident with the boundary of the body (1993:36). I would suggest that it also includes space beyond the boundary of the body.

[40] Spencer notes that, in remoter areas, tourists are the local spectacle (in Okely 1992:50). I definitely felt that in Mainpuri, and to a lesser degree in Karimpur, we were just that.

[41] Other anthropologists note the speed with which people they worked with had them "all figured out", while the anthropologist "needed another four visits to have their case history" (Kumar 1992:100).

[42] A word that Srinivas also used to describe how he felt when he experienced "the pervasive curiosity of the villagers" the "perpetual" need to be on his best behaviour and a lack of privacy (1976:32).

[43] A 'problem' experienced by other anthropologists such as Srinivas (1976:32-33).

[44] Illegal connections to the power supply. Legal connections take months if not years to obtain.

[45] In Karimpur, as is common throughout India, *chai* is served with the sugar and milk already added.

[46] Streefkerk makes the important point that while Evans-Pritchard believed an anthropologist has failed unless there is sorrow on both sides when they say goodbye, not all anthropologists experience this sorrow. Likewise not all research participants experience sadness when the anthropologist departs (1993:8). Sadness is likely to be felt only when and if a close attachment has been formed.

[47] As Sue noted in her comments on this dissertation: "Karimpur remains my second home, and Umesh's family is my second family: I cheer the kids on, grieve when my "mother" dies, make special trips for weddings, provide schooling and tutoring, make lots of gifts. But as I wrote to Umesh after his AAA letter, I can never be real family nor do the things that "real" family does - like arrange marriages or get involved in land disputes. So I retain an emotional attachment, a strong one, and help out when I can. On the trip made with Mandy, I visited a very close friend whose husband and son both died since I had last seen her. My sorrow and tears were genuine. I remember when Umesh's daughter died in the spring of 1975: having loved that little girl, I wept for a day when news reached us in Delhi of her death from dysentery".

[48] These contacts reinforce the idea that the field is not a singular place but has more to do with the contacts that people make and maintain with each other. Letters and phone calls expand my sense of the field to include the place from which I write. (see also Bell 1993: 38 and Harrison 1991; 68-87).

[49] Clif's sons.

[50] It should be noted that Charlotte was only too happy to share 'her village' with other ethnographers. She made arrangements for Susan's accommodation and transport to study in the village in 1968. Likewise Sue made similar arrangements for me.

[51] I was interested to observe how, when delivering papers at conferences, anthropologists frequently raise two fingers in the air whenever they are reading a word in inverted commas. It makes for an unusual delivery, particularly when so many of the terms anthropologists now use need qualification.

[52] An example of this is the decision to use the term *primitive* (in inverted commas) rather than to use the term *colonised peoples* (Forster in Asad 1973:25).

CHAPTER 3

Material Exchanges Between Research Participants and Anthropologists

Ko maru kai utu, Ko maru kai mai, Ka ngohe ngohe
Give as much as you take
(Maori proverb in Mauss 1990:71)

I give so that you may give
(Vedic principle in Mauss 1990:xi).

INTRODUCTION

Despite the increasing number of personal accounts about the fieldwork experience, little systematic research has been done on the "material inequality inherent in anthropological research" (D'Amico-Samuels 1991:81). While more and more fieldwork accounts explore the research experience from an anthropologist's point of view, they often ignore not only the material nature of the field relationships which precipitated the data but what the studied gained from their relationships with anthropologists (ibid:79, see also Diane Wolf 1996:19). Because the reflexive trend in the discipline now compels the anthropologist to analyse their fieldwork relationships and question whether they are based on reciprocity, asymmetry or "potential exploitation" (Okely 1992:24), it is likely that the objects and services exchanged between anthropologists and their research participants will continue to be examined in greater depth.

Chapter Two explored the emotional and social aspects of relationships between anthropologists and research participants, and acts as a foundation to this chapter which explores the objects and services exchanged between villagers and researchers in Karimpur. As noted previously, this was a pragmatic and artificial division used only for the purpose of simplifying discussion. People are not merely object or commodity exchangers, nor are the exchanges in which they participate merely an emotional experience.

THE LETTER

In his letter to the AAA (1992), Umesh referred to a variety of exchanges that had taken place between the people of Karimpur and anthropologists over the last seventy years. He began by referring to his relationship with William and Charlotte Wiser, American missionaries / anthropologists, who were initially regarded as outsiders but who, over time, developed close relationships with people in his village (Wiser 1963:13). Umesh speaks with affection for the couple as they "built their house among them and grew old together", but implies that, while the people of Karimpur benefited from their presence, this was not the case with the anthropologists that followed.

Umesh taught the "new generation of American anthropologists", who arrived in the

late 1960's, "village Hindi" and learned English from them in return. For him, this was an equitable exchange. However, what occurred subsequently was, in his mind, far from equitable: Umesh believes that the people of Karimpur "*gave* the PhD to three American scholars[1]" (my emphasis), but received little in return[2]. He feels that this "new generation" of anthropologists not only destroyed the villagers' dignity but made them "greedy" for an anthropologist's money. He also implies a certain dependency on the part of the villagers because when anthropologists are present in the village he feels they take care of the people's problems, but when they leave, the villagers feel alone and unsupported. Umesh claims that the people of Karimpur want friendship, "life-long relations"and want to think of anthropologists as part of their families, but anthropologists want information. Despite this imbalance, Umesh claims that the people of Karimpur still love the anthropologists who work in their community.

Umesh's letter raises a raft of issues about current anthropological practice, and the relationship between fieldworkers and their research participants. Not only do his words cut to the very core of what it means to work in 'postcolonial' India, but they pose serious questions about the nature of the fieldwork relationship itself. What does a research participant gain materially from a relationship with anthropologists, and what is it that an anthropologist gives to the people with whom they work? These concerns are the focus of this chapter.

Umesh is not alone in questioning the equality of research relationships. Through prior research (Rudge 1993), I became aware of the growing body of criticism by research participants, scholars from the 'Third World' and indigenous activists about the practice and products of anthropology. Together these voices made it clear that the power to define who they were no longer rested solely with academics. In Aotearoa / New Zealand the use of terms such as "academic ethnic fodder" (Kaa in King 1985: 163) and "guinea pigs" (Stokes 1985:3) indicate that research about Maori has not always been to their benefit. While "academic raiders" (Poananga in King 1985:165) have made successful careers out of being *Tauiwi*[3] experts on Maori, some Maori believe they gained little (Stokes 1985:3, see also Bishop 1996:14-15); from a Maori point of view, research which told them what they already knew was pointless (Stokes 1985:3). What is apparent in these voices is that research participants are no longer prepared to be "silent objects of study" (Cowlishaw 1990:11); they want research practices examined. Although these speakers tended to address the inequities of the research product rather than fieldwork practices, there were parallells between what I had read previously and the concerns which Umesh so clearly voiced.

On my first trip to Karimpur, Umesh and I conducted several preliminary interviews, and it was during this time that I had the opportunity to observe Sue and Sunil at work. On the second trip, Nanhe and I asked people to recall what they had received from anthropologists who had worked in their village, and what they had given to them. Collectively, these experiences, combined with my own experience of working in the village, form the basis for this chapter. From that data there emerged clear pro-

files about how five anthropologists were seen by the people in terms of what they gave them.

1. FIVE ANTHROPOLOGISTS

CHARLOTTE WISER

Charlotte and William Wiser originally went to Karimpur to conduct a mission survey of a farming community in order to learn about agriculture and the conditions faced by the people in the village (Wadley 1994:xviii). They did this because William was then a teacher at the Agricultural College in Allahabad, and he wanted to understand better the conditions his students faced once they left the college and put their learning into practice. While William wanted to be a more effective teacher, many people in Karimpur remember Charlotte and William's questions deriving from a desire to help them, not from a desire to learn. The Wisers did, in fact, conduct a great deal of research on the village, which later became the basis for three books and two theses, but only a minority of the people we spoke to remember them doing this work. Panchilal, an eighty year old grain parcher, was one of that minority:

> The first time that they came they organised a temporary residence in the garden of Ravischan. *Dadi* [Charlotte] started to distribute medicine door to door... After this time she started work slowly, slowly in the village. She wanted to know about living standards, about how to cook food, how to arrange marriages and festivals. William also did work like this.

Similarly, Umesh remembered Charlotte spending a lot of time writing at the long table in the Wiser wing, and when people called to see her he told me that she would sometimes tell them to "come back tomorrow". In one case she ignored a person completely, telling Umesh that "the roof could fall in, but I will still carry on writing". But these memories contrast vividly with the majority who remember Charlotte going door to door, asking people if they had problems (because she was concerned about them), and then helping them. Therefore, most people remembered Charlotte as a good person and a kind of unpaid village social worker. A majority of the people we spoke to didn't remember her doing research.

Because of her 'help', Charlotte was frequently described as "a very helpful person", even by people who had never met her. In the minds of some she was a saint[4], and one man went so far as to describe her as a goddess[5]. Many defined her helpfulness in terms of the personal sacrifices she made in order to help others. Umesh recalled one of these:

> I do remember that she ran out of money. One day she wanted to help someone and so she said 'from now on I will not eat an egg every day'. She only ate three eggs a week so that she could pay the [school] fees for the boys.

Dharmendra remembered how one day he cut his finger and went to see Charlotte:

> She was taking her meal and when I arrived she got up quickly, leaving her food. I said "No, please finish your food". But she left it to bandage my finger.

He also remembered Charlotte helping a boy who had been injured:

> There was an accident by the school when I was very young. Charlotte stopped and saw that a child had been hurt. She gave ten rupees to the teacher and asked him to take the boy to the hospital. Then she took a cloth out of her bag and tied it around his wound. I remember this.

While David Mandelbaum defines William and Charlotte Wiser as missionaries who made a notable contribution to the discipline of anthropology (in Foreword to Wiser 1963:vi), most of the villagers remembered them as being there to help them.

Sachs suggests that 'spiritual' qualities include the ability to relate to others without ulterior motives with the qualities of love, compassion, and goodness (1992:130), and the people we spoke to certainly remembered Charlotte as having these qualities. But others might suggest that Charlotte's work in Karimpur was a case of anthropology being a "diary of the white man in mission" (Minh-Ha 1989:57), not only because Charlotte was a missionary, but because her desire to help others was founded on Christian principles. However, there is plenty of evidence in Hindu and Muslim texts that indicates that helping others is a Hindu and Muslim principle as well as a Christian one (see for example the Laws of Manu X:125 and IV: 232 and the Koran 107:1,7). Many years ago, Charlotte gave Dharmendra a bible with the inscription "Leave your pleasure for serving others", and it is through this maxim that he and others remember her, not the fact that she was a missionary or there to conduct research. As Ravuva notes, it is an anthropologist's concern for the welfare of their research participants which makes them "meaningful and acceptable to those who are studied" (in Leacock 1992:23), and whether you define Charlotte as a missionary (as Mandelbaum does), or as an anthropologist (Madan 1994:90n)[6], people in Karimpur thought highly of Charlotte because they believed she was concerned about their welfare.

As Nanhe pointed out, Charlotte's ability to help people in the village was facilitated by a network of agencies, but this was not recognised by many of the people we spoke to. Most thought she used her own money to help them, when in fact she utilised a network of social, educational, medical and legal services through her association with the Presbyterian church. Through these agencies she arranged numerous visits to lawyers, doctors and hospitals. One person recalled how a woman had asked her for a blanket, but Charlotte had told her she couldn't afford to buy her one. However, Nanhe and I were told that "if there were poor people she would *organise* a blanket" (my emphasis).

Among the people we spoke to there was a common perception that Charlotte helped everyone, but this was not entirely true. In their book, *Behind Mud Walls*, William and Charlotte said that if the people in the village needed help they would not be turned away (1963:10), but eight interviewees said they had asked Charlotte for help but didn't receive anything. Ramvati asked her for money to repair her house, but was told: "You have a young husband, so do it yourself", and the Wisers also write about refusing requests for money to finance the weddings of girls they considered too young to be

married (Wiser 1963:51). While a majority told us that Charlotte helped everyone, they also omitted to tell us that not everyone was happy with the help she gave. When the Wisers arranged a night school for children of the *chamar jati*, this was not viewed favourably by their *jajmans* (patrons) (Wiser 1963:42). Although people's memories are not without a basis in reality, the glowing accounts we heard reflected the ideal relationship people would like to have with anthropologists. In speaking about Charlotte in such favourable terms, and by omitting to voice their concerns about some of the help she gave, people were strongly suggesting that I, and other fieldworkers, should conform to their idea of what the perfect anthropologist was.

While Charlotte did help a large number of people by providing medicine, clothes, and money, she also paid those who worked for her. Ram Swarup Sama, a carpenter, remembers the work he did for Charlotte:

> I made a model of a bullock cart and she gave me a pencil cutter [sharpener]. I made the doors, windows, tables and chairs [for their house]. I repaired furniture and she gave me money for that work.

While several people told us that "in *Dadi's* day people did not expect to be paid", this statement was made in reference to the fact that she didn't pay research assistants. Some of the interviewees mention how she paid people for services or repairs, and the Wisers write about their "assistants" (1963:2, 49) and "messenger boy" (ibid: 43), but none of the interviews that Nanhe and I conducted contained references to either Charlotte or William paying people to collect information for them[7].

While Charlotte paid people for work associated with her household, she also arranged to help these people or members of their families. Ram Swarup, who made furniture for the Wisers, remembers the time he went to Aligarh for medical treatment for his father's eyes:

> She paid for everything. We spent one month in Aligarh where my father had his eyes checked. There was a friend of Mrs. Wiser's posted in Aligarh. I remember that the train was late in arriving in Aligarh and we were late for my father's appointment. Mrs. Wiser told them that we were coming and arranged another appointment. After this stay my father was all right.
> Nanhe: How much did this cost?
> I don't know - I don't think that there was any charge. Food was organised by Charlotte and given to my father by the hospital staff. The treatment was O.K. and we were satisfied. My father's other eye was operated on in Shikohabad, but the first hospital was the best. We were in the military ward there. A compounder said that the old lady [Charlotte] was like an angel. Her whole life was devoted to the service of the people of Karimpur.

Through Charlotte's help a tradition or expectation arose that anthropologists would help people in Karimpur, as is echoed in the following statement:

> Whenever we see white people in the village our memories of *Dadi* [Charlotte] and William come back. We remember their kindness and their good

> thinking about us. When villagers see an anthropologist in their community they remember their relationship with *Dadi* and expect other anthropologists to behave like her; they expect them to *help* (my emphasis).

WILLIAM WISER

While Charlotte was remembered for her practical help, William was largely remembered for his ability to influence officials. An event, related by four of the people we interviewed, tells of the day in the 1920s when a villager fell down one of the many wells in the village and, as a result of his injuries, died. While the villagers knew this was an accident, the Mainpuri police strongly suspected that the person had been murdered. Sigaram recalled his memory of that day:

> When anyone was in trouble with the police, the *Sahab* [William] would help them. A boy was pulling water with the bullocks and the leather bag [used to hold water] dropped down the well. The boy went down to get it. The people let him down on a rope and told him to sit down on the bag and then the bullocks began to pull him up. Because the leather bag wasn't very strong he fell down and died. The police came and said 'Everyone to jail', but then someone ran to the Wisers and they came. Then *Sahab* explained to the policeman that the boy had not been murdered, that his death had been an accident. The police accepted this.

Dayashakar, a land recorder, recalled the same incident:

> There was a time when a man went down the well to get a bag out. *Sahab* took him to hospital immediately. He died. *Sahab* came back to the village, and assured the police. He told them exactly what had happened, that it was an accident. Everyday he used to help the people. For them this village was like home.

Hakim Singh's memory of that day also reiterated William's ability to influence officials:

> Grandfather[8] fell down the well. *Sahab* [William] came to our house when the police were there. He told them that grandfather had fallen down the well. The Police Inspector was going to arrest someone and *Sahab* said "You can't arrest these people" and they didn't.

Siaram remembered William telling the Police Inspector that the man's death "is my village's problem and we will sort it out". Siaram believed that because of *Sahab's* authority "the police couldn't touch us". Although the details about this accident varied, the message about William in every account was essentially the same: he was seen as a powerful man who had the ability to prevent the police from sending "everyone" to jail. This resulted in a belief that:

> No-one ever refused the Wisers anything[9], not even the SSP [Senior Superintendent of Police] or the DM [District Magistrate].

Srinivas, an anthropologist, found that because the police were rarely seen in the village where he worked, "their arrival usually indicated that something terrible like a murder or riot had taken place". When the police did visit in the 1940s (in connection with a murder which had occurred in another community), their arrival not only "struck

terror in the hearts of villagers" but "left a deep scar on the minds of the villagers". As a result the police's visit became part of Rampura folklore which was remembered for a long time after (1976:223-4). The same thing occurred in Karimpur; not only were people extremely concerned that the police would arrest "everyone" but the event became an integral part of village history. Gopal's story about his uncle further illustrates the belief that the villagers were fortunate to have such a powerful man as William speaking on their behalf:

> My Uncle met with *Sahab* [William] and told him his [legal] problems. *Sahab* promised to help him. At that time there was the British occupation. With a *Kyastha* lawyer *Sahab* went to the court and asked the judge on our behalf. We didn't understand what he said - but we won the case.

But, in direct contrast to these accounts, the Wisers note their own *inability* to seek justice for villagers embattled in problems with the landowners' agents and other officials (1963:100). In their account of 'the day the boy fell down the well' they emphasised corruption, rather than William's ability to influence officials:

> A year ago a farmer boy fell into the well from which he was drawing the big leather bag of water. He was pulled out at once, while someone came to call us. His skull had been fractured when he struck the stone side of the well. The Sahib [sic] took him into the Mainpuri hospital in the hope that he might be saved, but he died that night. His relatives brought him home and came to us early the next morning to ask if it would be all right for them to follow the usual custom of immediate cremation. In their dread of offending the law, that required investigation by a police officer, they wanted us to take responsibility, which the Sahib unwittingly did. He saw no reason for delaying the cremation as the case had been handled by the Assistant Medical Officer in the district hospital, where all accident cases are immediately reported to the police.
>
> In the afternoon a police officer appeared, irate that the boy had been burned before he was able to make the investigation. He involved the headman in the case by pointing to a section of the government rules for headmen which stated that the body of anyone meeting an unnatural death must be shown to the police before burning. The rules were in Urdu, an Arabic script, which neither the headman nor any other villager could read. The infuriated police officer warned the headman that he would fare better if he would consult the village police watchman[10] in such cases (Wiser 1963:102).

Later the Wisers discovered that the village watchman had assumed that the relatives of the dead boy would fast and wait beside the body "all night and through the heat of the day" (ibid) rather than proceed with the cremation as they did. When the police arrived to arrest them for murder, the night watchman hoped the family would be willing to pay for their freedom, but "Sahib" had told the family to cremate the body and inadvertently foiled the watchman's extortion plan (Wiser 1963:103). While the Wisers use this event as evidence of the corruption the villagers faced, the people that Nanhe and I spoke to used the event to speak about the power and influence of the

Sahab[11].

It has been said that anthropologists, more than the missionaries, found themselves "speaking not only of but *for* the local population" (James 1973:37 my emphasis), but this particular case has a certain irony in that the person speaking for the community was a missionary. Many people in India have a "deep and just distrust of officials"(Kumar 1992:117, see also Wiser 1963:122) and in the late 1920s, when this accident occurred, India was still under colonial rule which reinforced William's ability to influence people in power. Furthermore, the "dominance of the white man"(Wadley 1994:xxiv) at this time not only enabled William to act on behalf of the villagers, but also to act as an arbitrator between the villagers themselves. Siaram described him as being like a "judge of the village" who, in resolving disputes, "always compromised". People apparently respected his decisions.

While most people remember William using his power and influence to help people, Nanhe and I did hear of several accounts where he helped people more directly. One story related how he helped farmers collect seeds from the fields before it rained, and another person remembered him taking a tissue sample from a person who had died from rabies. Dayashkar had a more personal recollection; he remembered him teaching him to read:

> *Sahab* [William] used to sit down with me and ask me to read. [Then] he told me to close my eyes and listen. He would read to me and then I would repeat what he had read.

Both Charlotte and William were remembered for the parties they organised on Christmas Day which, along with the story about the accidental death, have become part of village history. While the Wisers organised these events as a Christmas celebration, one person thought that Charlotte arranged these events because she believed exercise was good for the people:

> *Dadi* [Charlotte] used to appreciate games...she used to help the people to exercise. She used to tell people that it was healthy to play.

Even though some of the people we spoke to were too young to have attended these 'sports days', many knew about them from stories told by older family members. People proudly told us how they or a relative had won a singlet or been given presents of peanuts or oranges:

> Charlotte and William would organise a programme of tug-of-war, high jump and cycling. So many people came from outside the village. The people from our village were angry when people from another village won. We were given prizes of singlets and toys.

Charlotte and William wrote about their memories of the first sports day they organised:

> On our first Christmas in Karimpur we had a big party for the village children, with stories, games, and small gifts. At the close, there was a peanut scramble which caused much hilarity. Nothing was said against

> the party. Our friendly relations with the village continued. By the time the following Christmas came we knew the children and their interests better, and had a programme carefully planned. The hour for the party came and passed. Another hour. Two. Village folk are very casual in their regard for time. But when small boys are more than two hours late at a party something is wrong. We finally sent our assistant over to the house of the head man. There he found several leaders together, with crowds of boys sitting in the lanes around them. No sign of impatience abroad. He asked the eldest leader why the boys were kept at home. The leader explained that [upper] caste boys of the village could not accept peanuts which the Sahib or any of his untouchable servants might have touched. The simplest way of refusing the nuts was to stay at home. No fuss, no protest, but quiet refusal of cooperation. Our first inclination was to give up the Christmas party. But the youngsters were patiently waiting across the road, while fun and gifts waited with us. We sent word, "No peanuts," and the children came thronging. Our Christian neighbours, untouchables, had a feast of peanuts that Christmas and so had we. Since then we have been spared the added expense of a scramble. The whole affair was a trifle, but it served as a warning. If we want to help the humble [sic], we do it with the good will of their present leaders (Wiser 1963:17-18).

Madan Sen, now an elderly man but then one of the upper caste boys who wouldn't accept peanuts, recounted his memory of the same day:

> They used to celebrate Christmas and New Year and would organise a sports day and distribute presents to everyone under 16 years. They would have tug of war games with a rope; one side would pull against the other...At Christmas they bought peanuts, but at that time the people had not eaten them before. They were a new thing[12], so when these were distributed the people did not accept them and they were thrown away. So next year at Christmas it was oranges for the people.

While Charlotte and William had their own religious beliefs and were keen to convert people in the village, they were also remembered for accepting the beliefs of people they worked with. As one person told us:

> *Sahab* was a real Christian. He respected other religions. That is why they could work in the village with people who were Muslim or Hindu.

It is also evidenced in the following memory told to Nanhe and I, again by Madan Sen:

> She [Charlotte] knew about the social system of the village. Twenty five girls came to witness it. Some were Indian and some were American. She had invited all these people to come and see. When she came [to my house] I was serving *puris* [fried breads] on a plate made of leaves. One of the girls was sitting beside *Dadi* [Charlotte] and she took a *puri* with her left hand. That was not our custom. *Dadi* shouted at her that it was not the custom to eat that way....She did not want to interrupt the social system and so she accepted it. We do that because we want to keep clean. If you

take a puri with one hand and eat it with the other you are polluting it.

While the Wisers are remembered for their help and their ability to influence, they were also respected because they didn't "interrupt the social system"[13].

Many believed that, by "solving problems" in the community, the Wisers did much for the progress of the village, and several older people were concerned that, since their deaths[14], the village had not progressed. Karimpur is one case where, unless one is being extremely cynical, missionaries did not prepare the way for others to "conquer and exploit", as Deloria suggests (1969:102). Rather, in the minds of many villagers, they prepared the way for anthropologists to help them.

SUSAN WADLEY

While India gained independence long before Sue ever worked in the village, people's expectations of her were often based on a memory of the Wisers' "instant entree" with British officials (Wadley 1994:xxiv). People had an expectation that subsequent researchers would have William's ability to influence officials, and, like Charlotte, they would help them. But in contrast to Charlotte, Sue is remembered not only for the help she gave but for the information she collected as well. 'Sheila' (a pseudonym used by Sue 1994:106), spoke about her relationship with Sue:

> I worked a great deal for Sue. I got clothes, money, medicine and other expenses. I got Rs 50, Rs 100 - more than this. She helped with my children's school expenses. Sometimes she gave Rs 200-300 for this and for books. She never gave me large amounts of money. Her help was very good, she always gave it when I needed it. She gave me those clothes [pointing to a *sari*, jersey, and sweatshirt drying in the courtyard], and she gave me this picture of me and my daughter [a framed print of a photo in Wadley 1994:115]. Sister [Sue] has come to me for help [information] many times. There is no question of money. I love them [anthropologists] very much, so we are all anxious to see them. I want to see her when she comes next year. I have seen Sue in a dream so many times[15]. If you give them love and they give you money which is the better? [I believe] there is no question of money, no question of help. If there is love [between two people] money means nothing. Love is one thing, and money is another. Both are necessary to life and both are there. When she came to Karimpur this year she was very busy. That is why she could not visit me, but that does not mean that she does not love me. Love is compulsory, money is not.

It is evident that "Sheila" thought very highly of Sue, and, likewise, Sue valued her friendship (Wadley 1994:106). Both benefited from knowing each other materially and non-materially, and extending the idea that love between an anthropologist and a research participant is important[16] Jagadesh told Nanhe and I:

> If I love you, then I am sure that you [anthropologists] love me. The attraction is always from both sides... Susan arranged a *kirtan* [song programme] at my house. This is a sign of love. Susan is our family member and my wife treats her like a daughter.

While Jagadesh remembered her organising a *kirtan*, Sigaram remembered Sue recording *Dhola*, collecting stories, taking photographs and "helping to get boys educated". I add to Sue's profile by discussing the specifics of her help later in this chapter.

BRUCE DERR AND SUNIL KHANNA

In a majority of interviews, female anthropologists were remembered for giving more than their male counterparts[17] and, as a consequence, they were spoken about more often. While William was spoken of less frequently than Charlotte, Sunil and Bruce were spoken of the least of all five anthropologists. This was due to the fact that both these men have spent less time working in the village than either Charlotte, William, or Sue but, as Sunil pointed out in his comments on this dissertation, this was also due to the fact that we interviewed a range of people rather than just the people that he, or Bruce, worked with.

Despite these limitations, Bruce was remembered by one person for organising a music programme on a day it rained. The farmers were late in arriving and he sent a message telling them to hurry up, which for the teller of the story was an indication that farmers are not very punctual people. Dharmendra remembers Bruce asking what could be done to improve the village and being told that a factory (to provide work for the unemployed) and water for irrigation were needed. Generally he was remembered as a "good man" although people were less specific about why he was good. Likewise, Sunil was also spoken about as a "good person", who was remembered for helping people with medical problems and for the relevance of his research on maternal health. I elaborate more fully on Sunil's profile later in this chapter in the section on 'medicine'.

In summary, Charlotte was remembered for the practical help she is thought to have given without any expectation of return, and William was generally remembered for his ability to influence officials. Many were unaware that William and Charlotte also conducted a considerable amount of research. In contrast, Sue was remembered for the help she gave and the data she collected. The same is true for subsequent anthropologists such as Bruce Derr and Sunil Khanna; people remember them collecting information as well as helping them. These differences are significant because, in village memory, Charlotte and William were remembered for giving without any expectation of return, when in fact both did conduct research and both hoped to convert people to Christianity. For the anthropologists that followed Charlotte and William, their exchanges were remembered as being more like transactions than free gifts because their data collecting was much more visible. Anthropologists who, like the good Samaritan, gave without regard to the person in need, or to the situation and the probability of success, or who gave spontaneously (Gronemeyer in Sachs 1993:54) were regarded by people as being helpful and of good character. In the extreme anthropologists approached sainthood, particularly if they were credited with saving a life at great cost or personal danger to themselves. However, although Charlotte was used

as the standard for ideal anthropological behaviour in the village, in reality she did not give as freely as most people think.[58]

2. MATERIAL GOODS AND SERVICES

While these profiles hint at the material nature of people's relationships with individual anthropologists, I now wish to address the specifics of those exchanges. When interviewees were asked what they gave anthropologists, sixty nine percent spoke about the information they gave them, while others recalled the *chai* (tea) and food they had given anthropologists. When asked to recall what they received from these people, they spoke about a wide range of material goods and services. Table IV lists the categories of goods derived from these interviews. I felt that it was important to label this data 'What people *said* they received from five anthropologists', highlighting the fact that, like some of the data derived from anthropologists, it is based on memory. Because remembering is a process of construction for an event in the present (Sampson 1993:128), I was aware that people had constructed their accounts for the time and conditions under which they spoke. I was also aware that some people might have fabricated details about these exchanges for their own reasons; after all, they were involved in representing themselves to an audience, to me and to themselves (see also Katz 1996:182n). Because Charlotte and William are now both dead, and some of the things people spoke about were given by Sue almost thirty years ago, verifying the validity of this data would have been an impossible task. But, as noted in the preceding chapter, I found that many people I associated with in India had an ability to remember the details of an exchange, irrespective of when the exchange occurred and no matter how 'trivial' it might have seemed to me. Further validating the data was the correcting role assumed by the audience of neighbours and family who were present at interviews; they reminded an interviewee, for example, that Charlotte gave them money not a *sari*. Therefore the reliability of the data is in one sense reduced by the fact that it was remembered not observed, but, conversely, the presence of an audience and an ability to remember the details of an exchange increased its reliability. Discussion about these exchanges is complemented (and contrasted) by discussion of the exchanges I observed, or was a participant in.

TABLE IV: WHAT PEOPLE SAID THEY RECEIVED FROM FIVE ANTHROPOLOGISTS

Clothing	44
Money	42
Medical treatment	41
Games	12
Prizes	12
Food	8
School Fees / Books	8
Photographs	6
Books	5
Bicycles	2
Entertainment	2
Letters of Reference	2
Music Programme	2
Sweets	2
Use of Land	1
TOTAL	**189 responses**

In the Indian village where anthropologist Alan Beals (1978:516) worked, the gifts most frequently requested by the poor and given by the rich, were food and clothing. In Karimpur, the items most frequently given by anthropologists were clothing (44), money (42) and medical treatment (41). Less frequently noted were the games (12) organised by the Wisers on Christmas day at which prizes (12) were given, school fees and books (8), food (8), and photographs (6). I now elaborate on the specifics of the top three categories: clothing, money and medicine.

2.1 CLOTHING

Clothes were given to people in Karimpur because people needed them, because they were payment for services rendered and because they were a gift. William notes that under the *jajmani system*[18] second hand clothing was available from a *jajman* (patron) if a *kamin* (client) asked, and if the *jajman* was willing and able to give:

> Each feels free to ask his *jajman* when necessity arises. The fear that some have, lest someone see them wearing second hand clothes, is not shown by the kam karnewalas[19]. Instead, there is a smug satisfaction in that the clothes which were formerly worn by one of the Twice-Born, may bring them special protection (Wiser 1936: 79).

I remember Ram Swarup proudly wearing a Syracuse University sweatshirt, a present from Sue. To me the sweatshirt looked decidedly out of place in a village where almost everyone (including female anthropologists) wore clothing made in India, but Ram Swarup was extremely proud of it. For him it was a lasting and visible reminder of his close friendship with Sue. Although anthropologists did give people their own clothing, and there was no stigma associated with wearing second hand clothing, more

commonly they bought new clothing for people in Karimpur.

Before travelling to the village in 1994, Sue spent a day in Delhi buying clothing for Umesh's family. When buying clothing for more than one family member, identical outfits had to be bought for all the daughters or sons; if they weren't identical, apart from size or colour, this was likely to create fights among the recipients (see Wadley 1994:61). While it is normally the male head of each household who decides whether his family needs clothing (ibid:62), I found that it was usually the women who requested clothes for themselves or their children. The most commonly requested types of clothing I was asked for were: children's track suits, *saris* and *dhotis*[20].

2.2 MONEY

> Power [sakti] comes from money. This is the most important thing. Money is power. Now if I am sitting, silently suffering from fever, and a thousand rupees come into my pocket, then I won't have fever. My mind will become well because there is money in my pocket for expenses (Wadley 1994:93).

Money was the second most frequently mentioned item and was important because it not only buys things but is closely associated with power. As a poor Cotton Carder well knows, money "presses on everyone (including the police)" (Wadley 1994:95); it gives an individual the power to influence others. For the anthropologist working in Karimpur, money does the same thing; it confers the power to help, the ability to employ people and the ability to influence the powerful. People in Karimpur were well aware that anthropologists were much wealthier than they were[21] and expected them to use their money to help them.

GIFTS OF MONEY

Money was given to people in Karimpur by anthropologists for three reasons: it fulfilled the expectation that they will help and thereby engendered rapport, but it was also given because so many people needed it for food, medicine or medical treatment. In 1984, 44.6 percent of Karimpur households lived below the poverty line (Wadley 1994:13) so, as Kumar found with her research participants, money is "useful, no matter how much, presented under what guise, or how used" (1992:169). However, in interviews people usually spoke about, for example, how Susan paid for their children's school fees rather than the money she gave them to facilitate this. In these cases this item was recorded under the category of school fees / books (see Table IV) rather than as money. It was only when people didn't mention the reason money had been given to them, or if they specifically stated that the money was given as a gift, that their response was included in this category. This does not preclude the fact that the money they were given may well have been spent on clothing, medicine or other things.

While money may be given to people to buy food, medicine or clothing, an incident that occurred on my first trip illustrates one of the ways of using money to meet not only short term, but long term needs as well. One day a women with five children

arrived at Umesh's house asking for food, money and clothes for her family. As the sole income earner for her family she earned Rs 10 per day by rolling *bidis* (hand rolled cigarettes), but it cost a minimum of Rs 15 a day to feed her family. In the previous five years the price of grain had risen, but the payment for rolling *bidis* had not, and without a husband or extended family to earn additional income this woman was struggling to make ends meet. As a result, she and her children were malnourished and badly in need of clothing. The solution, which was arrived at collectively through a discussion involving the woman concerned, Umesh, Sue and several village leaders, was for Sue to provide her with enough money to buy food for her family to meet immediate needs, but also to give her money to set up her own vegetable selling business which would enable her to earn more than she had previously. It was a form of help that addressed both short term and long term needs. Sue, in her comments on this dissertation, details the process which led to this solution:

> The woman arrived with a village leader because they felt that her case was extreme enough that I should be and might be willing to be involved (two separate issues!). Umesh came out when I was called as did at least one other village leader who happened by. Her problems were discussed (very openly in front of her, an Indian custom I still find difficult): her husband's family's bad treatment was discussed, as well as his mental "craziness", the fact that her son was in school, but that it shouldn't be temporary. Hence the collective decision (the woman was by now mostly a listener) of three village leaders that she should receive something that would involve long term help.

One elderly couple recalled how when they were married Charlotte had mailed them Rs 10 for a wedding present but only half the money arrived, and they laughed about how the middleman (the thief) had received such an exorbitant commission. But, despite a significant number of people being given money, not everyone believed that anthropologists should do this, nor did they believe that they should buy them things. The phrase "money is not compulsory for love" was used to illustrate that some people did not expect money from anthropologists in order to be able to feel affection for them. However, there were a few people who told us that when anthropologists gave them money they felt more affection for them, that they "become closer to them".

Anthropologists not only gave people money, they also paid household staff, research assistants, musicians and performers.

HOUSEHOLD STAFF

The cook who prepared meals for Sue, Sunil and I was paid for the number of days she worked, while the cook that Clif and I employed in Mainpuri was paid every month. Both cooks received food, clothing and small gifts in addition to their salary. When Muni cooked our evening meals in Mainpuri, we asked her to prepare more food than we could eat so that she could take home four or five *chapattis* (unleavened bread) and enough food to feed herself and her two brothers. Women in our neighbourhood were

keen to know how much food we were giving her and wouldn't hesitate to castigate me if they thought we were being too generous or not giving her enough[22]. We also bought Muni a *sari*, and gave her a *charpai* (cot) and other household items when we left Mainpuri. The cook that Sue and I employed in Karimpur was bought *chappals* (shoes), items of clothing and taken to the dentist to have a tooth removed. The woman Clif and I employed in Mainpuri to clean our toilet was paid a monthly salary and given additional 'gifts' of food, while the driver that Sue employed in 1994 was paid for the days he was contracted to her, regardless of whether he drove or not. In addition, Sue paid for his meals and was responsible for organising his accommodation, although he preferred to sleep in his car. In India (and elsewhere) expectation guides exchanges: in Karimpur it is expected that an anthropologist will help, and in India it is expected that an employer will pay their household employees as well as look after their needs.

The *bhangi* (sweeper) working for the Pandey household when Sue, Sunil and I stayed saw our presence as an opportunity to double his primary income. Late one afternoon, towards the end of Sue and Sunil's stay, he arrived to empty the septic tank. While Sue, Sunil and I had impacted anthropologically on the daily life of the village, we had also impacted on the tank's contents. Because Sue and I were partially ranked as 'untouchables', our presence (and by-products) detrimentally affected the purity of the contents of the septic tank, therefore cleaning it was going to be a more polluting task than normal. Recognising this (and our comparative wealth), the sweeper approached his employer, Umesh, and calmly asked for twice his usual payment and a new *sari* for his wife.

Umesh acknowledged that the sweeper's request was a fair one. As head of the household and host to three anthropologists, he felt it was his responsibility to meet the sweeper's demand, but he couldn't afford to pay the additional cost. Recognising the legitimacy of his demand, the sweeper steadfastly refused to empty the tank until Umesh had agreed to his terms. And so, Umesh came to us with his dilemma: he was concerned that peace should reign and that a healthy relationship with the household sweeper be maintained. He asked if we were willing to pay the additional sum.

We were, and we did. I felt that the sweeper's demand was not unreasonable. I was eternally grateful that the house had a toilet because the alternative, an early morning trip to the fields, was not very appealing. I had been brought up to believe that defecating was a private affair and wasn't that keen to change. Besides, I had heard about the wife of an anthropologist working in Madhya Pradesh who was forced to make an early morning trip to the fields only to discover that when the time came she experienced a bout of stage fright. I was grateful that I didn't have to experience that. Charlotte echoed my thoughts when one morning she watched the women make their early morning trip to the fields and thought "But for the junior septic tank, there go I" (Wiser 1963:147)[23]. But I was also grateful that she had a septic tank installed and that Sue had financed the building of a bathroom in 1984, because I relished the privacy

that both those rooms gave me. They were a haven in a house where if you were found sitting alone it was immediately thought that you were either unwell or unhappy. Being alone in the toilet or the bathroom was quite acceptable.

Sue, Sunil and I were only too happy to pay the sweeper the extra money he asked for. So the money was paid, the *sari* for the sweeper's wife was bought in the nearby city, the septic tank was duly emptied and the relationship between the sweeper and the household remained intact. Afterwards, Sue wondered why the sweeper had requested the *sari* as well as double his normal salary. Was it because a *sari*, unlike money which would soon be spent, was an enduring symbol of the sweepers wife's value to the household and anthropologists, or was it an indication of the couple's intention to maximise a situation? Either way, for the sweeper and his wife, anthropological excreta was a valuable commodity[24].

While Sue and I paid cooks, drivers, or sweepers in cash and 'gifts', Charlotte tended to pay people who worked for her household in kind. Although some of the *bhangis* (sweepers) converted to Christianity, they still operated within the *jajmani* system (Wiser 1958:34) and prior to 1960 payment in goods was a standard way of meeting *jajman-kamin* (patron-client) obligations. Ram Swarup, a *bhangi* (sweeper) employed to clean the area where the Wisers held their Sunday Services, received rice, towels and soap for his work, and a *dhobi* (washerman) who washed Charlotte's household linen was paid in clothes for his daughter-in-law, his children and himself. As people derived more and more of their income from employment outside of the *jajmani* system, they were increasingly paid in cash rather than in goods. Similarly, anthropological payments were increasingly paid in cash.

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

When employing research assistants, Sue, Sunil and I hired them on the basis of their skills, reliability and the recommendation of others, but Sue also tries to employ people from a range of different *jati*. To date a majority of the research assistants employed in Karimpur have been male. During Sue and Sunil's stay, research assistants were paid for transcribing tapes, interviewing and collecting census data, but, because of my lack of language skills, I paid Umesh for translating and interviewing. During my second trip, I employed Nanhe to translate and interview. Nanhe and I came to an agreed amount before work began, while Umesh and I negotiated a figure after he had completed his work. Retainers were not paid for the days assistants didn't work, and most were paid in a lump sum once their work was completed. While research assistants collecting census data were paid for the number of days they worked, Sue tended to pay transcribers on a per tape basis. As she noted in her comments: "It is only when I am not in the village that I pay on a more product-based rate, because it is the only way I can know what work was done".

The musicians and singers employed by Sue to perform *Dhola* were paid individually for the number of days they performed. The singer in the epic (who was paid more

than the musicians who accompanied him) told me how he wanted to go on performing for as long as he could because he knew that, once the last line of the epic had been sung, the money would stop. People were keen to work for anthropologists because it was an additional source of income, and in many cases they needed the money. Besides wages, the singer and musicians also received goods from Sue. As she noted in her comments, the singer receives clothing every time she visits Karimpur and his assistants sometimes get clothing and toys for their children. In 1994, Sue also gave the singer a copy of the epic on tape, a tape player, and a metal trunk. While most research assistants, musicians or singers received cash and goods for their work, there was one exception. One person was paid completely in kind, receiving clothes and household goods to the value of his salary. This was because the person concerned had a serious drinking problem, and paying him in goods prevented him from drinking away his earnings. Both he and the anthropologist concerned were happy with the arrangement[25].

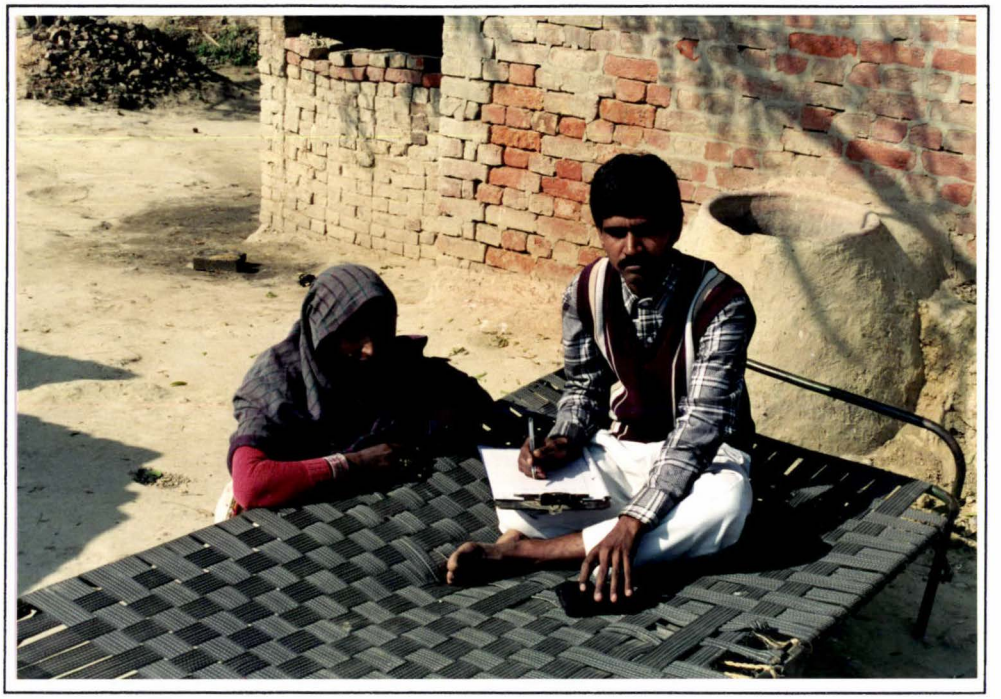
While it was the employing anthropologist who largely decided what goods an employee received, for most work there was a minimum rate of payment determined by what anthropologists had paid previously. As an employer, I was told (by research assistants, the families of research assistants and anthropologists) not to pay any more than this rate. In her comments, Sue noted:

> I pay rates comparable to what researchers in Delhi are paying. There is a fine balance between paying fairly and paying too much so that the person hired has unreasonable expectations about employment generally.

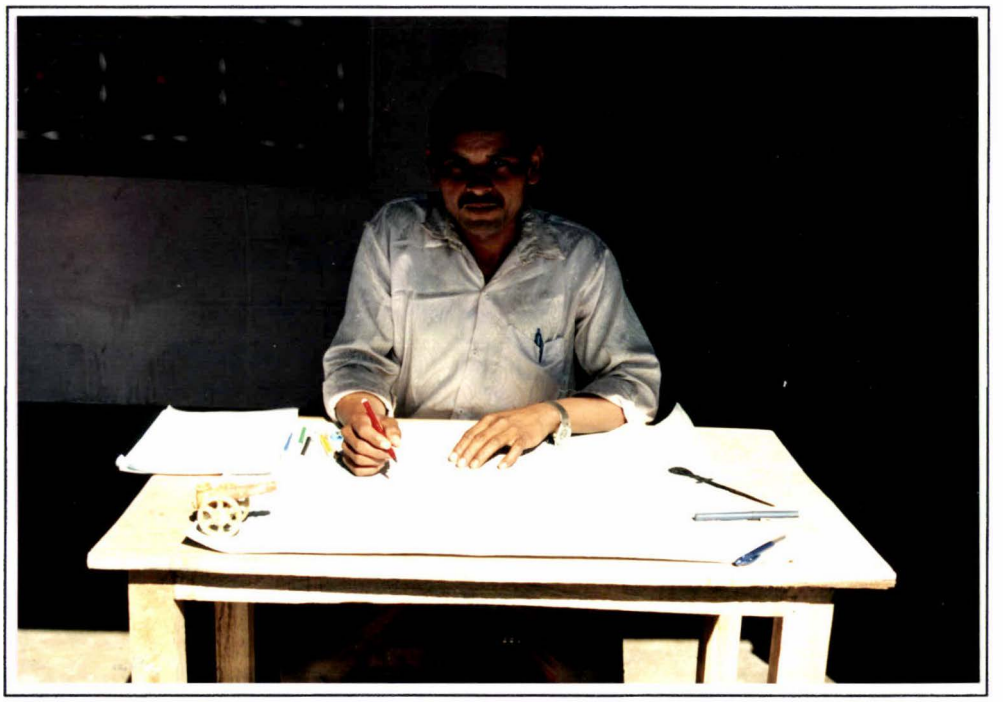
I found that people, particularly those who had been employed by anthropologists before, were keen to know what rate I was paying. If I had dared to pay less than the standard rate, the rate that Sue paid, and this information had become public, I am sure I would have suffered sanctions[26]. But, conversely, people were keen to know if I was paying more than the minimum rate because that information would give them an effective bargaining tool with which to ask for a higher rate of pay when they were next employed. Nanhe and I knew of several assistants who, as a protection mechanism, told others that they had been paid less than they actually had[27]. While money can be a threat to the power legitimated in specific social organisations (Cheal 1992:15), knowledge about the actual rates of pay in Karimpur was a form of power for those who had been previously employed as research assistants. Like rates of payment for work under the *jajmani* system, which were "a bit complicated to an outsider but...known to every man, woman and child in the village" (Wiser 1958:48), the 'standard' anthropological rates of pay were known to almost every person who had ever worked as a research assistant —and their families. People expected to be paid at least this rate, but preferably more. While casual wages earned in the city exceed those paid for agricultural work in Karimpur (Wadley 1994:217), the same is true of anthropological wages: research assistants could earn more by working for an anthropologist than they would by working in Mainpuri or Karimpur.

While anthropologists employ assistants and performers, their money also facilitates performances. The total cost of the *Ram Lila* performance was arrived at after several days negotiation, and it covered money to buy props, a loudspeaker system and costumes for the performance. One musician thought it should cover the cost of repairs for his harmonium, but in the end the total amount paid did not cover instrument repair. In her comments on this dissertation, Sue detailed the negotiation process that resulted in a performance of the *Ram Lila*:

> On one of our first nights in the village (and remember there were three outsiders, very rare unless it is family, even for Karimpur), one of my "nephews" said, "Wouldn't it be neat to have a *Ram Lila* while you are here." Knowing that many plans are made and not followed up on, I responded with a "sure, I guess" kind of statement. My nephew however *did* follow up and a day or so later, I was called to the front verandah where five or so members of the *Ram Lila* Committee were arranged on cots, all in their starched best clothing. I was told that indeed they did want to do a *Ram Lila* while I was there. This was a tradition that had died out and I had never seen, but they had revived it. I should see it. So should my friends, and so on. I actually did think it was a good idea and said so. But not ten nights! It seems that they could either do two nights or ten: if they went past two nights, they had to finish it (because of some religious reasons connected I suspect, to Sita's abduction). "What" I asked, "was the price for two nights?" "Rs 4000" (about US $120) I was told. Gasping weakly, I finally agreed to this amount and made it clear that this would be my total contribution. Of course, it wasn't my total contribution, because they needed the car I had on rental from Delhi to go collect props and the actor to play Rama who was working in the nearby town. (The car ended up being used for two full days to organise this venture). Eventually, my contribution was spent on new costumes and a new backdrop, as well as the loudspeaker system that could be borrowed by anyone in the village. I was actually glad that my money had gone to these uses, for the material artifacts would contribute to the whole village for some time. It didn't just go into the pockets of a few. (The Committee themselves had to pay for the musicians as well as the dancing boy). And the irony is that the first night, I was so ill with fever that I only heard it, broadcast on the new loudspeaker blasting away on the verandah near where I slept. Mandy and Sunil got to see both nights).



3.1 A transcriber at work



3.2 Ganga Prasad, the map maker.

About a dozen people had developed marketable skills over the years through working for anthropologists. They had learned how to transcribe, conduct a census and how to interview. One enterprising man, Ganga Prasad, had made maps of the village and successfully sold three of them to different anthropologists, and others had learned how to measure women for Sunil's maternal health survey. Singers and musicians were also aware of the anthropological value of their skills. But all of these skills are only marketable when an employing anthropologist is working in the village[28]. While people under the *jajmani* system looked forward to the extra money that could be earned by working for special events, such as festivals or weddings (Wiser 19589:48), research assistants and performers look forward to the extra income they can earn when an anthropologist arrives in Karimpur.

Many of those previously employed expected that subsequent anthropologists will want to do research on the same topics and employ a similar number of research assistants. Therefore, during my second trip, it was expected (and strongly suggested) that I should record a performance of the *Ram Lila* and *Dhola*, and an elderly land recorder, who had worked for Sue, Bruce, William and Charlotte, was sure I would want access to his records. A person who had worked for Sue as a transcriber was convinced I would need his skills, but, to his disappointment, I chose to do my own transcriptions. All had been employed previously and wanted to be employed again. Because people were so keen to work, telling them that I didn't need their services was difficult, particularly when many of them needed the money. On one occasion, in the early stages of my second visit, I relented and employed the mapmaker to make me a map of the village. I did this partly out of kindness, but also because I was prone to getting lost in the maze of village lanes. Towards the end of my stay, I still got lost, but I will always treasure that map because of what it says about a desire to work, and the mapmaker's ability to produce a saleable anthropological commodity.

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

People who contributed information for Sue's census, Sunil's maternal health study, or to the interviews that Nanhe, Umesh and I conducted, were not paid in cash. Nor were they, to my knowledge, ever paid for the information they gave the Wisers[29] or Bruce Derr. The old anthropological maxim of never paying for information (Firth in de Pina-Cabral 1992:19) was adhered to in Karimpur. Most of the anthropologists that I spoke to, who worked in places beyond Karimpur, talked about how they gave money, food and gifts to the families they lived with, but didn't pay research participants. While anthropologists don't currently expect to pay research participants, some Inupiaq are taking matters into their own hands and charging anthropologists US $30.00 an hour for interviews (pers. comm. Edith Turner 1996).

One woman in Karimpur made it quite clear that, like the Inupiaq, she would like to be paid for the information she gave an anthropologist. Late one afternoon, as Umesh and I were walking down one of the lanes of the village, a woman suddenly appeared over the top of a high wall and began screaming at me in the lane below: "You've got

my genealogy! When do I get paid?" Even though the message was delivered in a language that I couldn't fully understand, it was clear from her body language and the tone of her voice that this woman was very angry about something. Through Umesh, I learned that, earlier in the day, a research assistant had been to her house to "record her genealogy" for the census. Because I was an anthropologist, she expected me to pay up, then and there. I explained, through Umesh, that I had nothing to do with the 'taking' of her genealogy, but if the woman had a problem about payment then she should see the anthropologist concerned. She seemed to accept this, although she wasn't entirely happy about it.

While research participants were not paid in cash, if they asked for help, and if the anthropologist was willing and able, they might be given a variety of things such as clothing, medical help, or money. Generally the anthropologist and the person concerned, through a process of negotiation, came to an agreement about the form that 'help' would take. Thus, while research participants were not paid in cash, they were sometimes paid in other ways. This is addressed more fully in later sections of this chapter.

Because I was recording how much anthropologists spent in Karimpur, what they spent it on and what people received, I became obsessed with money to the point where I saw it as the only way of meeting anyone's needs, including my own. I realised the depth of this obsession when, towards the end of my first stay, I went to a carpenter to buy a spinning top as a present for my son. In discussions as to how much a top might cost, it was made very clear that money was not the *only* way to obtain things. The person pointing this out was Nanhe Khan, who later became my research assistant, and this was our first meeting. The carpenter and I agreed that, instead of buying a spinning top, I would give him a toy car I had brought from Aotearoa in exchange for it. The carpenter's son was especially delighted with this arrangement.

At the time, I was not the only person who was preoccupied with money. After Sue and Sunil had left for Delhi, our cook Dundavey packed up her few possessions and made preparations to return home to her family in Etah. As she was walking up the road to the bus stop, she met a man who had worked closely with Sue as a singer and musician in the *Dhola*. He told her, with a twinkle in his eye (which she failed to see), that under no circumstances was she allowed to leave the village because, despite all his work for Sue, she hadn't paid him. He told the cook that he had spoken to Sue about the matter, and she had suggested he take the cook home as payment. Dundavey was startled (and rather breathless) until she realised that he was pulling her leg. Several days later, a man invited me to his daughter's engagement ceremony, jokingly adding that if Sue had been prepared to pay for the ceremony, he would have organised to hold the event while she had been there. Payment was then very much a village concern.

2.3 MEDICINE

Anthropologists have always given medical treatment to the people of Karimpur[30]. On their first trip to the village, Charlotte and William related how they became engaged in "numerous neighbourly activities" (1963:xiii), the first of which was to treat a baby suffering from dysentery (ibid:3). Through "the road of friendship and service" (ibid:xiii), with a zeal which reflected their Christian faith, the Wisers began a tradition of providing medical treatment for the people of Karimpur. Early on in their first trip they acquired a second tent to be used as a dispensary, and this was staffed by a young villager who treated minor ailments:

> First aid and home nursing had not appeared in our survey schedule or budget. But they proved our greatest asset - and expense. They will remain necessary items in any effort at village service... (Wiser 1963:6).

Initially Charlotte dispensed medicines from their temporary home in the mango grove on the outskirts of the village, but later she gave out medicine in the house they built. As a young boy, Umesh helped her dispense itching powder and aspirin from the wooden cabinet in the Wiser wing, and older people recalled going there to receive treatment for minor ailments. Besides treating many people themselves, the Wisers arranged for the CMO (Chief Medical Officer) to visit the village to treat special cases and for mission doctors to make fortnightly visits to the village (1963:6,7). Providing treatment, or helping to arrange it, was initially a way of establishing rapport, and many of the people the Wisers treated became their friends and "loyal supporters" (ibid:29-30). While medical treatment helped to establish trust with the villagers at a time when they were extremely suspicious of strangers, by 1961 those few who were wealthy enough to afford the trip, the doctor's fee and medicines travelled to Mainpuri, although *hakims* (local doctors) still continued to treat many of the people (ibid:175). Although treating people for medical problems initially helped to establish trust and rapport, medical treatment became an integral part of Charlotte and William's later work in the village.

When Sue first worked in Karimpur, she continued the tradition begun by Charlotte, although at times she felt uncomfortable with this legacy (Wadley 1994:xxiii). While MacIntyre found that missionaries' wives and nurses created favourable expectations about white women (in Bell 1993:47), Charlotte Wiser's behaviour created an expectation that anthropologists will help, particularly with medical problems. And, as Sue found, this expectation was often hard to live up to. Despite Sue's discomfort about this legacy, over a period of thirty years she has helped many people with medical problems. In 1984 she spent hours providing quinine pills, applying ointments, comforting people dying of TB and took bloated babies to the doctor (1994:xxiii). She arranged transport for women to see the "lady doctor" in Mainpuri (1994:136), and tried to obtain medical treatment for a teenage girl dying of childbirth fever and a boy who had been hit by a car. She took women and children to government clinics (for treatment for malaria, worm infestations and ear infections), to the Christian hospital in Kasganj (for treatment for leprosy, infertility, and kidney stones), and to the government doctor (for treatment for pneumonia and malaria) (1994:270). She estimated she

spent Rs 2,000 a week on medical supplies during her stay in 1984. A decade later, she arranged transport and paid the expenses for a number of people needing to see a doctor, a dentist and a paediatrician. Her supplies of aspirin, antacids and antibiotics were exhausted early on in her stay and necessitated several trips to Mainpuri to buy more.

Continuing the tradition, Sunil Khanna also provided medical treatment. He used his own medical supplies, the medical knowledge acquired when working in a hospital in Delhi and his connections to arrange treatment during both of his visits to the village in 1994. I remember him saying that, if he had known how great the people's need for medical treatment was, he would have brought more supplies with him. He treated burns, abscessed cuts, gave advice to many, supervised the taking of antibiotics, and arranged for a special orthopaedic belt to be made in Delhi for Umesh's mother who suffered from a chronic back condition. His research on maternal health was perceived by many of the people Nanhe and I spoke to as being of benefit to villagers, and they spoke highly about him because of this. On his second visit to Karimpur, Sunil was responsible for ensuring that the Maternal and Child Health clinic in the village was visited regularly by a nurse, and that she was equipped with the necessary medical supplies. When I last saw him in Delhi, he was arranging an immunisation programme against tetanus which is currently the primary cause of neonatal deaths in Karimpur (Wadley 1994:136). He had arranged free vaccine and a medical team to administer it, and in return the villagers were required to arrange the Rs 800 for petrol to transport the medical team from Delhi.

For the 44.6 percent of people in Karimpur who lived below the poverty line, the benefits of the 1980's included health care, but many illnesses still went untreated and, as Sue notes, it is often the men and male children who received treatment, not women and girls. Therefore, the increase in female child mortality is of great concern (Wadley 1994:250). While mortality rates for both the old and young may have decreased (ibid), affordable health care continues to be a problem for many of the poorer people. People have to pay for good health care, and cycles of debt are often the result (ibid:139). Anthropologists in Karimpur temporarily interrupt those cycles for some of the people they help.

It was clear there was a standard format for asking for help from an anthropologist. If, for example, a woman's mother was sick, reference was first made to this in general conversation. The next time the woman talked to the anthropologist she would tell them about her mother's condition and what was required to make her well. This format was used by people who had a high degree of contact with an anthropologist and whose need was not urgent, but if an individual was unlikely to see the anthropologist regularly, if the need was urgent, or if the anthropologist was about to leave the community, then requesters would forgo this format and ask for help more directly. Helping a family member, who had not been interviewed, was also perceived by many as 'helping'.

As Sue notes,"the tone for asking or begging is easily recognised" (Wadley 1994:59) and, out of necessity, Sue, Sunil and I learned to recognise it. When "Sunita" told Sue that if someone gave her a thousand or five hundred rupees she would never forget them (Wadley 1994:204), it was clear what she wanted, and from whom. Charlotte also found that children appealed to her sympathies by the words they used (1963:121). Anthropologists not only learn to recognise the tone for begging, they also recognise the hints which are included in conversation.

Although I did not pay my research participants, I did tell people that I was prepared to help them with any medical problems that they or members of their family might have. Conversely, I made it known that I wasn't prepared to loan money, nor was I prepared to contribute to wedding expenses[31] or pay for school fees or books. I reasoned that medical problems had primacy over weddings and education, but knew that my research budget would not stretch to cover these additional expenses. Despite this policy, I did end up giving clothes and other items to people in dire need.

As my research assistant, Nanhe's job was to objectively, without any indication of the depth of need, relay any request for help to me. His decision to do this derived from previous experience - he did not want to be seen influencing my decisions, nor did he want to be held accountable for the bad decisions of a novice anthropologist. I understood and appreciated this. Most of the requests I received were conveyed at the interviews we did, but a minority were received by Nanhe and his family at their house. I knew that this was a demanding and tiring part of his work with me, which Umesh's family also experienced.

If a request related to medical problems, I would buy medicine or pay for a visit to the doctors. But on a few occasions it was difficult to tell whether someone was in real need, or whether they were just maximising the presence of an anthropologist. In these rare cases I would solicit Nanhe's advice, and we always discussed the request out of range of the person concerned. Although we spoke English, I felt it was rude to speak about someone in front of them and was sure that many could understand the general direction of the conversation from key words and our body language[32]. For Nanhe's sake I didn't want people to think that he had influenced my decisions in any way.

Decisions about who I helped were based on need; the greater the need, the greater the likelihood I would help. But, at times, prioritising needs was extremely difficult, and towards the end of my second stay, decisions about who I *could* help were constrained by a rapidly diminishing research budget. I was most commonly asked for antiseptic ointment, cough medicine, bandages, scabies medicine and anti-malarials, and many an afternoon was spent in Mainpuri buying medical supplies for the trip to the village the next day[33]. After one particularly expensive buying session, I wondered aloud whether my research budget would last the duration. Nanhe kindly reassured me that my research was not quite as expensive as other anthropologists'.

On one occasion, with Nanhe's help, I arranged and paid for surgery, medicine and a room at the hospital in Mainpuri for a man from Karimpur. The person concerned had been shot while trying to apprehend a burglar and was covered from head to toe with shotgun wounds. When I first saw him, on the second day after the incident, some of the wounds were infected and the man was clearly in a great deal of pain. He had been treated at a hospital near where the incident occurred but, in my opinion and that of his family, the treatment had not been very effective. Therefore, Nanhe and I spent a long and frustrating day trying to elicit help from the SSP (Senior Superintendent of Police) and obtain permission from the CMO (Chief Medical Officer) to admit the man to the hospital in Mainpuri for surgery and further treatment. After many hours, we finally arranged, and I paid, for the duty doctor and chief pharmacist to examine him, and for a surgeon to operate the following day. What made the whole process more complex was that the SSP was not entirely sure that the man had been trying to apprehend a burglar; he suspected him of being a *dacoit*[34] and thought he may have been trying to commit the burglary instead. There were legal ramifications for medical staff treating a criminal (such as prolonged legal battles which could drag on in the courts for years), so we not only had to arrange medical treatment but had to address people's hesitance to help. The irony was that the injured man was a *brahman* from the higher, more powerful, *jati*, and yet at the time, lying on his back full of shotgun pellets and in pain, he and his family were able to do little to effect a recovery.

As we were arranging treatment, the CMO's assistant told us how, many years before, Charlotte had arranged medical treatment through the same office, and once again I was reminded of the tradition of the 'helping anthropologist' in Karimpur. When everything had finally been arranged, as I handed over yet another wad of notes to an official to ensure good treatment, and gave the family money to buy the necessary drugs from the bazaar, Nanhe (with a knowing smile) told me that now I knew what it was really like to work in Karimpur. He thought I had paid my way.

Nanhe was partially right: although it had been a long day, I learned that, unlike many of the villagers, as a white foreigner I had the power to influence officials. I also discovered, with sadness, that I had enough money to open doors which remained firmly shut to the poor. But, in obtaining medical treatment for this man, I also found that my status in the village rapidly increased. After the surgery to remove the gunshot pellets, and later when the man was recovering at home, his family thanked me and told me what a good person I was for helping. Other people in the village reiterated what the man's family had said. The father of the injured man was so pleased with his son's recovery that he wanted to hold a village feast in my honour. However, the celebration never eventuated because, as I later discovered, the family expected me to pay for the meal. While I felt deeply flattered at being the guest of honour at a village feast, I was not going to pay for the privilege, especially when my money was diminishing so rapidly, when there were others who needed help (and when it was expected that I would continue to help people for as long as I worked in the village). While obtaining medical treatment for a suspected *dacoit* undoubtedly engendered rapport, it also met

the expectation that it is an anthropologist's *dharma* or duty to help. *Dharma* (rightful duty) is a powerful motivating force which controls people's actions and maintains order in the community (see Wadley 1994:36), and my duty to help was frequently emphasised in villagers' requests.

3. THE VARIABLE POWER OF GIVING

There was a power associated with helping people in Karimpur which, at times, I enjoyed. The smile on a woman's face as I gave her a new *sari* certainly made up for all the energy I expended hearing endless requests and dissipated any concerns about my research budget lasting the duration. But it was about this time that my son Tom had to deliver the 'thought for the day' at St Thomas', the Catholic school he attended in Mainpuri. At the appropriate moment in the school assembly, he had to say "He who wears a crown also carries a cross"[35]. It proved to be an appropriate maxim for the complex issues associated with helping. While I enjoyed helping people, I was often uncomfortable with the expectation that I would provide medical help, simply because my training was in anthropology not medicine. It worried me that what looked like a simple cough could in fact be symptomatic of a much more serious condition such as T.B., and I was constantly made aware that what many people really needed was an M.D., not another student trying to get a PhD[36]. Furthermore, I knew that giving a woman a *sari*, or treating the symptoms of a disease, did not address the fact that poverty was often at the root of the problem, but at the same time I knew that resolving the causes of poverty was well beyond my capabilities. The impotence I felt, as a result of these concerns, contrasted sharply with any power associated with helping[37].

The effects of poverty were always visible, even in Mainpuri. Our neighbour's son, a boy of twelve, was the primary income earner for his family of five. He worked ten hour days at his uncle's shop fixing motorbikes and scooters, but had not been given protective glasses to use when welding. As a consequence, one night his eyes were so swollen and painful he couldn't close them to go to sleep. But the problem was larger and more complex than the boy's swollen eyes. Although we gave him some eye bath to ease the pain and gave his uncle a stern warning about caring for his employees, that wasn't going to solve the family's financial problems. The concerns of the leather workers and sweepers in Karimpur were another case in point. Many lived well below the poverty line and wanted to be employed in jobs outside of their traditional occupations which paid little. They wanted me to get them jobs, but I was at a loss as to how to help, and once again was left feeling distinctly powerless. To be told that people were so pleased that I had come to their house, that they liked anthropologists because they treated *bhangi* no differently from any other *jati*[38] and to be told that anthropologists "always helped poor people", but not be able to help, was extremely frustrating. Sue also experienced a similar sense of frustration. She spoke with sadness about not being able to help a man and his son who were extremely ill with TB, and of visiting a woman dying of the same disease. As Sue notes, at these times the anthropologist has very little power (Wadley 1994:xxv)[39].

The 'helping anthropologist' has some similarities to the functional responsibilities that each *jati* once had under the *jajmani* system. Under this socioeconomic system of interrelated service rights, which since 1984 has almost ceased to function (Wadley 1994:211), members of different *jati* exchanged their services for money, food, clothing or other services. The barber shaved the potter who in turn made pots for him, and similarly people shared their experiences with anthropologists and expected them to help them in return. While the Laws of Manu state that *brahmans* are expected to give remnants of food, clothing grain and old furniture to the *sudra* (people of the lower *jatis*) (Wiser 1958:71) and provide non-material benefits such as credit facilities, litigation help, and additional employment (Wadley 1994:91), in a similar way the comparatively wealthy anthropologist is expected to help people in Karimpur. But if a potter ever refused to turn pots for the barber or an anthropologist refused to help people in the village, they would suffer sanctions and be made to feel inferior, simply because an unreciprocated gift makes the receiver inferior (Mauss 1990:65). The anthropologists may well suffer a loss of rapport, become the focus of vicious village gossip, be accused of selfishness, and in the extreme they may lose their access to certain sections of the community. But if an anthropologist does help, people talk highly of them, particularly if they made a personal sacrifice in order to help or gave generously. For both the potter and the anthropologist, there were sound reasons for continuing established traditions. But, unlike the *jajmani* system, which was based on clearly defined rules which derived their foundation and force from the Laws of Manu[40], an anthropologist's exchange behaviour is largely conditioned by that of previous anthropologists. Furthermore, because anthropologists only visit the village irregularly, they cannot participate in a regular and ongoing series of exchanges as *kamins* (clients) and *jajmans* (patrons) once did. While Charlotte and William worked in Karimpur at a time when the *jajmani* system was operating in the village, and saw themselves as patrons (1963:50), Sue thought that people related to her as a rich relative. But all three felt that people saw them as someone who was wealthy enough to provide help.

But despite the relative wealth of anthropologists, any individual who works in the village is made very aware that "only a king's treasury could do what needed to be done in Karimpur"(Wadley 1994:xxiii). While being comparatively wealthy may be embarrassing for some anthropologists (Schrijvers in Bell 1993:148, Srinivas 1976:11), in Karimpur it is assumed that an anthropologist will use their money to help. However, money cannot and does not solve all problems. At times I wished I had a king's treasury to try and meet people's needs, but knew, like Sue (Wadley 1994:xxiii), that in many cases money only alleviated problems temporarily.

4. FREQUENCY OF REQUESTS

The belief that you had to ask for help in order to receive it, in part explains the number of demands that were made on Sue, Sunil and I during the time we spent in Karimpur. It also helps to explain the markedly increased frequency of requests as the time neared for Sue and Sunil to leave the village. Two days before Sue and Sunil departed for

Delhi, in February 1994, it became clear that people were asking for help far more frequently and directly than they had previously, and I recorded the requests that were made over a six and a half hour period. These requests were made either to members of Umesh's family, or more directly, to Sue, Sunil or myself. I have reproduced this list (and others) to illustrate the frequency of requests.

LIST 1: REQUESTS MADE DURING SIX AND A HALF HOURS, 2 FEBRUARY 1994.

12.30 p.m.

1. Request received for toy cars for each of a woman's grandchildren (I had taken about 25 small toy cars to give as presents, and some people had seen me exchanging one for a spinning top).
2. A mother wants medical help for her child who has boils.

1.30 p.m.

3. A woman wants money for her children's education.
4. Request for a volleyball and net (the requester reminded the anthropologist that *Dadi* [Charlotte] gave the villagers one many years ago).

1.35 p.m.

5. Request for a photo.

3.00 p.m.

6. Request for medical help for a child who has a tongue tie.
7. Request for payment (a woman is angry because"You [anthropologists] took my genealogy").

6.00 p.m.

8-12. Requests for photos.

13. The cook asks for money to go to the dentist in Mainpuri.
14. A family want something in exchange for the information they gave an anthropologist.
15. A person asks Sue for a ride to Delhi.

7.00 p.m.

16. Request for a photo.

Prior to this day, many other requests for 'help' had been received, and I asked Sue and Sunil to recall these. If known, the approximate cost of the 'help' is listed (in rupees) beside the item that was requested. At the time the list was compiled, Sue, Sunil and I had been in the village for 12 days. Items are not chronologically recorded and, like other data (see Table IV), this list is based on remembered information.

LIST 2: REQUESTS GRANTED OVER 12 DAYS

1. Clothes and shoes given (these were not bought, but belonged to Sunil).
2. Two *saris* bought (Rs 60 each).
3. A woman is given money and clothes.
4. A woman given clothes.
5-8. The cook requests and is given items of clothing and shampoo.

Her tooth is removed (Rs 35), and she is taken for a checkup at the dentist the following day.
9. Man given cough medicine (Rs 20).
10-13. Four children's school fees and books are paid for.
14. Soap bought (Rs 5).
15. Shirt bought (Rs 50).
16. Trip to paediatrician (Rs 200).
17-22. Variety of medicines given such as aspirin, ant-acids and vitamins (Rs 300).
23. Orthopaedic belt arranged (Rs 500).

Not everyone's request met with success during this twelve day period. The requests which were not granted during this time were as follows:

LIST 3: REQUESTS NOT GRANTED OVER 12 DAYS
1. Man wants scratch on his glasses repaired.
2. Woman wants an anthropologist to pay for a trip to Agra to see a doctor about her eyes.
3. Woman wants to go to Mainpuri to have eyes checked.
4. Man wants tea leaves.
5. Woman wants an anthropologist to pay for son's school fees.
6. Man continually requesting "anything and everything".
7. Man wants a new bike.
8. Man wants a tri-wheeled scooter.
9. Woman wants money so she can get her pawned earrings back.
10-13. Four men want a tape player.
14. Man wants a plane ticket to the States.
15. Woman wants a letter of reference for her work with Sunil.
16. Request for school fees for a child.

I also recorded the expenses which are more classically perceived as research costs, but it should be noted that the items listed previously are, in Karimpur, also research related expenses.

LIST 4: 'CLASSIC' RESEARCH EXPENSES
1. Costumes, props and use of car for *Ram Lila* (Rs 4000).
2. Sweater, trunk and clothes bought as payment in kind for work done by a research assistant[41].
3. *Dhoti*, scarf, shirt bought for research assistants.
4. Payment for work.
5. Frames for photographs which were given to research participants (Rs 115).
6. Travel to find drum player for *Ram Lila* (Rs 200).
7. Paper, pen and carbon for transcriber (Rs 17).
8. Copies of tapes of *Dhola* and *Ram Lila* for research participants.
9. Payment for performer.

10. Payment for transcribing.
11. Payment for research assistants.
12. Payment of map maker.

The following items, which were not requested or given as payment for work, could be more accurately described as 'gifts', but once again could also be defined as research related costs:

LIST 5: GIFTS
1. Sweets bought for *Balua*[42] (Rs 32).
2. Presents of clothing bought for children in Pandey family.
3. Clothing for men in Pandey household.
4. Gifts for women in Pandey household.

Finally, the last list relates to expenses related to Umesh's household. The electricity repairs included a new switchboard and a light in the room that Sue, Sunil and I were staying in, which were useful for writing up fieldnotes at night and for recharging video and tape recorder batteries, but were also used by members of the Pandey family once Sue, Sunil and I had gone[43].

LIST 6: HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES
1. Electricity repairs (Rs 200).
2. Immersion Rod (Rs 100).
3. Pots bought.
4. Bucket and mug (50 Rs).

When the information in the preceding lists was tabulated, it made me realise that anthropologists had a profound effect upon the community in terms of the money they spent and goods they bought. They did in fact 'help' a great deal, far more, I suspect, than many other anthropologists working in other places in India and beyond. Furthermore, the number of requests made for money, clothes, medical help, a volleyball or plane ticket to the United States, directly challenge the orientalist image that many Westerners have of Indians as being more concerned with esoteric or spiritual issues than material ones[44]. The population of Karimpur has become increasingly poor since 1925 (Wadley 1994:219), and, under these worsening economic conditions, it is no wonder that acquiring help from comparatively wealthy anthropologists was a concern for many. However, the fact that anthropologists did help in so many ways also challenges the view that anthropologists are only in Karimpur to collect "information, information, information" and give nothing in return. Ram Swarup Pandey's wife recognised that:

> Rupees, land, and children are needed for life. But no-one is satisfied by these things. Everyone wants more.

People want more because, generally speaking, they need more, and they saw anthropologists as a way of temporarily meeting their needs. They had an expectation that

anthropologists would help, and what I observed was a group of people who maximised their opportunities with skill. Most knew what each anthropologist was prepared to give and then pitched their requests accordingly.

5. FREQUENT REQUESTERS AND FURIOUS GIVERS

Although I was well aware that the help I gave helped to facilitate relationships, hearing requests and meeting those needs was a tiring part of my work in the village[45]. Sue told me, on my first trip to the village, that "every time you turned around there was someone wanting something from you", and I soon knew exactly what she meant. Charlotte and William also mention being irritated by the "constant petty claims" being made upon them (Wiser 1963:50), but most of the people I met did not ask for petty things, they were in dire need. However, it was the exception to this rule that undoubtedly made that work even more exhausting. One person, who had constantly demanded things from Sue and Sunil, did the same with me the second time I worked in the village.

Every day, for about two weeks, one particular person approached me in the village with their requests, and then they began calling at our house in Mainpuri. Each of their requests for help was prefaced by a statement about their family's poverty (they were in my opinion far better off than many in the village), and they emphasised the term "*sister*", reinforcing the compulsion on my part to help. This person's requests became so frequent and so forceful that they soon felt like demands, which one day culminated in Clif losing his patience and saying "What do you mean Mandy *must* help you!" I wish I had asked the question myself. After the person concerned left our house empty handed, I went through my fieldnotes and found that I had already given this person and their family a lot, certainly a lot more than many others in the village had received. It was true that I hadn't employed them, nor had I employed their son. It was true that I hadn't given them money for their daughter's wedding, or for surgery to correct their daughter's crooked finger, but I had bought ayurvedic tonic and osteocalcium tablets for a family member, and I had given this person several items of clothing for their children. Although Charlotte found that people learned to appeal to her sympathies by the way they spoke and the way they dressed (1963:121), I found that a significant majority of the requests I received were from people in genuine need. This was the only person in the entire village who I would have called greedy. While it is an abuse of hospitality if an anthropologist does not help the people with whom they work (Trask 1993:166), there was an element of symbolic violence in the actions of this one person who persistently requested help[46].

With time I was more able to be direct with this one greedy person, but also with those not in extreme need. When a wealthy *brahman* asked for new clothes, I was able to ask him if he wanted a new house and a cow as well, and when another man seriously suggested I live in a tent in the village (so I could save money on rent and spend it on the people of Karimpur) I laughed at the idea. But, while I made light of these requests, I was not entirely happy that I did, simply because sometimes anthropologists

don't enjoy the exposure of parts of their personality which have previously been hidden:

> The gift that the other gives us is our own selfhood. Yet when the other declines our offer to roll over and play dead, this is a gift we may not want to receive. As long as the other quietly submitted to our own determination of who they were, we could gladly accept the gift of our selfhood that they provided... (Sampson 1993:155).

If people were in genuine need then I wanted to try and help, but when a few tried to maximise the situation, with what seemed like frivolous requests, this made me angry, especially when they wanted a plane ticket to the United States or a volleyball. Laughter was a way of covering up the anger I felt. While Sue thought that people asked for plane tickets as a way out or a means of escape, I found these type of requests, in the latter stages of my fieldwork, laughable. Someone, in a slip of the tongue, said that I was learning Hindu (when they meant Hindi). It had meaning for me at a time when I was becoming more critical of the few frivolous requests.

Besides the few who asked for what I thought were frivolous things and the one person I would call greedy, there were a significant majority who were so hospitable that Clif, Tom and I were often embarrassed by their generosity. We constantly received gifts of food, invitations to meals, weddings, and to family gatherings. On Christmas day, our Hindu friends arrived with a vegan Christmas cake, and we received many Christmas cards from people who had never celebrated Christmas, but knew we did. People not only invited us to their homes and to their festival celebrations, they also offered us their children. One man in Karimpur seriously suggested that I take his daughter home to Aotearoa, and another offered Clif his young son. Polly Massey, a teacher at the local Presbyterian School, told me how Indians are renowned the world over for their hospitality, and I had to agree with her. I was constantly amazed at how incredibly generous people were.

But, in return for the hospitality we were shown, we were sometimes expected to do things for people in return. As a payback for his help, my patron Anil asked us to attend a volleyball tournament and hand out the prizes to the winning team. We were also asked to attend the Republic Day parade in Mainpuri. At times, meeting our payback obligations was difficult, especially when they got in the way of other commitments. People often found it hard to appreciate the fact that I was there to work, and I clearly remember the day our neighbour told us how much the *parosi* loved us, but said we didn't love them as much. Love was very often expressed by what you did for people, rather than in words, and often we simply couldn't do enough.

While thinking that an anthropologist 'must help' is the result of anthropological tradition in Karimpur, I was surprised to find that our neighbours in Mainpuri also believed this but to a lesser extent. About a month before we left, our neighbours began to ask what we were going to do with our furniture and household items when we left. One neighbour suggested that we should store them in his house so that when

other foreigners came to Mainpuri they could use them. This seemed like a very spurious suggestion when foreigners rarely visited the city. Other neighbours began to ask if they could have our gas cylinder, our pressure cooker, or a *charpai* (cot), but only one person was prepared to pay. All the others clearly expected to be given these things for free. Telling them we were only going to give things to people in need satisfied some for a while, until a clever few thought of elaborate arguments designed to convince us of the depth of their need. During the last month we lived in Mainpuri, I began to compile a list of who wanted what. What follows is the final form of that list.

LIST 7: PAROSI GIFTS
Household 1: *Charpai* (cot), spices, mosquito net, vegetable basket.
Household 2: Gas bottle, forks, potato peeler, pillow, bed roll, mosquito net.
Household 3: *Charpai* (cot), chair, bed roll, sleeping bag, torch, calculator.
Household 4: Gas light, chair, skillet.
Household 5: Table, potato peeler, pillow, bed roll, electric mosquito repeller.
Household 6: Large table, bucket and cups, pillow, bed roll, basin.
Household 7: Food and containers.
Household 8: Immersion rod (used for heating water), small frying pan, large frying pan, cups.
Household 9: Basin and towels.
Household 10: Mirror.
Household 11: Thermos flask.

Ensuring that our household items were distributed equitably was a nightmare. Those who we thought were reasonably well off had power and were used to getting their own way, while those who were poorer had less power and were less forceful in their demands. Giving according to need was going to create problems and no matter who got what, someone was going to be unhappy - and they were. The night before we left we handed out the goods to a crowd of women and children who were ready and waiting. After receiving her share, one woman decided she wanted the plastic basin we had given to another neighbour from a lower *jati*. To my utter surprise, she turned and snatched it out of her hands. I was furious and snatched it back, giving the basin to its rightful owner. I angrily told her that our gifts were *prasad* (gifts blessed by God which cannot be refused -or stolen!), and in a huff she told me how she didn't need any *prasad* because her house was "full of it anyway". Kracke, an anthropologist, also encountered increasing and more and more persistent demands for his possessions from the people in the community where he worked in Brazil, and often the desire for his goods seemed to outweigh the utility of individual items (in Leavitt 1996:68). The plastic basin was a similar case: its value was minimal compared with what the woman had already received, and the woman concerned was far from poor. While Kracke suggests that people wanted his possessions because they were once owned by a person of supposed power (ibid), in this case I suspect the woman wanted the basin simply because she thought she deserved more than her neighbours.

Most people were well aware that anthropologists were much wealthier than they were, and used this knowledge to support their contention that they must help them. In discussions with neighbours in Mainpuri and people in Karimpur, I explained how much I earned and how much things cost in Aotearoa. People were very impressed with my 'huge' salary but horrified at the price of staple foods such as bread, vegetables and milk. Knowing that food was comparatively cheap in India, they reasoned that while we lived there we must have lots of money. When they saw how little furniture we bought, how much I spent on research assistants and on helping people in Karimpur, they understood why our money disappeared so quickly, and one of our neighbours was sure that we would run out of money before we left - so were we. Nobody in India knew that I was Rs 40,000 in debt when we returned to Aotearoa, and, similarly, few people in Karimpur had any idea that Sue's research budget of Rs 10,000 for her two week stay in 1994 was gone long before she left for Delhi. While our neighbours in Mainpuri were aware of how much research cost (because I told them and because they accompanied me on trips to the bazaar to buy medicines and clothes), not everyone in Karimpur understood just how costly research was. Some of the people we spoke to, who hadn't received help, couldn't understand why an individual anthropologist hadn't helped them. From their point of view, anthropologists had lots of money and therefore could afford to help.

Despite the expectation that you must help, under Hindu law it is possible to give away too much. Mauss cites the story of the *brahman* who grows pale and thin from continually giving (1990:69), and it was a wealthy *brahman* who told Sue that if you are unable to help then you should say so, because it is a matter of honour:

> ...If a man comes to you, he must not return from your house dissatisfied. Suppose I come here to your place and ask for five hundred rupees. But you have no money. So you say,"Grandfather, I am helpless. I have no money at present, otherwise I would never refuse you. But I am helpless." Peace enters my heart because [I know] you have no money. So I am satisfied with you. But if you say,"Go, I will not give anything to you," my soul will be troubled because you don't give....But all these things are based on the foundation of wealth. He who has money should give to all men every possible kind of help...a man should leave you satisfied...So whether he is poor or rich, he must not speak ill to others" (Wadley 1994:97).

While this is an ideal, because people don't generally understand the cost of research, if an anthropologist told someone they had no money it might well be thought they had lied. People tended to incorrectly assume that anthropologists have an endless supply of money. However, a debt of Rs 40,000 was not the result of giving too much. What it illustrates is the real cost of research in Karimpur, a price that I was willing to pay (and repay), but I did draw the line at the suggestion that I should have lived in Karimpur in a tent and spent the money I saved on rent helping the people. For me, and for my family, that would have been giving too much.

While people didn't understand the cost of research, they also had little understand-

ing of what it is that anthropologists do with the data they collect. They didn't understand that the six hours of *Dhola* Sue had recorded on tape would require what felt like "six years of analysis" to make it intelligible to an American academic audience. All that most people knew was that anthropologists earned far more than they did and had enough money to pay the Rs 40,000 for a ticket to India. A discussion illustrating these ideas occurred in one of the households where Nanhe and I were interviewing. One young woman felt that anthropologists only gave small amounts of money: "If I ask them for Rs 2,000 they would give me Rs 100 and say to me 'I don't have much'." This was thought to be untrue, because, as this woman said:"I don't know how much they earn, but it is a lot". She also thought it was unfair because the anthropologist had been "helped a lot by the villagers who gave them a lot of information". However, her mother-in-law thought that the information had been given as you would to a family member, not given in exchange for money or help. Her son disagreed; he was "fed up" with anthropologists who had "collected a lot of information from his house" (even his "weaknesses") and "never returned anything". Reminding him that no one is altruistic, a visitor to the house quoted a line from the *Ramayana*: "Everyone is selfish. No one works without return", a maxim which applies equally to both anthropologists and their research participants.

6. PEOPLE WHO RECEIVED NO HELP

During a twelve day period in January 1994, 41 percent of all requests were not met (see List 3), and in the 104 interviews that Nanhe and I conducted, one third[47] of the people we spoke to said that they didn't receive any help at all.

TABLE V: THOSE WHO SAID THEY RECEIVED NO HELP FROM FIVE ANTHROPOLOGISTS

No "help" (reason not given)	29
No "help" (because respondent "didn't ask")	38
Respondent asked for "help" (but didn't receive it)	29
TOTAL	**96 Responses**

While a majority probably didn't receive help, some of these responses may have been designed to elicit my sympathy or used as an opportunity to complain about a specific anthropologist. But what was interesting about those who said they hadn't received help was that almost forty percent believed this was because they never asked. Comments indicating this were common:

I never asked her for help and they never helped me.

I never asked and they never gave.

I never asked for medicine so I never got it.

These statements reinforce the belief that in order to receive help you must ask (that anthropological help was not automatically forthcoming), but they also help to explain the increasing number of requests that were received when Sue and Sunil were

about to leave the village. A slightly smaller group of twenty nine (thirty percent) said that they didn't receive help even though they had asked:

> I asked but they never gave.
>
> I asked many times but they never helped me.
>
> I asked so many times but they never gave.
>
> I asked many times but they never helped me. I spent three or four days with them. My son was ill but they never helped me. They collected information on different topics but never helped me.

One woman astutely recognised that::

> There are some people in Karimpur who are happy and some who are angry. Those who are happy get something from anthropologists. Angry people get no help.

In part she was right; the small number of people who were angry with an anthropologist hadn't received the help they asked for, and had a variety of explanations as to why this was so. Using Charlotte as the standard, comparisons were made with other anthropologists:

> *Dadi* [Charlotte] had a close relationship with the village but Sue's relationship with the people was not so close. *Dadi* went door to door but Sue does not. The information given to Sue [information about people's requests which was relayed by research assistants] is believed by her. Charlotte never believed the word of them [research assistants], instead she went door to door.

> Sue was a kind woman but not as kind as *Dadi* [Charlotte]. She was a great lady, but Sue was not as great; sometimes she looks like a selfish lady. Charlotte loved me very much. Charlotte's love was for everyone, not just for one person. Sue's love was for those people who worked for her. Charlotte treated everyone like family.

> Anybody can ask for help, but whether you get help depends on whether they want to help.

These three accounts highlight the variety of explanations that people had for why they were not helped. Firstly, there was the assumption that some anthropologists were more likely to give than others; those who go "door to door" asking people their problems will help, but those who don't want to help, don't. Secondly, people believed that research assistants didn't always convey the urgency of a request or the deserving nature of the requester[48]. Thirdly, an anthropologist who doesn't help "looks selfish" but an anthropologist who does "loves everyone". However, it is important to note that anger at not receiving something may indicate a political position rather than a state of mind (Leavitt 1996:68), and it may be expected that you should speak angrily about the injustice of not receiving help, particularly if an audience of family and neighbours are listening to what you say. Comparisons between anthropologists highlighted this feeling of injustice[49]. While givers of information who receive help are, in Strathern's terminology, successful producers and transactors (1988:148), the

half to one third of people who gave help but received nothing in return were successful producers of commoditised information but failed transactors. But viewing information as 'help' disguises the fact that the information they shared with anthropologists derived from hard earned experience, and sharing those experiences could in some cases threaten the individual. As noted previously, one man told me how he had not only "helped" an anthropologist but he had told them about his "weaknesses". As a failed transactor he felt cheated because the anthropologist had not recompensed him by providing 'help' in return. While gift giving may be an important and significant gesture in human bonding, if no return is received the relationship may be threatened, particularly if what was given was of significant value to the individual. To make a gift, says Mauss, "is to make a gift of some part of oneself" (1954:12), and this man gave something of himself which he felt was not compensated by a return.

While a minority were unhappy about receiving no help from anthropologists, some were also unhappy about what they didn't get from members of their own community. Gossip about people who had failed to help, provide work or payment were common. For a society which established connections and obligations between people and an identity of Self through the giving and receiving, and for people that need money, food and clothing, reciprocity was a common subject of discussion.

"WE DON'T NEED HELP"

Only a minority of the people Nanhe and I spoke to said they didn't want help from anthropologists. Bharat Singh, now retired from the Army Medical Corps, had a small but well stocked medical kit. He had taught his family how to treat themselves for minor ailments, and this gave his family a degree of independence but, as he also told us, it was God, not anthropologists, who provided for him:

> I am prepared to work for the foreigners for free. Everyone wants help from you, but this is not a good thing. Everyone is selfish. God made the world, we are nothing. God made you, God made me. I pray to God to give me things, not to you people.

Other people reiterated Bharat's belief:

> If God is kind and I don't receive a single *paise* [one hundredth of a rupee] from an anthropologist, I will be rich.
>
> The only help I need is from God.
>
> I am not a beggar. I do not like people who say "please help me, please help me". Everything is given by God.

In Karimpur people believe the fruits of *karma* start accruing immediately and all kinds of *karma* can be changed in a lifetime[50] (Wadley 1994:269n). While some people believed that God gave them everything, Umesh's father believed that hard work was one of the answers to his problems:

> While you [Nanhe] spend your time with anthropologists I spend my time farming...People want help and therefore they respect these people [anthropologists]. I never think that these people will help me. I am always ready to work at farming. Even though Rs 1 *lakh* [Rs100,000] have been

> given to some families they are nothing... I will help you whenever you need it. I never beg from anyone in my village.

Suresh, the carpenter's son, recognised that even though anthropologists had never personally helped him, they were not selfish people:

> Anthropologists love me, and I love anthropologists. Anthropologists do not just collect information, they help the village and a lot of people... If I have not received any help it does not mean that anthropologists are selfish.

7. NON MATERIAL BENEFITS

Not all the help that the people of Karimpur received was material, nor was it visible. There was a certain prestige, power, status and honour gained by working for an anthropologist and in having one for a friend. Some believed that, because of the work anthropologists had done in Karimpur, the village was now "famous", not only in India but in America. Having anthropologists working in the village also made it unique when compared with others in the district, particularly those adjacent to Karimpur. Ram Swarup, who had played and sung *Dhola* for Sue, was happy with that fame because, as a key research participant, it reflected upon him. Referring to the fact that Sue had recorded his performance on video, he told me that in America "There are so many pictures of me, and after my death I will be famous". As one of Srinivas' research participants told him, the kind of property which anthropologists acquire lasts for thousands of years (1976:336), and Ram Swarup's performance of *Dhola* will continue to exist on video long after his death. He was proud that he and his village were famous.

8. THE 'RIGHT' KIND OF HELP

As William and Charlotte found out, anyone who wants to help the people of the village must first "unlearn the assumption that they were superior" and then work *with* the people rather than *for* them (Wiser 1963:196 original emphasis). Many of the people that Nanhe and I interviewed had specific ideas about the type of help anthropologists should provide. Firstly, there was a general belief that anthropologists must help the poor, although who 'the poor' were was often hard for some people to define. Poverty in the village is increasing, and reminding Nanhe and I of this, people told us how, in Charlotte's day, they didn't need her help because then they "were not so poor". Defining the poor in terms of *jati* was not recommended either because that would exclude people from other *jatis* who were in need. This method was often advocated by *brahmans* who were aware that not everyone in their *jati* was rich. While two non-*brahman* families can be categorised as 'well off', and other non-*brahman* families can "feed themselves with no worry" (Wadley 1994:77), generally speaking they are economically better off than those from the lowest *jati*, but one *brahman* had the audacity to think that members of the lower *jati* were all rich and didn't need an anthropologist's help:

> Since the Indira Gandhi Government every person in the lower *jati* are rich. They don't want to work as *kamins* [workers of the *jajmans*]. They

> earn more in their jobs than we can afford to pay. But we are always ready to help these people. People are selfish these days.

What he told us said more about his inability to pay *kamins* than it did about the economic position of people from the lower *jatis*, and it was not my experience that everyone in the lower *jati* was selfish, rich, or fully employed, just as all *brahman* families were not all wealthy. In contrast to this man's view, other *brahmans* thought it was good that anthropologists helped the poorest members of their community.

Some people believed that anthropologists should help the village as a whole. One person thought that a school would be of benefit and another thought anthropologists should organise entertainment for the villagers (as the Wisers had on Christmas day). Other suggestions included a playground for the children, a stadium for students, a hospital, a high school, a guest house for people who visit the village, and a dispensary[51]. But any community development in Karimpur is likely to experience administration problems; as one person reminded us, it would need "a committee with members from each caste to manage it". This person felt that "if *brahmans* interfere in community projects then they fail", and this was evidenced by the Charcha Mandal, a discussion circle which was designed to teach young mothers about nutrition and sanitation, but in fact benefited *brahman* women over the age of forty five. Similarly, the Cooperative Bank in Karimpur tends to benefit the wealthier people of the village (Wadley 1994:176-7), and as the Wisers discovered, people from higher *jatis* may object to anyone trying to help *bhangis* become farmers or attend school (Wiser 1963:54, 55-57).

The problem with the idea of helping the village as a whole is that Karimpur is not a homogeneous entity[52]. While many conceptualise it as "one large family" (Wadley 1994:64), it simply doesn't function that way. *Jati*, age, gender, and economic status mean that different people have differing needs, and some have greater needs than others. Knowing this, one person, at a loss as to how anthropologists should help, put the decision back on them: they felt that, because anthropologists had studied the village for so long, they must know how to rectify its problems. In their opinion, it was an anthropologist's responsibility to "make a plan for the progress of the village".

Charlotte and William believed that improved work opportunities, better education, sanitation and health, and more opportunities for recreation and culture (1963:132-3) would benefit people in Karimpur. Sue believes that improved education and health would help, but, like Charlotte and I, she is well aware that no anthropologist has the power to rectify many of the inequalities people face. As Sue points out:"(o)ne way or another, the villagers of Karimpur must find a way to cope with what destiny has brought to them" (Wadley 1994:252). While anthropologists appear to temporarily alter the destiny of a minority by providing medical help, money and clothing, they are powerless to permanently alter the destiny of everyone who lives in Karimpur.

DISCUSSION

> If we are to help ourselves or anyone else, surely we need to be aware of the subtle ways in which academics can be co-opted into supporting processes of domination. If we wish to challenge these processes, and see this as an ongoing and intellectual task, we need to analyse 'our' society, 'our' bureaucracy, and 'our' knowledge, rather than reassert our power to know the other's needs best. Above all we must avoid the complacency of the 'helping anthropologists' (Cowlishaw 1990:20).

1. EXCHANGE

While exchanges with anthropologists were important for the people that Nanhe and I spoke to, exchange has also been a valuable anthropological commodity for anthropologists who have researched its significance in a variety of cultural contexts. But, while they have gained professionally from that knowledge, only rarely have they thought about applying it to their own fieldwork experience. Firth (1967), using Mauss' essay *The Gift* (1925), is one anthropologist who has attempted to evaluate the exchanges between himself and the people he studied. While this was done with the intention of delineating future directions for the subdiscipline of economic anthropology (rather than with the intention of assessing fieldwork practices), his analysis provides a useful contrast to the experience of people in Karimpur.

In his article on the theory of the gift, Mauss (1925) stressed the significance of obligation in gift exchange: the obligation to give, the obligation to receive, and the obligation to make a return gift. While Mauss implied that these obligations were well delineated for participants, Firth argued that there is a significant degree of uncertainty and choice involved. To illustrate this idea, he discussed an extract from a letter he had received from one of his research participants:

> Here is M- sending this letter. Because M- wishes to ask help from Tuan. Because M- at this time is in great difficulty. Because M-'s village has had a great monsoon and the rain has been exceedingly heavy. N- (her son) has not been able to get out to catch fish because the waves have been huge. Consequently M- requests aid in money; if Tuan and Mem have pity on M- send money as much as Tuan wishes. N- remembers well Tuan and Mem because Tuan and Mem were of kindly heart and very good to him. N- regards Tuan like a Father and Mem like a Mother. So too M- remembers the time when Tuan and Mem lived in her house and all the food she prepared Tuan liked. If Tuan wants some coconut sugar M- can send it...(Firth 1967:12).

Firth felt an obligation towards 'M-' and her son, and notes how her letter with its "mixture of self-interest and sentiment" was "hard to resist" (1967:12). I found similar verbal appeals in Karimpur just as hard to ignore, not only because they appealed to my emotions; unlike Firth who had left the 'field', I knew that a decision not to help would have significant repercussions on my fieldwork. I didn't wonder whether I had an obligation to help, I wondered *how* I was going to.

If there is a significant status differential between an anthropologist and people they work with, things can sometimes be sought from them without loss of status. As a result, transactions become one sided; they are what Firth defined as a *free gift*, one made without an expectation of material return (1967:13). While people may well seek free gifts from an individual in a higher economic position (and some people in Karimpur do[53]), in reaching this conclusion, Firth seems to have ignored the fact that some of the people who approached him had probably already given him information, or, in 'the case of M-', had certainly shared their hospitality and food with him. Therefore, like people that Nanhe and I spoke to in Karimpur, these people were not necessarily wanting *free gifts* but a *return gift*. If Tuan decided not to help, he was failing to meet his obligations to make a return.

The obligation to give has a moral element, which Firth illustrates by outlining the complex series of questions he had to address in order to decide whether he should help 'M-'. He knew that both she and her son were unable to help themselves, and he felt that "if people are poor one should try to help if they ask". But, at the same time, he knew that any help he gave would "only make a minute contribution to alleviate the poverty of the community". He wondered whether his help might encourage begging (1967:13-14). After addressing these questions, Firth decided that in some cases it was better to not give at all, that he should not "encourage false hopes"(1967:14). While such a decision may be more easily made by an anthropologist who has left the 'field' (or one who is never intending to return), such a rationalisation by an anthropologist working in Karimpur would have serious consequences. Whether the help given did or did not made a significant contribution in alleviating their poverty would not be one of their considerations: most people would simply assess whether or not they had received the help they asked for. It is clear that decisions about how to help 'M-' involved "a number of complex elements that involve choices of a significant, possibly painful, character" (1967:14), but the complexity and painful nature of these choices were lessened for Firth because he made them from a distance. In Karimpur, the questions are significantly more complex and more painful because of research participants' reactions should an anthropologist decide not to help. The sanctions that could result from a failure to meet obligations encourage the anthropologist to keep on giving.

2. THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THINGS IN KARIMPUR

While Firth's discussion highlights the complex nature of the decision making process, by viewing these exchanges as *gift* based he highlights only one dimension of his relationship with research participants. He ignores the goods and services he exchanged with them. To address the latter, his analysis would have classically required the framework of commodity oriented theory, but anthropologists (and economists) have, until only recently, tended to see gift and commodity exchange as fundamentally opposed. The differences between a commodity oriented exchange (in which people have a desire to appropriate goods) and a gift oriented economy (where the desire is to expand social relations) (Strathern 1988:143), have been explored at the expense of the simi-

larities they share, and aspects of an exchange that they might ignore. Reflecting this oppositional tendency, in the 'West' gifts are seen as fundamentally opposed to exchange, persons opposed to things, and interest opposed to disinterest (Parry 1985:458). As Appadurai notes, the decision to use *either* a gift exchange *or* a commodity exchange analysis is a marked feature of anthropological discourse (1986:11).

But, like many other anthropological binary oppositions, such as *Self-Other* (Abu-Lughod 1991), *global-local* (Lal 1996:209n), *field-home* (D'Amico-Samuels 1991) and *materialist-religious* (Appadurai 1986:12), focussing on either a gift or commodity exchange artificially reduces human experience. Abandoning the Self-Other opposition and focussing on the We-relation that Schultz suggests exists *between* the anthropological 'Self' and the anthropologised 'Other' (in Narayan 1993:677) provides a framework which highlights human experience. Similarly, abandoning the distinction between gift and commodity analyses and exploring "the social life of things" (Appadurai 1986:4) more effectively highlights the social role of exchange in Karimpur. It restores the cultural and calculative dimensions of those exchanges, and highlights their dynamic nature (ibid:12,13). Appadurai argues that what should be explored in the social life of things is their commodity phase, candidacy and contexts (1986:13).

THE COMMODITY PHASE

Commodities move in and out of a commodity state (Appadurai 1986:13), and the arrival of an anthropologist in Karimpur signals the commoditisation of certain services[54], objects and information; Sue's arrival commoditised the skills of *Dhola* performers and musicians, my arrival commoditised an experience of anthropologists, and while while Sue helped with medical treatment and schooling, books and medicines become commodities in anthropological exchanges. Because I was prepared to help with medical treatment and take photographs for people, my arrival enhanced medicines and photos as anthropological commodities.

Anthropologists visited Karimpur irregularly and therefore the commoditisation periods of their exchanges with people in Karimpur were relatively short lived. Further limiting the commoditisation period is the fact that anthropologists don't always study one subject throughout the duration of their stay. Therefore, what may have been a commodity when an anthropologist first arrived in the village may not be a commodity in latter stages of their fieldwork. In addition, if an anthropologist is only intending to interview a limited number of people then the commoditisation period of information is further limited; while a census requires talking to someone from every household in the village, I was only intending to interview one hundred people, not the entire community[55]. Similarly, as research budgets dwindled, so did the commoditisation period of anthropological 'help'. In the latter stages of my fieldwork, I couldn't afford to help people who required expensive medical treatment. The skills of research assistants and performers also had a variable value and a limited duration; they were convertible to cash irregularly and only if (and when) they were required.

Commodities have a variety of social arenas within or between cultural units (Appadurai 1986:13), but it is common to view any exchange as operating within a culture, rather than between two or more cultures (Wolf 1982). Exchanges in Karimpur were cross cultural in the sense that the money that facilitated them derived from an academic environment which enabled the anthropologist to travel to the village and buy goods that 'helped'. Similarly, through metamorphosis (see Appadurai 1986:16), the information collected in Karimpur currently operates in a variety of social and cultural arenas beyond the village; translated into cultural capital it facilitates anthropological careers and educates others. The money anthropologists gave people in the village was also translatable because it was used to buy commodities in Mainpuri and beyond. However, not all commodities are translatable: not all of the information anthropologists collected in Karimpur is used (or, for ethical reasons, can be used), and likewise, not all anthropological 'help' is translatable. While "Sheila" might be grateful for clothes for her children, as she told Sue: "Who can eat clothes?" (Wadley 1994: 140).

THE COMMODITY CANDIDACY

The *candidacy* of a commodity refers to "the standards and criteria...that define the exchangeability of things in a particular social and historical context"(Appadurai 1986:14). People in Karimpur were quick to learn what were current commodities and what they were exchangeable for. A small boy, of perhaps six or seven (who had seen me exchanging a toy car for a spinning top the day before), came to me with a top he had made. He wanted to exchange it for a car. Knowledge about what information anthropologists were currently collecting, who they currently were employing, and what type of help they were prepared to give, increased the likelihood of success in an exchange. People also recalled the standards and criteria that operated when anthropologists had worked in the village previously, and some assumed these standards and criteria would be used again. A belief in reciprocity, an expectation that their needs would be met and that it is the anthropologist's duty to help, along with a long standing tradition of exchanges between research participants and anthropologists, also acted as criteria and standards for defining what could, and should, be exchanged.

THE COMMODITY CONTEXT

The commodity context refers to the variety of social arenas which link the commodity candidacy of an object or service to its commodity phase (Appadurai 1986:15). Therefore, the criteria used by villagers in non-anthropological exchanges influences their expectations and behaviour in exchanges involving anthropologists. Raheja (1988) points to the two types of gifts given in North Indian rural society: those characterised by reciprocity and those which more closely fit Firth's description of a free gift (those given without an expectation of return). The latter category, known as *dana*, are given at festivals and rituals, or daily in the form of food consecrated by God (*prasad*), but, as Parry points out, are not entirely *free gifts* because they do have an "unseen return", a return which is received not in this life but the next (1986:462)[56]. Sue notes that the language and practice of gift giving in Karimpur differs from that outlined by Raheja

(1988) in that gifts which signify hierarchy, such as *baina* (those given to *kamins*) and *dan-daksina* (those given to the high), assume greater importance in the village, as do those associated with *bhakti* devotional religion (Wadley 1994: 2647n). Yet only a minority of people we spoke to in Karimpur stated that they expected no return for the information they gave anthropologists. In those few cases, they had given something akin to *dan-daksina.* In contrast, the majority clearly expected something in return, but this was often compounded by the fact that many were in need. While it was more common among wealthier members of the community to give freely, those expecting a return were often from poorer families. In these cases, need overrode the ideal of a free gift as espoused by the Laws of Manu (Manu 4:190 in Parry 1985:460). With the reduction in *jajman-kamin* ties, one would expect that gifts signifying hierarchy were less frequently given; however these ties may well be activated by a minority who had not given any information to anthropologists but wanted a free gift. Because anthropologists are assigned the fictive *jati* of 'powerful untouchable', people may temporarily emphasise the anthropologist's power, recognise a *jajman-kamin* relationship, and expect a free gift of help *(baina).*

3. POLITICS AND POWER

"Politics is what links value and exchange in the social life of communities" (Appadurai 1986:57), and it is therefore important to examine the power inherent in exchanges in Karimpur. Under colonisation, many indigenous peoples, through the process of barter and exchange (and outright theft), lost vital resources necessary to the maintenance of their culture and themselves (see Bodley 1990). Through a process of development aid many have lost even more (see Sachs 1993). The term 'help' is commonly used by development 'experts', as well as by people in Karimpur, and this commonality necessitates further examination.

The concept of 'help', currently used in 'Third World' development discourse and missionary practice, is now seen as a much contested notion. For all its elaborate rhetoric, it has been shown that development aid rarely 'helps', but instead it masks a form of "elegant power" (Gronemeyer in Sachs 1991:53). This elegant and controlling power, disguised as 'help', usually fails to resolve the causes of poverty, disease and unemployment, and this results in the'recipients' of development becoming hostage to the development process. Synonymous with economic (rather than cultural or social) progress, development aid frequently focuses on needs defined by development workers, rather than on the self defined needs of the people they are supposed to be helping. While people in the 'Third' (and 'Fourth') worlds are generally pro-development and pro-progress, they rightly want it in a form that they choose, and over which they have control. From the perspective of many indigenous peoples, 'ethno-development' has a greater likelihood of success because it is more likely to meet their own self defined economic, cultural and social needs. Unlike development aid, which is designed to meet imputed need, ethno-development is *by* and *for* the people.

While Deloria suggested that anthropologists need to get down from their thrones of

authority and begin helping the people they study, rather than preying on them (1969:100), in Karimpur anthropologists do in fact help a great deal. Unlike development aid which addresses imputed needs (Madan 1994:152), anthropological help in the village addressed the self defined needs of requesters. But, most help tended to address short term economic need, rather than self-defined long term social or cultural need. Currently, it doesn't resolve the causes of poverty, unemployment and disease, and anthropological help is irregular and in a form over which people in Karimpur don't yet have full control. But, as academics well know, anthropologists are not free agents (Gough 1990:1706). Because of their comparatively wealth, anthropologists do have significant power, but their wealth is limited, and, therefore, so is their power. As their research budget dwindles, so does their power. Even if they wanted to, anthropologists are unable to help everyone in Karimpur. They do have some control over what information will become commoditised, but this is constrained by questions of ethics[57] and by what the discipline currently defines as an anthropological commodity. The power of peers to jeopardise the promotion of academics who decide to study 'unacceptable subjects' (ibid), in conjunction with the presence of gatekeepers in the publishing world (Daly in Roberts 1981:197), limits what is studied and the way that is done. An anthropologist's seemingly elegant power is not quite as elegant as it might at first seem.

Likewise, people in Karimpur are not hostage to anthropologists. They can, as Umesh suggests, "tell the anthropologist what they want to hear in order to get money and things out of them" (Pandey 1992:3). They can tell anthropologists they don't know anything about a subject when in fact they do, or they can spread gossip about an 'unhelpful' anthropologist. They can write letters to anthropological organisations telling of their faults, and compel an anthropologist to "help" simply because 'owing' makes anyone, including anthropologists, feel guilty (see also Streefkerk 1993:13 and Firth 1967:14). They can, and do, construct glowing accounts about how much other anthropologists gave the villagers in order to encourage subsequent anthropologists to give more, and, unlike other non-anthropological exchanges in the village (or outside it), both women and men from all *jatis* in Karimpur have the power to withhold information, or lie.

But, even though an anthropologist's power isn't entirely 'elegant', they have the greater power in these exchanges. It is the anthropologist, constrained by the discipline and it's wider economic and political context, who has the power to decide if they will visit Karimpur and when, and they do have significant power in activating the social arena of exchange. In the past they decided what will be researched and therefore what information will become commoditised, and, ultimately, they make the final decision about who will get help, and who will receive their commodities. It is also the anthropologist who has significant power in deciding if, and when, they will return. People in Karimpur currently have comparatively little power to influence these decisions.

4. EXCHANGE ASSESSMENT

The best evaluators of anthropological exchanges in Karimpur are the participants themselves. Anthropologists and the residents of the village, like all people, actively interpret the social significance and consequences of transactions. While the calculations used for evaluation by research participants in Karimpur are based on the socially derived values of the commodities they gave and those they received, their calculations are complex but tend to result in a successful transactor being "happy", while a failed transactor is often "angry" with an anthropologist. The phrase "money is not compulsory for love" indicates that some people assessed the exchange on the basis of sentiment, rather than on the material goods they did or did not receive, but frequently this assessment was used by people not in dire need. Appadurai makes the important point that in any exchange there is not always a complete cultural sharing of value. Instead, "regimes of value" are involved and degrees of value coherence vary according to the situation and the commodities exchanged (1986:17). Furthermore, because the commodities exchanged are unlike (information is exchanged for clothing and services are exchanged for cash), a precise balance is unlikely to be achieved (Sahlins in Humphrey 1992:10). Therefore, degrees of balance, publicly spoken about as happiness or anger, remain the best evaluatory tool for anthropological exchanges in Karimpur.

Although in academic circles "we hear relatively little about the ways in which politically loaded differences between ethnographer and the little folk are handled" (D'Amico-Samuels 1991:79), it is clear that in Karimpur differences are constantly activated in order to meet needs. A majority of the people we spoke to believed they help anthropologists by giving them information, and expected them to help them in return, but the term 'help' disguises the variable power relations and the commodities involved in those exchanges. While people in Karimpur are *Struggling with Destiny* (Wadley 1994), anthropologists working in the village (and elsewhere) need to continue their struggle with questions of power. While I suspect that anthropologists currently give much more to people in Karimpur than many other anthropologists give to their research participants, they must avoid the complacency of the 'helping anthropologist' (Cowlishaw 1990:20). They need to examine their own fieldwork practices and find ways in which they can be improved. The people Nanhe and I spoke to were not hostages in their relationships with anthropologists, and conversely an anthropologist's power is not entirely 'elegant'. But, despite this, both groups actively make the most out of an irregular anthropological presence to meet their own needs.

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[1] Umesh is referring to the fact that William Wiser, Sue Wadley and Bruce Derr received doctorates from fieldwork done in Karimpur. Through her research in the village Charlotte Wiser gained an M.A..

[2] Despite the fact that this dissertation specifically addresses the self defined needs of a person born in the village (unlike other dissertations that preceded it), one day one of the villagers may well feel that they *gave* yet another PhD. However, because this dissertation will be returned to the village they will receive something in return.

[3] Inhabitants of Aotearoa who are not *tangata whenua* (the indigenous inhabitants of the country).

[4] It is interesting to note that, after her death, Margaret Mead was also described as a saint, not by the people she worked with (they spoke about her as a family member), but by the American press (BBC 1994). This glowing memory of Charlotte is probably enhanced by the fact that in the face of dramatic changes many villagers recall the 'good old days' with affection (see Wiser 1963: 214).

[5] Deification is a process 'prominent' people are often subject to (e.g. Indira Gandhi, Mother Theresa and Phoolan Devi).

[6] While the fieldworker may view the missionary as an "enemy of science, ethnocentric and unscrupulous", the missionary might see the fieldworker as a "transient godless" person who has little concern for the people they investigate (Clifford 1982:126). But, as Clifford notes, these descriptions support stereotypes of a 'fieldworker' and a 'missionary ', and like all stereotypes they do not always match reality. These distinctions were certainly not drawn by the missionary / anthropologist Maurice Leenhardt (ibid:127) and, I suggest, probably not by Charlotte either.

[7] This does not preclude the fact that people who were primarily employed to run errands may have collected information as well.

[8] A fictive kin term.

[9] This belief is an inversion of the belief that Charlotte 'never refused anyone'.

[10] People who were paid an honorarium to make fortnightly trips to police headquarters to report births, deaths and "any occurrences of interest to the police" (Wiser 1963:103).

[11] The perception that he was a powerful person is reflected in the fact that he was less frequently referred to as a family member, and more commonly referred to as *Sahab.*

[12] Peanuts were a common crop in Karimpur in the 1970s (Wadley 1994:181), but not in the 1920s.

[13] However, one could argue that converting people to Christianity did challenge it.

[14] William died in 1961 and Charlotte in the early 1980's.

[15] A common indication of the affection people felt for others. When Clif, Tom and I left to go away for short trips our adopted 'daughter' Shashi would tell us when we returned that she had dreamt about us every night we were away.

[16] K. H. Wolff echoes this statement when he says that in relating to a research participant as a subject the anthropologist is engaged in a relationship of "cognatic love" in which differentiations between subject, act and object disappear (1976:23).

[17] In 'Western' societies women are more active in all forms of gift giving (Cheal 1988:6).

[18] A socioeconomic system of interrelated service rights, described by William Wiser (1936).

[19] Those in a hereditary service relationship with *jajmans.*

[20] A length of material worn around the body. The women's version is usually longer and wider than the men's, and is worn in a similar way to a sari. A man's *dhoti* is wrapped around the waist. Both are usually white with a coloured border.

[21] While many anthropologists may not consider themselves rich they are comparatively wealthier than most villagers. Only a few families in Karimpur live "reasonably comfortably" (Wadley 1994:13), while most of the anthropologists that work there live reasonably well.

[22] They, like people in Karimpur, 'encouraged' me to conform to their standards of an 'appropriate' level of giving.

[23] Srinivas notes a similar reluctance to bathe in public (1976:17).

[24] After reading this section Sue, in her comments, added: "the sweeper always came to clean the tank when I visited: both Umesh and his family and I knew that somehow this was my responsibility (the foreigners after all had built it) and I always paid up. His rates were always high by village standards and minuscule by western ones".

[25] That Sue chose to pay him this way is indicative of the close relationship she has with this man and his family. The relationship involved more than just money.

[26] Poor people in Karimpur use gossip as a means of demeaning *brahman* superiors (Wadley 1994:150), but they also talk about anthropologists negatively if they have not given them what they want. It probably would have been made known that I was a bad employer and not as generous as Sue or Charlotte.

[27] Because these people were my research participants and because of the secrecy surrounding actual payments, I have refrained from mentioning any of the minimum rates or the amounts people were actually paid. I respect people's wishes to not disclose this information.

[28] The exception being transcribers who can continue their work after the anthropologist has left the village and mail the completed transcripts to their employer.

[29] The one exception I know of was mentioned in Sue's book (Wadley 1994:31) where an elderly man talked about how when he was a young boy William "paid" him three *annas* (one sixteenth of a rupee) for each of the children's games he told him about. Although this man spoke about William paying a total of 18-20 annas for each session, one could reasonably assume that this money was given to the boy more as a gift than as payment for information.

[30] As have other anthropologists, particularly those working in so-called 'third world' countries. For examples see Turner1987:27,157,159 (where Edith describes how she treated ulcers, cuts and sores when working with the Ndembu) and Srinivas1976:19 (where he writes about dispensing medicine to villagers with headaches, flu and malaria, and treating cuts, bruises and boils).

[31] Although I was not prepared to contribute to the vast expenses associated with a wedding, Clif and I did give a standard Rs 101 at every wedding we attended. Sue also follows this practice. She does not contribute to wedding or funeral expenses although she does contribute as part of the ceremonies in the same way (and at the same level) as members of the community would.

[32] Kumar notes the same concern. Rather than using people's given names when speaking about them in English she and her husband used terms such as 'King Canute' and 'Christ's lover' (1992:130). Other anthropologists working in India that I have spoken to have done the same thing.

[33] Chemist and clothing shops in Mainpuri no doubt benefit financially from the presence of anthropologists in Karimpur in the way that small off-reservation towns south of Pine Ridge did when anthropologists bought their supplies from them. While "supplying the Third Crusade to the Holy Land was a minor feat" compared with supplying those anthropologists (Deloria 1969:91), I am not convinced that anthropologists in Karimpur contribute quite as

much cash to the Mainpuri economy. But I do know that the chemist smiled every time he saw me coming.

[34] Social bandits who define themselves as *baghis*, as rebels fighting for a cause (Sen 1993:25).

[35] References to this are made in Matthew 10:38 and 16:24.

[36] There are several ayurvedic doctors and self-trained doctors in the village (Wadley 1994:137), but treatment costs people a lot when in many cases they only have enough to buy food. Treatment can be not only costly, but ineffective and result in enormous debt which further compounds the cyclical effects of poverty and debt. As one loan is paid off, illness, marriages, drought and floods sink the family back into the cycle of debt once more (Wadley 1994:139).

[37] Diane Wolf notes similar feelings of inadequacy. While the money she gave to the people she studied alleviated short term problems she knew that her research would eventually enable her to earn enough money in one month to "sustain an entire village for several". She knew that her future income was based on "the structures of poverty and inequality" that she had studied (1996:x).

[38] A quality that people in Rampura valued about the anthropologist Srinivas (1976:322) and one which appealed to my own sense of equity.

[39] Margery Wolf says that feminist fieldworkers, while they may not be used to power, need to become more realistic about the power they do have (Wolf 1996:220). In Karimpur, the fieldworkers' comparative wealth certainly confers the power to help, but it is limited.

[40] Residence was also necessary to establish a *jajman* relationship (Wiser 1958:40), something which anthropologists achieve only temporarily in the village.

[41] Although the payment rate for items 2, 3 , 4, and 9-14 is known, as noted previously, I have not listed how much each assistant or performer received out of respect for these people who tend to keep the actual amount they were paid secret.

[42] A gathering at which women sing songs.

[43] Just as these items are of use to the family once the anthropologists have gone, so is the house financed by the Wisers. It has been used by Umesh's family since it was built, but it has also been used by the Cooperative Bank while waiting for the new building to be completed (Wiser 1963:165).

[44] Srinivas observed that the people he worked with in Rampura were concerned with acquisition to the extent that frugality and saving were virtues, not habits (1976:109).

[45] Agger and Jensen experienced a state which they described as "the wounded healer". This resulted from hearing many traumatic experiences from their Chilean research participants who had been tortured (1996:20). At times I felt like an exhausted 'helper'. Adding to the exhaustion was the fact that meeting people's requests was new for me. Friendship is not consistent in my culture with what Trawick calls "begging for gifts" (1990:16).

[46] Another fieldworker, who had strong feminist principles about sharing her resources and forming egalitarian relationships with the people she studied, experienced this type of violence. Her research participants were quick to recognise that "they had a saleable product and a very inexperienced buyer in their hands", and they berated her daily for not giving them enough and for not having relations who were wealthy enough to send them televisions. The more she gave, the more they demanded from her. She was finally forced to leave the field after six months with no resources and feelings of anger and guilt (Margery Wolf 1996:220).

[47] A figure derived by combining the responses of people who did receive something (List 2) with those in List 3.

[48] A subject addressed more fully in Chapter Five.

[49] Listening to these angry people was not easy for me because at times it felt as if my presence and questions had opened up a can of worms. Not only could I empathise with the apparent injustice that these people felt, but I could also empathise with anthropologists who worked in the village after Charlotte, who was in so many accounts capable of doing no wrong. Debriefing with either Nanhe or Clif was essential after one of these sessions.

[50] In classical Indian philosophy there are three types of karma; *prarabdha karma* results in your present birth and cannot be changed. *Sancita karma* is stored *karma* from the past which has yet to yield its fruit, and *kriyamana karma* is performed in the present life. The only *karma* recognised by the villagers of Karimpur is the latter (which is spoken about as *karam*). Therefore all kinds of *karma* can be changed in a lifetime (Wadley 1994:269n).

[51] Agger and Jensen's research participants in Chile wanted them to raise money for a foundation to educate the children of ex-political prisoners. Like the people of Karimpur their research participants regarded them as "economic resource persons" (1996:27).

[52] As Srinivas notes, there is no such thing as a faction-free village (1976:24).

[53] A factor influenced by the fact that Karimpur is dominated by a single high *jati* (Wadley 1994:2647n).

[54] I do not wish to imply that all of these objects and services were not commoditised before the arrival of an anthropologist, merely that they became commodities in an exchange involving villagers and anthropologists.

[55] Further limiting the commoditisation period is the fact that what was a commodity on one trip may not be a commodity on subsequent visits. The exception to this is census data, which has been collected fairly regularly since Charlotte and William first worked in the village.

[56] I would also suggest that giving a free gift benefits the giver in this life as well. This is as true for anthropologists as it is for the villagers. People look favourably on the giver of a free gift.

[57] Which limits what portion of the commoditised information can be used (written about).

58. The tradition of 'helping' in Karimpur is therefore the result of the behaviour of anthropologists and villager's expectations, as outlined previously on pages 73-82.

CHAPTER 4

"Don't take photographs of things, take photographs of people" : A Collaborative Visual Project in Karimpur.

This chapter outlines the process associated with a collaborative photographic project that arose from the self defined needs of people that Nanhe and I worked with in Karimpur. I include this chapter as an introduction to people's preferences for representation, and as an illustration of another type of exchange beyond those mentioned in the previous chapter.

4.1 Shashi.

This is a photograph of my 'adopted daughter' Shashi, who lives in the city of Mainpuri. I now live in Aotearoa, and I miss her. I photographed Shashi, late one afternoon, as I headed out of the alleyway in which we lived to buy vegetables for the evening meal. At the doorway of her small two roomed home she was leaning on an up-turned *charpai* (string bed). She should have been doing her homework, but her mother had gone to the Temple, and she decided to see what the neighbours were up to instead. In Mainpuri it was impossible to go anywhere without at least one of our *parosi* (neighbours) asking where we were going, why, and how long we would be. And that particular afternoon, it was Shashi who asked the inevitable series of questions:

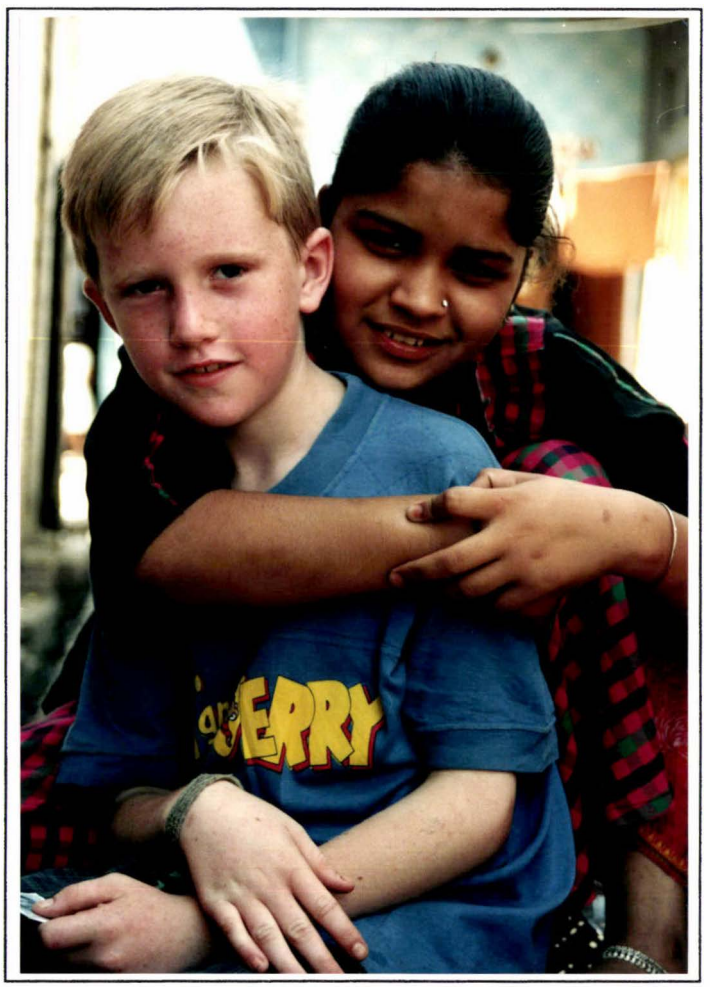
"Where are you going *Anti*?" (she called me *Anti* during the day, but before going to bed she would yell out across the street "Good night Mummy !" and I would yell back "Good night daughter ! ")

"Where are you going?" she asked.

"I'm going to Bombay !" I said (there were times when I didn't feel like explaining

everything to everyone).
"You are not going to Delhi ?" she said, recognising I was joking with her.
"No, I'm going to Bombay to buy *aloo*, *ghobi* and *gaja* (potatoes, cabbage and carrots)."
"Well, how long will you be?" she asked.
"Oh, about five minutes."
We smiled at each other, but Shashi also smiles at me from her photo. Her smile and my memories of her, help me to work through the process that one anthropologist so clinically called *repatriation stress* (Howell 1990:163).

Shashi was one of my Hindi teachers and I was her hopeless pupil. She was very often my translator, not always of words but often of ideas, and it was Shashi and her mother, Shakuntala, who taught me how to behave like a 'good Indian woman'. Whenever I left the house they would check my clothes, making sure that the pants of my *salvar-kamiz* (suit) covered my ankles, and that my *dupata* (scarf) was suitably arranged. In return, I helped Shashi with her English and listened to her talk endlessly about the boy she loved. I gave her pen and paper so she could write letters to him, but one day I had to talk her out of doing a 'Romeo and Juliet[1]' with sleeping pills. She told me that if she and her boyfriend took enough of these pills, enough to put them to sleep for about twelve hours, then it would worry their feuding mothers into accepting their relationship. Thankfully Shashi and her Romeo didn't take the pills but, sadly, at the time of writing, their families still didn't speak to each other.



4.2 Shashi and Tom.

Shashi was also my son's 'sister'. She loved Tom; she liked the shape of his nose, and was proud of the speed with which he learned to speak Hindi. But one day she got really worried when he played outside in the heat of the day, not because he might get heat stroke, but because he would get a tan. Shashi liked white skin, and Tom liked Shashi even though she irritated him as sisters do. After one particular argument they didn't talk to each other for the rest of the day, but that evening it was Tom who passed on the letter to Shashi's

'Romeo' and then forwarded the reply that came back.

Shashi's mum, Shakuntala, was also Tom's 'mum'. As noted in Chapter Two, Tom had three mothers in Mainpuri: Shakuntala, Ramvati (the mother of his best friend, Monu) and me. Shakuntala, like Shashi, took great pride in Tom's ability to learn Hindi, but she also kept a caring eye on who he was playing with, and always seemed to know exactly where he was. She was the one person in our neighbourhood who could cook rice just the way he liked it.

4.3 Tom and Shakuntala.

Clif also gained a 'daughter'. Shashi liked to listen to him playing his guitar, and she loved to see me heaping more food onto his plate (as a good Indian wife should). She was amazed that he could cook and sweep the floor, but became worried when he lost weight through a bout of amoebic dysentery. She was sure I wasn't feeding him enough. If Clif, Tom, Shashi and I went to the bazaar she would tell me sternly to keep my eyes down, walk behind Clif, and, above all, not to call him "Clif" but "*Tom ki Papa*[2]". It is thought that a wife shortens her husband's life by one day every time she calls him by his given name, and Shashi wanted *Tom ki Papa* to live a long life. As people stopped to stare at the white family going shopping, Shashi told me that we (*Tom ki Papa*, Tom and I) were famous. I told her that, if we were famous, then, because she was with us, she must also be famous. She beamed in agreement.

In mid-summer Shashi told me she would be dreaming of sleeping on huge blocks of ice. She liked to dream and whenever we headed off for a holiday from the 'field' she would dream about us every night we were away. While we were desperate for some peace in a life that was crammed with people and needed those holidays, she would miss us and be thoroughly bored until we returned. The day we left India, Shashi clung to me like a small child. She sobbed, and I sobbed with her. When we left she

didn't eat for three days.

On my first trip to India, eighteen months before I met Shashi, I was sitting in the courtyard of a house in a village not far from the city where she lived. Sue had come to the village to hire musicians for the *Ramlila* that was going to be performed in Karimpur, and Sunil and I had come along for the ride. The family of the household and a few of their neighbours had gathered to talk with the three visiting anthropologists in the courtyard. As the late afternoon sun streamed over the thatched roof into the hub of the house, it made a beautiful pattern of shadows on the courtyard floor. I thought it would make a great photo, that is, until a man, seeing what I was about to do, said to one of the anthropologists: "Tell her not to take photographs of things, take photographs of people!"

Several days later I was walking down the main road in Karimpur, and a woman asked me if I would take a photo of her house. Thinking that not everyone valued photographs of people, I got my camera ready. But, as I began to adjust the focus, I saw through the viewfinder not just the woman's small yellow house, but a group of seventeen women and children lining up quickly in front of it. The request for a photo of a house was in fact a request for a family portrait (with some of the neighbourhood children as well).

4.4 The yellow house (and the family).

The next day I tried to photograph the houses beside the pond in Karimpur, but found it was impossible, simply because every time I got my camera out of my bag people wanted me to photograph them. People in Karimpur didn't think you should take photos of houses, the landscape, or everyday objects; they thought I should take photographs of them.

4.5 Taking photographs of the landscape was not easy.

It was through the experiences that I have just described that I was made aware of the value of photos, not only for me as a 'repatriating anthropologist' and 'mother', but also for the people that I worked with. I wanted my fieldwork practices in Karimpur to incorporate a 'return gift' beyond the medicine, clothes and money discussed in the preceding chapter. I wanted to give something back in return for people's time, their profound hospitality, and the experiences they shared with me[3], and, unlike most people in the village, I had a camera, plenty of film (and a research budget that would cover developing costs). Photos were therefore a way of meeting both our needs. So, whenever Nanhe and I interviewed someone, we asked them if they, or members of their family, would like to be photographed. People in 65 households, out of the 104 we visited, did[4]. Decisions about the composition, vantage point, angle of the camera and colour balance were made by the subjects of each photo, while I decided the depth of focus and the degree of sharpness. The 300 photos that we created[5] were developed and printed in Aotearoa[6] and then mailed back to the people who were so keen to have them[7].

In writing this chapter I have agonised over whether to include any of those photos: they were not taken for an academic's eye, but were constructed by and for the subjects themselves. After a lot of deliberation, and because of a desire among the villagers to comment on their representation (one of the subjects addressed in the sixth chapter), I decided to include a small selection[8], but the most important criteria for inclusion was that photos had to be 'good ones' from the subject's perspective[9]. From that group I then chose a number which were illustrative of the collaborative process. None of the photos have been cropped or altered in any way, but it should be noted that I have deliberately excluded photos of young married women. Because they were

photographed by a woman, young *bahus* (daughter-in-laws / wives) unveiled, but had I been male most wouldn't have revealed their faces quite so boldly[10]. Because I am addressing male and female readers, I have excluded those photos, but I do discuss the process associated with photographing these young women. If I have made an error in judgment about any of the photos that I have included, then I take full responsibility for a poor decision.

I am not the only anthropologist who has worked in Karimpur to have given photos to research participants. Photos were mentioned as things given to people by anthropologists in six of the interviews that Nanhe and I did. Sue noted, in her comments on this dissertation, that in 1983-4 she and Bruce tried to take at least one photo in every house in the village, and as a result about ninety percent of the villagers had their picture taken and received a copy. A decade later, Sue gave framed prints of the photos she included in her book *Struggling with Destiny in Karimpur* (1994) to the subjects. One man proudly showed me a photo of his family taken by Charlotte Wiser in the 1960s. The Pandey family had two portraits of William and Charlotte hung in pride of place on the walls of the Wiser wing, and their albums contained photos taken by several anthropologists.

4.6 Sue taking a photo.

Beyond Karimpur, other anthropologists have also given research participants copies of the photos they took. Hortense Powdermaker sent photos back to the people she worked with (1966:123), as did Ganesh (in Bell 1993:136) and Fred and Barbara Roll (1993:13). Ann Gold and Joe Miller hoped to photograph every family in the Indian village where they worked, but their project was hampered by the fact that many families wanted to wait until their married daughters returned to the village so that a complete family portrait could be done (Raheja 1994: xxxii). Like the people that Srinivas worked with (1976:20), people in Karimpur enjoyed having their photo taken, but as I discovered they wanted to control the process.

1. THE VISUAL IMAGE IN MAINPURI AND KARIMPUR

Before I discuss that process, I want to firstly outline the importance of the visual image in Mainpuri and Karimpur. In Mainpuri, almost every Hindu household had posters[11] on its walls of favoured movie stars and Hindu gods and goddesses. In the few homes that could afford television, families gathered to watch their favourite soap opera, a movie, or perhaps the news. Regular power cuts meant it was often impossible to watch an entire programme, and, as the picture faded from the screen, calls were often made to *bhagvan* (god) to restore the electricity. Sometimes, just sometimes, he heard. In the few homes that have satellite connections to the Star TV channel, people tended to watch international cricket, rather than the Australian soap *Neighbours*, or the *BBC World News*, as they might in larger cities like Delhi. Those who owned video players rented movies from half a dozen shops in the city or used them to replay videos of a family wedding or celebrations. In the market place, large and dramatic posters of Bollywood[12] film stars travelled on rickshaws, accompanied by the theme songs of the latest movie (played at a deafening volume through a set of extremely effective loudspeakers). Going to the movies was a regular event for wealthy young men in Mainpuri, and one man I knew had seen his favourite movie ten times in the space of four days. Children in our neighbourhood collected pictures from magazines of their favourite movie stars and cricketing heroes, and the city boasted half a dozen photographic studios ready to record the images of the few who could spare Rs 15. The visual image, in the form of moving or still pictures, played a vital and important role in the lives of people we knew.

In Karimpur images were not quite as visible, but still there. People tended to go to the movies less often than they would in the city, and only a few households owned a television. Posters of gods and goddesses decorated the walls of a few Hindu houses, and in some homes women formed representations of their favourite deity from mud on the courtyard wall. Because Allah can never be depicted in human form, framed pictures with Koranic messages were hung on the walls of Muslim homes. While only one or two people owned a camera, some families had photos (taken by professional photographers or anthropologists) stored in trunks or arranged in albums. Umesh's photos were a detailed visual history of the time he had spent with anthropologists, and included photos of Sue, Bruce, and their children, and Umesh loading equipment into cars outside hotels in Benares and playing in the snow in Europe.

In Northern India, as in many other parts of the world, photographs are highly valued objects, not only because they are a record of events and people, but because they have the added value of being something to be shared with others. In many houses in Mainpuri, except the poorest, photos were often used as a way of introducing us to family members, and in contextualising their photos (and themselves), people would label their photos saying: "this is my mother, this is my maternal uncle, this is my paternal aunt". Sharing those photos also gave people the opportunity to talk about important family events such as "my sister's wedding" or "the year we all went for holiday in the Punjab". But it was not only Indians who used photographs to illustrate

familial relationships[13]; the twenty Kenyan students studying at the university in Mainpuri all had albums bulging with photos of their families and friends back in Kenya. One student had carefully marked the pages of his album with the years in which the photos were taken, as if marking time until he returned home and was reunited with the people in those images. Those men missed Kenya and their family and friends, and, when showing me their photos, they often spoke about how much their younger siblings and nieces and nephews would have grown in the years they had been away. Besides photos of family and friends, their albums included photos of holidays in India, trips made with other Kenyan students studying at universities in Bombay, Chandigargh, and Agra.

4.7 A page from a Kenyan student's photo album.

In return for seeing those photos, Clif, Tom and I showed people our own photos as a way of contextualising ourselves and explaining our own complex family relationships. Being a long way from Aotearoa, those few photos were a reminder of our friends' and families' existence, as well as a reminder for us of who we were.

On several occasions at the Taj Mahal in Agra, I watched visitors pour through the gates. After a cursory look at the Taj, most people got down to the business of recording the experience on film[14], and, on my first visit, I was no different. Tom was repeatedly asked by Indian tourists if they could have their photo taken with him, and he obligingly held small children and smiled for the cameras. Indian tourists wanted a photo of the Taj, but, unlike foreign tourists, many also wanted photographs of foreigners.

4.8 Indian's wanted photos of the white tourists.

In Mainpuri, people also wanted a photos of foreigners, especially when they appeared as 'status objects' at civic events. At a volleyball tournament, the Republic Day parade and a Youth Rally, a photographer was present to record our images for the local newspaper. Like Tom, Clif and I posed suitably.

4.9 'VVIP's' at a Youth Rally.

Photographs were not only used to contextualise and record, they served as evidence of a connection. Most shops in Mainpuri had a poster of Ghandiji, a guru, or favoured

gods and goddesses on the walls, and Anil, my patron, had a photo of himself and Rajiv Gandhi in pride of place in his lounge. All these images were illustrative of important connections. When I mentioned to Anil that we were thinking of spending several days in Lucknow, he kindly wrote a letter of introduction to the Home Secretary in the Uttar Pradesh Government. The letter asked that the secretary make us welcome in his city, but Anil also enclosed a photo of himself and the Home Secretary taken in Delhi the previous year. The image was proof of a meeting and proof of a connection.

4. 10 A visual curriculum vitae.

Towards the end of our stay in Mainpuri, our cook Muni wanted to have her photo taken with us at a local photographic studio. While she wanted something to remind her of us, she also wanted to use the image as a visual curriculum vitae, as tangible evidence of the time she worked for 'foreigners'.
Photographs were proof of a past, they evoked memories, and they helped to contextualise the subjects as members of a group and in terms of their experience. Sometimes, just sometimes, I suspect they were more important for the owner than they were for the people they showed them to.

Photos of people were important in Mainpuri and Karimpur for a variety of reasons, but what can an anthropologist gain by taking photos for people who want them? Firstly, and most importantly, they constitute a return. For practitioners working in a discipline that is trying to decolonise itself, a return gift that meets a need within a community acknowledges the economic, political and cultural imbalance that often exists between themselves and their research participants. As D'Amico-Samuels says: "(n)o matter how skimpy our funding, we can give some thought to how we can struc-

ture our comparative wealth to meet some need felt by the community in which we are working" (1991:81). I believe that anthropologists *can* utilise their wealth (and their skills) to meet the needs of their research participants, but I believe they might also learn something about the discipline and the people they work with if they did. Ruby suggests that if anthropologists want to see the world through 'native' eyes, they should watch their videos (1995:77). I would suggest they also look at the photographs they construct.

In Geertz's classic ethnographic snapshot, the anthropologist posed for his photo dressed in a white safari suit and pith helmet, and sometimes the classic ethnography included a photo of a 'native' holding up a spear or a calabash saying: "Is this what you want?" (Geertz 1995:64)[15]. Classically, it was just what the anthropologist wanted, and the text which accompanied the image further contextualised the subject in terms of the anthropologist's view[16]. In combination, an image and a text were a powerful way of determining how people were regarded by others (Michaels 1992:272). People in Karimpur were very aware of this power and wanted their photos to represent them favourably. Furthermore, if those photos were going to be included in books, as one person told me, they must be 'good' ones:

> If they have photographed poor people and these are published in a book it gives a bad image of Karimpur. This is harmful. If they present me on a screen as dirty and poor I am critical of them. We are not poor, bad or dirty people. If I have no clothes and you take my picture it is bad, it means that you don't love me.

While I did observe two anthropologists in Karimpur allowing the subjects to pose for their photos, this type of photograph does not always appear in books about the village[17].

2. A 'GOOD' PHOTO

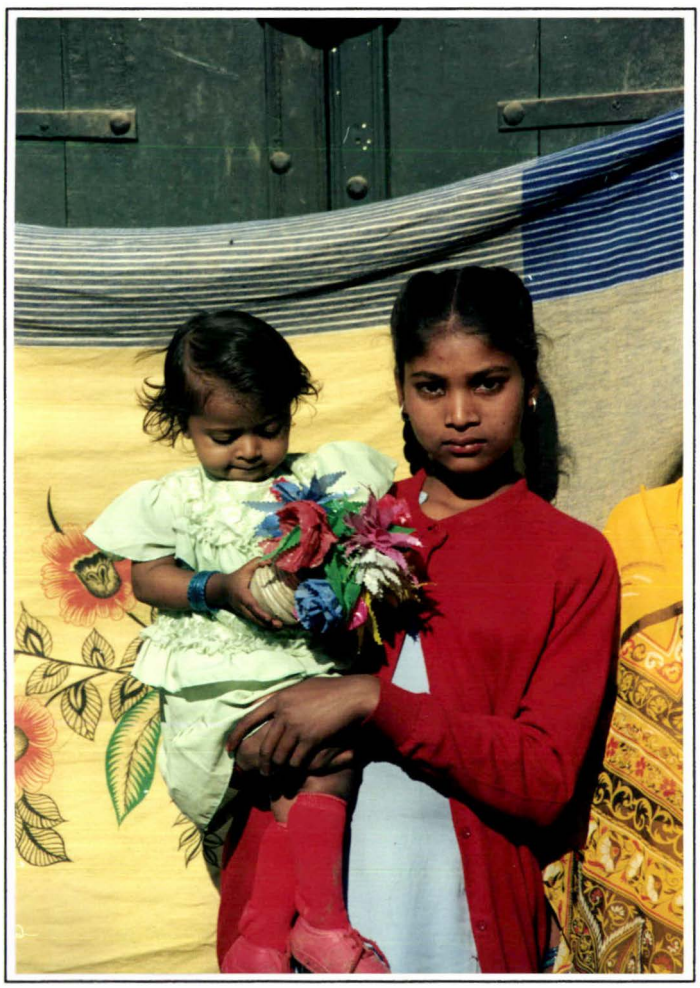
So what is it that makes a photo a 'good' one? Firstly, people always spent time getting ready to be photographed; they washed, brushed their hair and often put on their best clothes (if they had any). A village elder, blinded by cataracts, was lovingly dressed by his sons and told exactly where to look when he was photographed, and a young man wanting a photo for a'friend' (who I suspect was a potential bride), was dressed by male kin in clothes specially borrowed for the occasion. A man digging a well stopped work and made me wait while he washed his hands and put his shirt back on[18]. A woman who, only minutes before, had been crying about the fact she was pregnant with her tenth child, was photographed surrounded by her children, smiling. People wanted their photos to be 'good' ones, but what constituted a 'good' image varied according to gender, age, a person's position in the *jati* hierarchy, and individual need.

All the photos of women were taken in their own homes. This was because that was where, and how, they wanted to be photographed; if I met a woman at her neighbour's place she would specifically ask to be photographed at her own house, not her

neighbour's. Women in the village are referred to in kin terms rather than by their given name, and this 'non-naming', says Sue, has the the effect of denying their individuality. As a result, women become a series of kin roles (Wadley 1994:56), and their images illustrate this well; in almost every image women are pictured with their families. However, the pose a woman assumed and which of her kin she chose to be photographed with indicates something about her relationships with those people. In this photo 'mother' shows us which of these children are hers.

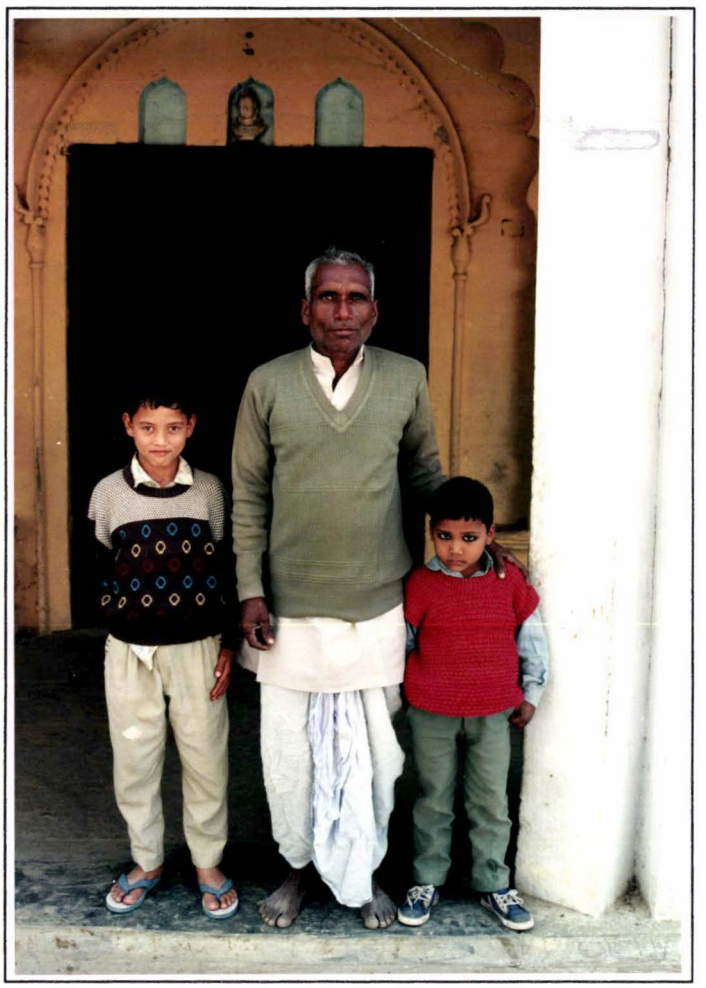
4.11 Mother and children.

While the large courtyards of wealthier houses provided ample room for extended family portraits, in poorer homes group portraits were taken on the front verandah. Mud or brick walls were not generally regarded as a suitable backdrop, and a *sari* or blanket was usually draped over it[19]. Women tended to hold small babies at a 45 degree angle so their faces could be clearly seen, which is indicative of the high infant mortality rate in Karimpur[20]. Women wanted to record a baby's existence in case it should die[21], and several mothers told me how important it was to have a photo of their youngest child.



4.12 Women wanted a photo of their youngest child.

People didn't sit for their portrait, but stood in lines[22], and these lines of people result in a photo with a "flattened picture field" which has multiple points of interest rather than a singular and central subject as in 'Western' images (Gutman 1982:4). To a 'Western' eye this has the effect of making the subjects look rather exaggerated, stiff, and unnatural (ibid:4,15), but this is not the way the subjects read their photos[23]. They were presenting their 'best sides'.



4.13 People wanted to present their 'best sides'.

While young cousins of the opposite sex would put their arms around each other, husbands and wives rarely did[24]. Usually they stood no closer than half a metre, a respectful distance maintained for the family who had gathered to watch, as well as for the subsequent viewers of the photograph. Out of shot, the neighbours, who had invited themselves into the house on some pretext, would watch the process and offer their advice on the composition of the next photo. They were just as keen to be involved in the process as the subjects themselves.

People from the lowest *jati* sometimes asked to be photographed in full sun, explaining that shadows make your skin look darker than it really is. This was an important consideration in a country where 'light' coloured skin is favoured over 'dark', and I

made a conscious effort to ensure that people were not photographed in shade. When a series of photos taken with a flash showed people with red eyes, I was told that these were 'bad' photographs because "nobody has eyes that colour". Because of this, all subsequent photos were taken using available light[25].

After the family portrait it was common for women to ask for a photo of sections of the family and a portrait of the youngest *bahu* (daughter-in-law / wife). In the latter case, they specifically asked for a full length shot. Some people believed that a photo of a person's head and shoulders might hide a physical deformity, but a full length shot served as a complete and 'honest' record of the person. However, a full length shot was also the perfect opportunity for a young bride to display her best *sari*, matching *chappals* (shoes), and jewellry to full advantage. As an in-law, and the newest addition to the family by marriage, the *bahu* is often positioned on the lowest rung of the family hierarchy, so I found it interesting that mother-in-laws often wanted a photograph of the *bahu* with her new family, as well as a portrait of her on her own. I suspect that many of these photographs will be used as evidence of the beauty of the young bride and of the good deal the family had negotiated through marriage. At a wedding, women pay a nominal sum to see the *bahu's* face, and then they are required to comment (favourably and loudly) on her beauty, but, for those who didn't attend the wedding, those photos may well be their first opportunity to 'see' the new bride. In most homes I had to wait while the *bahu* got herself ready, and often she took her time. First, she had to wash and plait her hair, and then she had to decide which *sari* she was going to wear. It seemed to take an age before she was finally ready, but by taking her time this young woman controlled for a short time the household in which she lived[26]. Whenever I photographed a *bahu*, older male members of the family and Nanhe would absent themselves, but the one time that men didn't leave voluntarily the *bahu* giggled selfconsciously until I asked the men to wait outside. Once they were gone, she quickly unveiled, confidently faced the camera, and smiled. The transformation astounded me.

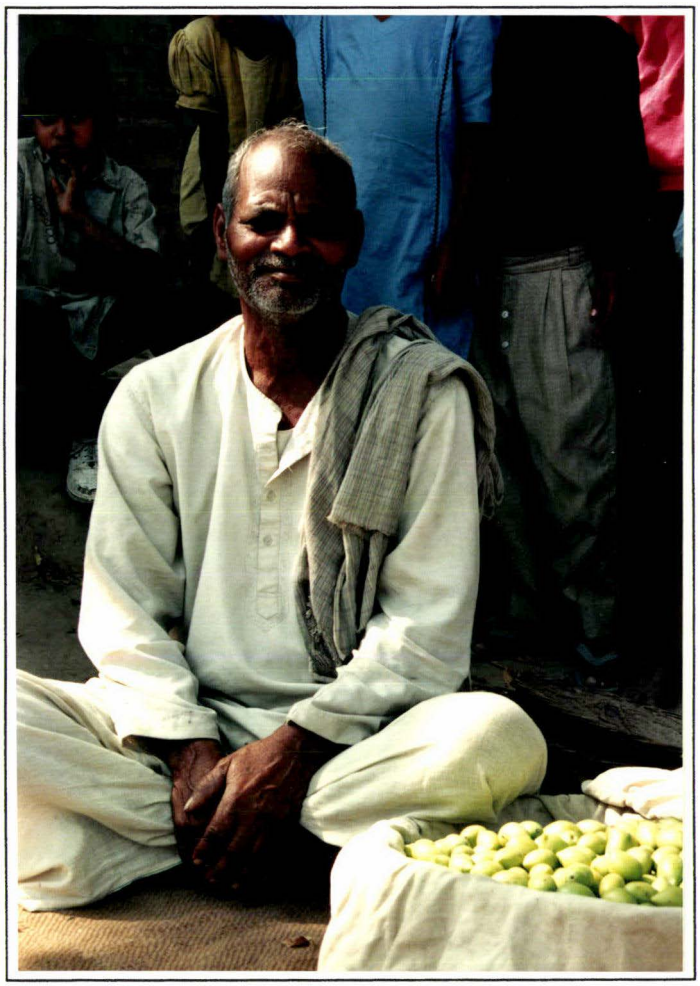
With colonisation, the frontal visage became preferred over profile portraits in both Indian paintings and photographs (Jhala 1993:181), and this influence may be read into the way that people posed for their photos in Karimpur: in every photo people faced the camera squarely[27]. If I moved to the side of a group, the group would all move with me. This direct gaze helps to reduce any voyeuristic tendencies the viewer might have; while you look at them, they meet your gaze, they look out at you, often to the point where, in some images, it seems as if the subjects are about to 'leap out of the frame' (see also Gutman 1982:7)[28]. Although a frontal view and a direct gaze can facilitate evaluation of a subject, knowing that people have gone to considerable effort to present themselves favourably viewers are more inclined to evaluate them positively, and this is exactly what the subjects of each photo expected viewers to do. While the frontal visage is now preferred throughout India, the preference for images of couples on their own, as depicted in Indian movies, was rarely shown: only two couples in Karimpur posed for a photo without their family lined up beside them. Photos

that varied from the norm were likely to attract unfavourable comments, as "Usha" found when she posed in the 1960's for a photo unveiled, in a silk *sari*, and with a bright plastic handbag. While she wanted to dress as a city woman, her mother-in-law refused to change out of her ordinary clothes to be photographed. As she pointedly told Charlotte (and her daughter-in-law), she wasn't going to look ridiculous and 'put on airs', she was a *village* woman and proud of it (Wiser 1978:207). While photographs of the *bahu* dressed in her best *sari* may not have been approved of the 1960's, they were common in 1995.

For a group of young girls, the experience of being photographed was a chance to play at being the film star. One afternoon three *brahman* daughters decided to get dressed up in their mother's *saris*, and then assumed poses reminiscent of the large and dramatic images of 'Bollywood' film stars seen on billboards outside the picture theatres in Mainpuri[29]. While Nita's pose emulates her favourite movie stars (women who escape the clutches of their families and fall in love with men of their choice), her mother stood for her portrait with her children lined up beside her.

4.14 Nita in her mother's sari.

Men were happy to be photographed with their families at home but, in contrast to women, some expressly asked to be photographed at work. Women would stop work to be photographed, but men often carried on (once they had washed themselves, adjusted their shirt, or rearranged their scarf). Thus, a farmer was photographed with his much prized cow, the *bhangi* (sweeper) was photographed with a partially completed basket, the off duty policeman had his photo taken astride a police motorbike, and Narain Teli, an *amrood* (guava) seller, was photographed with his basket of guavas near the *busistand* (bus stop) in the village. While several of these men were involved in a variety of jobs throughout the year, the job they chose to be photographed at was often their main source of income.



4.15 Narain Teli, the amrood (guava) seller.

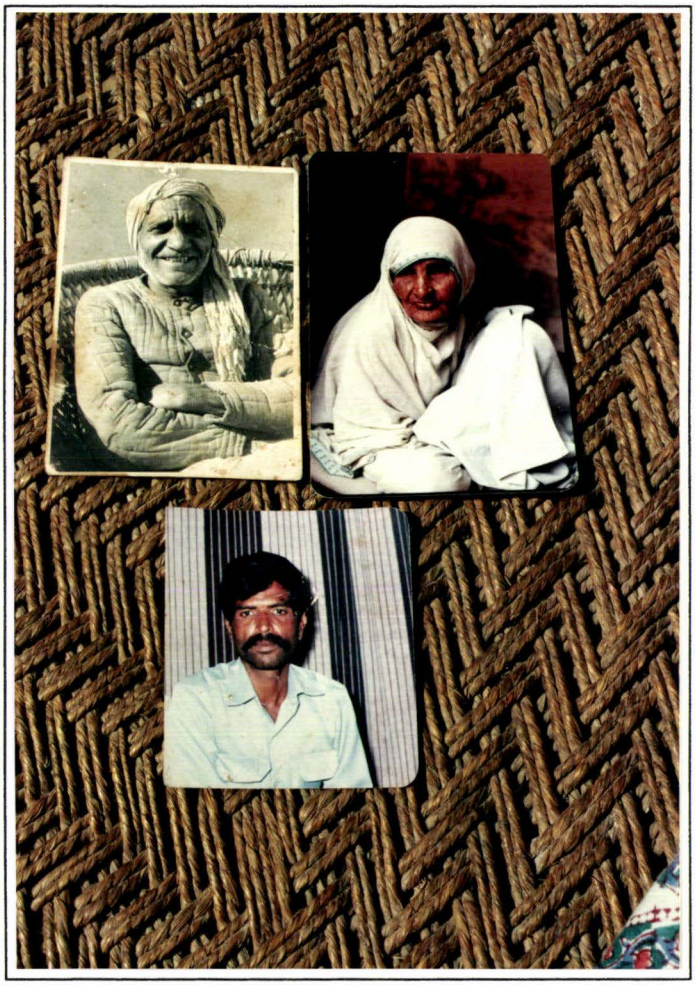
While men wanted to be photographed with the tools of their trade, or occasionally with friends, only once did a woman ask to be photographed with anything else apart from her family. After the usual family portrait, a young Muslim woman led me into a room off the courtyard of her small house, and there on the floor were her prayer rug and Koran, both beautifully lit by the sunlight which streamed in the window. She sat down on the rug and, as she began to read, she told me to take her photo.

Although this image represents one hundredth of a second of her life, it conveys a lasting message about a devout young Muslim wife who diligently reads her Koran every day.

4.16 A devout Muslim wife.

For one man, photos were a way of recreating past relationships. Umesh's uncle told me that what he really wanted was a photo of himself with his parents, but both his mother and father had died some years before. His solution was to produce three photos, and after he had carefully arranged them on a *charpai* (cot), I photographed him for the first time with his parents

While this photo reminds this man of his mother and father, for me it is a reminder of the history he and his family have with anthropologists. The black and white photo of his father was taken by Charlotte Wiser in the 1970's, the photo of his mother was taken a decade later by Susan Wadley, and the photo of all three images was created, in part, by a third anthropologist in 1995.



4.17 Three photos.

4.18 A record of the man.

Like other anthropologists working in India, I was called to photograph a man who had died[30]. In his lifetime of perhaps seventy years, the man who had died that morning had never been photographed, and therefore his family were anxious to record his image before his body was cremated later in the day. As I arrived at his home, I could see the man's female kin gathered around his body, crying, while his male kin talked quietly on the verandah of a neighbouring house. But this was not the scene the family wanted recorded. What resulted were several photos that included the man's brother, son and wife gathered at his head, while, out of shot, other more junior female kin supported his head and shoulders, thereby ensuring that his features would be recorded clearly. As I later realised, what his family wanted was a record of the man, not a record of his death.

When people in Karimpur show these photos to friends and family they will provide their own verbal captions. And their captions, like the written text I provided to accompany my photos of Shashi at the beginning of this chapter, will probably highlight the content of the image and circumstances in which the photo was taken. Because photos are "the most literal form of memento" (Cheal 1988:90), they will also be used to trigger the memory and recall "the time when..." After all, photos are a "snapshot" or a small history (Edwards 1994:1).

One experience which I will never forget, was being asked to take a photo of the *taonga*[31] drivers in Mainpuri. I should have noticed that on this particular afternoon these men were excessively happy, not only because I had offered to take their photo, but because some of them were decidedly drunk. A split second before I clicked the shutter, one of the men in the group pulled back his *lunghi*[32] and exposed himself. It was an embarrassing and humiliating experience made all the worse by the fact that the same man followed Clif and I down the narrow lanes to our house, harassing me to take more photographs. He wouldn't take no for an answer until one of our neighbours

finally managed to convince him that one photo really was enough. I learned there are times when you shouldn't offer to take photos. Another regret I have is that, because of the large number of photographs we took, it was beyond the bounds of my research budget to print more than a single copy of each. In the case of large group portraits, I know that more than one copy would have been appreciated.

CONCLUSIONS

The photos I took of people in Karimpur were not a 'point and shoot' exercise. People knew exactly what they wanted in a photo, and the images we created were used to illustrate family relationships, but will also serve as a record of a person's existence, 'good' health and 'good' character. While anthropologists have tended to think about their own needs for visual representation, it is time that they addressed the needs of the communities with whom they work. As I have shown, both sets of needs (the anthropologist's and the research participant's) can be met through a collaborative visual exercise, and such an exercise is not just a return gift, it can also become a complementary focus of anthropology.

These collaboratively constructed images illustrate that people in Karimpur have a desire to be favourably represented, and collectively their photos illustrate what it is that constitutes a 'good' image. What makes a photo a 'good' one is culturally contingent, but further defined by gender, age, the subject's position in the *jati* hierarchy, and individual need. In nineteenth century India, portraits sought to convey an inner core, not just a physical reality (Gutman 1982:25), but, in Karimpur in 1995, it is evident that men, women and children wanted to convey an *ideal inner core*[33]. While an image of a women fetching water from a well, or applying a fresh layer of dung to the floor of her courtyard may be more representative of her daily life, this was not the way that women wanted to be represented. The millions of snapshots in American photo albums (and in my own album) which are characterised by "conspicuous success, personal progress and general happiness" (Chalfen 1978: 99), illustrate that the people of Karimpur are not alone in wanting to be represented favourably. Although anthropology has classically been a seeing mechanism rather than a listening device (Faris in Edwards 1992:257), if anthropologists listened to their subjects' needs for representation they would hear that people in Karimpur (and beyond) want to be represented favourably. This has serious implications, not only for anthropologists wishing to represent them visually, but, as the sixth chapter shows, for representing them in texts.

4.19 Shashi in her red salvar kamiz.

Shashi sent me this photo while I was writing this dissertation. In her studio portrait she is wearing the red silk *salvar-kamiz* I bought for her in return for the afternoons she spent teaching me Hindi. The pants of her suit cover her ankles and her *dupatta* (scarf) is perfectly arranged, but this is a Shashi I don't quite know. Instead of leaning on a *charpai* in the doorway of her home avoiding her homework, she is posing at the door of a stranger's house. In two or three years a photo like this will circulate among the families of potential husbands, and, although Shashi would like a "love marriage" and a Government job, the likelihood is that her marriage will be arranged for her. She will probably never work for the Indian Government, and she will probably never marry her Romeo.

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[1] Shashi learned the story of Romeo and Juliet at school, and used to talk about how she and her 'boyfriend' were just like them because their families didn't speak to each other. Because of this, the only way Shashi and her Romeo were able to communicate was through letters.

[2] The father of Tom. Even though Shashi knew Clif wasn't Tom's father, she (and other people who knew) insisted I call him Tom *ki Papa*.

[3] Being able to provide a return no doubt helped to establish rapport, as other anthropologists have found when taking photos (see Scherer 1990:141-2).

[4] People who didn't want to be photographed said they already had enough photos (taken by anthropologists or by professional photographers in Mainpuri), or were too busy to be photographed.

[5] The language of photography abounds with words and phrases that are reminiscent of hunting and ownership (see Faris 1992: 254, Sontag 1984:14). Words such as *taking*, or *shooting*, are particularly inappropriate in light of the general theme of this paper.

[6] One roll of film was developed in India but, because of the poor quality of the prints, I decided to get the rest developed when I returned to Aotearoa.

[7] Margaret Blackman had the experience of being photographed by a "Nikon-toting Native Canadian" on the same reserve where as an anthropologist she had taken many photographs over the years. Margaret wondered what became of the image because "(l)ike so many powerless native subjects who faced the image maker" she was never offered a copy (in Banta 1986:12). The same feeling was expressed by a man I met in Agra who told me that many tourists had taken his photo and had promised to send him a copy, but they never did.

[8] Photos that have been *taken* can result in the symbolic possession of the subject, (Sontag 1984:14) but when photos are taken collaboratively there is an even greater ethical responsibility to care for these images. Hence the lengthy deliberation about which photos to include -if any.

[9] I am also aware that my unconscious preferences influenced the selection process. This is evidenced later in the framing of the photo of the young Muslim wife. The sunlight caught my eye, but may not have been a consideration in the construction of the image for the subject.

[10] Because of this practice, in nineteenth century India women photographers were employed to photograph women in purdah (Gutman 1982:105). Women will also veil out of respect for more senior women and on ritual occasions (Wadley 1994:53). When I returned photographs to Karimpur I sent them to Nanhe Khan my research assistant. He and I had discussed the problems of returning photographs of women, particularly *bahus*. Although Nanhe had lived in the village all his life, like most men he had not seen the faces of a majority of the younger women, and as a result would have problems giving the photographs to their rightful owners. To resolve this, when the photos were developed they were sent off in sequence. The photos on either side of the photo of a young bahu provided clues as to who she was, and where she lived. In the case of the photo of Nanhe's own daughter-in-law I sealed these in a separate sealed envelope and wrote a note on the outside telling Nanhe what was enclosed. Similar considerations were addressed when Michaels photographed indigenous Australian men's rituals, which must be kept secret from women in the community (Michaels 1992:264).

[11] See Pinney (1995) and Uberoi (1990) for further discussion of popular Hindu calendar art.

[12] A term for the prolific film industry based in the city of Bombay (now called Mumbai).

[13] Self portraits provide an effective method for understanding the self in interaction with "significant others", with materials and objects and with cultural ideas, beliefs and values (Kenney 1993:246).

[14] Which reiterates Boorstin's belief that some tourists go in search of predetermined images which they have seen in travel brochures, travel books and films (in Chalfen 1987:104).

[15] See Radcliffe-Brown's photo of a man of the Akar-Bale tribe with a South Andaman bow and arrows (in Ball 1992:8) as an example of this type of photograph.

[16] India was a "laboratory" for early anthropometric studies (Scherer 1990:144) in which subjects were photographed against a grid, often with tools associated their occupation or *jati*. For an alternative to a singular text see Hardin (1993) which provides three texts for each of ten images; her own anthropological view, that of the photographer, and Monica Mondeh-Gbegh's text, a health worker familiar with the people who were photographed. These three voices contextualise the images illustrating the different interpretations possible from one image.

[17] As I show later, every woman wanted to be photographed with their families, yet "Shanti's" photo in *Four Families of Karimpur* (Wiser 1978:16) shows her posing with her basket rather than with her family.

[18] Srinivas photographed several men and women removing silt from a canal. Afterwards, one of the women told him "(h)ad we known we were going to be photographed, we would have

worn our good saris" (1976:287). Like the people in Karimpur, this woman wanted to be represented favourably.

[19] Gutman notes how Indian photographs often lack a vanishing point. In these photos, a cloth often covers the vanishing point. To a Western eye this has the effect of compressing and flattening the subject (1982:15) making it two dimensional. However a third dimension does exist in Indian portraiture in terms of what or who is situated in the top half of the picture and their relationship to those below (see also Gutman 1982:55). In group photos, older people often stood behind younger members of the family, illustrating their age and seniority in the family.

[20] Between 1972 and 1984 the child mortality rate was 250 per thousand (Wadley 1994:14).

[21] Likewise, photos in American family albums provide a visual record of social networks and preserve those relationships "when people grow up, move away, or die" (Chalfen 1987:140-1).

[22] A format common in painted Indian portraits (Gutman 1982:146).

[23] As Gombrich notes, the eye is never naive (in Pinney 1995:100). These photos illustrate that seeing is culturally constructed.

[24] Gold and Raheja both found that while many young wives wanted to be photographed with their husbands, this was "an accustomed and strained pose for them to take" (Raheja and Gold 1994: xxxii). While popular Indian cinema emphasises the independence of a couple from the family unit, most women in Karimpur wanted to be photographed with their family.

[25] Although the "incendiary light" in India may have been frustrating for European photographers who wanted shadows in their photos, early this century Indian photographers rarely used them (Gutman 1982:71). Photographers, such as Hurrychand Chintamon, purposefully took photos after mid day to avoid shadows in their images (ibid:89).

[26] As noted in Sue's comments on this dissertation, both she and Bruce found they had to wait for men, women and children to dress for their photos and arrange themselves in the 'right' position. They found that photographing people was a long job, but one that did result in a gift that could be given back to all.

[27] The most important person in the group did not sit. Everyone stood. However in formal portraits taken in photographic studios in Mainpuri it was common for some members of the group (usually the older ones) to stand while more junior or those lower in the family hierarchy sat in front.

[28] This perception is compounded by the fact that I miss many of the people in those images. However, this composition is also echoed by posters of gods and goddesses in which the image is constructed in two distinct planes; a distant background and the god or goddess in the very immediate foreground. For the viewer, this facilitates a "proximity to the deity" (Pinney 1995:101).

[29] These billboards are enormous (approximately 7 by 10 metres), and because of their size and their "extraordinary visibility" they constitute an important part of the cityscape (Srivatsan 1991:3). Srivatsan argues that advertising discourses which use photography determine photographic practice (ibid:4 n), and this was particularly evident in Nita's pose.

[30] As Sue noted in her comments, she and Bruce were also asked to photograph people who had died. Bruce photographed their "beloved Januki, a shepherd and spiritual leader, to whom *Struggling with Destiny* is dedicated" and Sue photographed a *brahman* woman in the early 1990's when she was there on a short visit. While photographing a corpse is not usually regarded as appropriate in 'Western' countries, photos of deceased relatives were important to some Italian and Polish families living in the States (Chalfen 1987:92). It was also a common practice in Aotearoa at the turn of the century.

[31] Horse drawn cart.

[32] Length of material wrapped around the waist, worn by men.

[33] As Richard Handler so rightly points out, the culturally constructed values by which people live are not always "scientifically correct" (1993:73).

CHAPTER 5

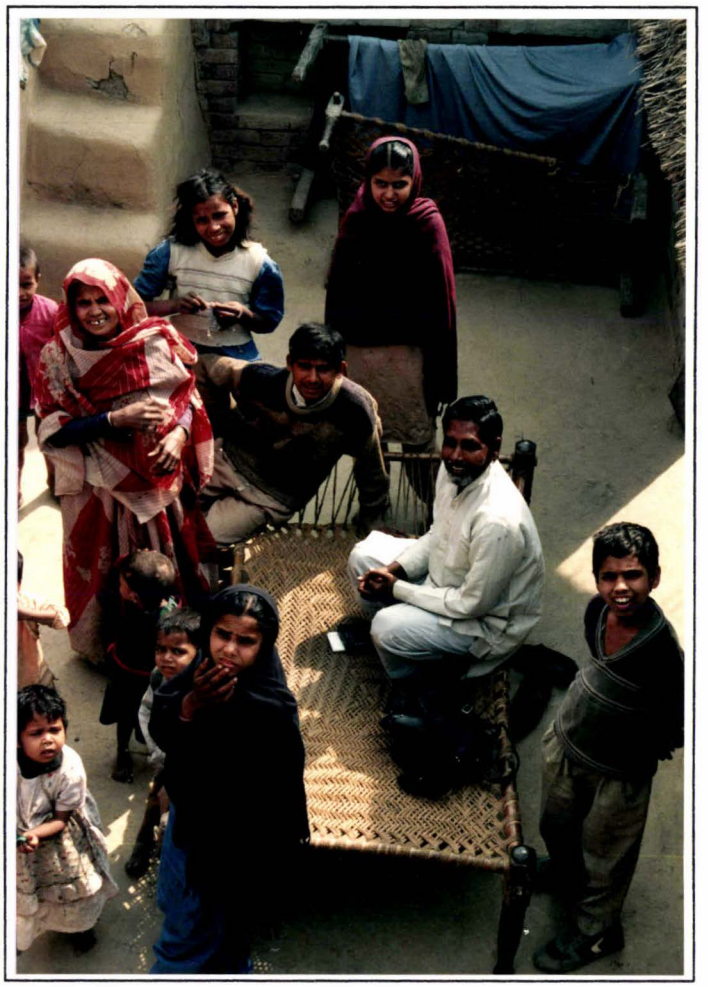
Research Assistants in Karimpur

"Ethnographers and their assistants together made anthropology" (Sanjek 1993:16).

Without the skills, teachings and guidance of research assistants, a lot of anthropology would have never been done. While it is usual to acknowledge the enormous contribution of research assistants in the preface of an ethnography, only rarely do research assistants become the subject of anthropological research[1]. As Sanjek notes "in no major treatment of the discipline (have they been) portrayed as fundamental to the history of the discipline" (1993:13), yet in Karimpur they have played an integral role in the process of data collection ever since anthropologists first came to the village. It was not only the anthropologists who made an anthropology of Karimpur, it was also their research assistants.

Although I have previously discussed their rates of pay and the type of work that research assistants did, I have chosen to discuss some of their experiences more fully in this chapter. There have been several types of research assistant working in Karimpur. As noted previously, the Wisers didn't pay people to gather data for them, but they did have assistants helping them dispense medicine and run errands when they first worked in the village. Sue and Bruce later employed assistants from Delhi and America, but like Sunil and myself, they also employed research assistants from Karimpur. It is on this latter category that I want to focus in this chapter.

Karim found that the people she worked with were "an observant people capable of their own reflexivity"(in Bell 1993:82), and I assumed this to be true, not only for research participants, but also of research assistants. It is the breadth and depth of their experience that makes them extremely competent commentators about the practice of anthropology and anthropologists. From experience and formal and informal interviews, I have constructed accounts of three research assistants: Nanhe Khan, Umesh Pandey, and Jageshwar Dubey. Umesh and Jageshwar were both *brahman* and Nanhe was from the *faqir jati*. While all three were born in Karimpur, only Nanhe lived in the village when I conducted my research; Jageshwar and Umesh lived and worked in Mainpuri. It should be noted that these three men are not intended to be representative of the total number of research assistants who have worked in Karimpur since 1925, but collectively their experiences highlight some of the advantages and disadvantages of working for anthropologists. Their suggestions about the future of anthropology deserve to be listened to and acted upon.



5.1 Nanhe Khan at work as a research assistant.

Nanhe Khan

This account is primarily based on a taped conversation Nanhe and I had towards the end of my stay in India. He asked me if I would interview him when we had finished interviewing people in Karimpur, and I readily agreed. After hearing the villagers speak about a particular subject, he would tell me how he was going to tell me more about that topic in his own interview. It was a compelling promise, and finally the day came for Nanhe to talk more comprehensively about his experiences with anthropologists and for me to listen. But besides hearing about his experiences with a range of anthropologists, I was keen to know what Nanhe thought about what people had said in the 104 interviews we had done. I was also keen to hear what he thought about responses to his questions on inter-*jati* relations. Neither of us had any structure to our conversation in mind before we began talking, but, ironically, the format for his interview was very similar to the one we used for interviews in Karimpur (without the prompting questions which by then we both knew so well). We had trained ourselves almost too well. To this interview I have added my own experiences and perceptions.

Nanhe Khan, the son of Rahim Khan, was born in Karimpur on the fifteenth of February, 1952. Although he grew up aware of the presence of anthropologists in his community, his first significant contact with them came when he was 16 years old. In 1968, Charlotte Wiser and her friend, a man called Mr. Clark, called at his home in Karimpur:

> In 1968, when I was in ninth class, Charlotte and her friend Mr. Clark, who lived in Kanpur, came to my house. My position at that time was not so good. At that time I had a very poor cycle and Charlotte asked my Mother: "Whose is this cycle?" I am not sure, but I think that Mr. Clark said "I will give a cycle to Nanhe" so that I could go to school in Mainpuri. It was a *Supreme* cycle, a very good one. From that time the help from Mrs. Wiser started for me; [I received money for] school fees and other expenses. She never gave me big help. I am sure that she loved me too much... [When I first met her] she gave me a hug and called me *beta* [son].
>
> When I completed my schooling I sat a big examination. Mrs. Wiser asked me what type of work do you want to do, technical or skilled work? She said that there was an Institute in Ludhipur....administrated by a friend of hers. That man was called Mr. Nave...Charlotte collected information from that Institute, gave me the papers and said choose any trade that you want. At that time I was just a village boy, but I am honest [hardworking] if someone helps me.

With Charlotte's help, in 1970 Nanhe attended the Technical Institute in Ludhipur, studying radio and television repair:

> At the Institute there were instructors from Japan and England. They did not know one Hindi word. It was a hard time for me. After six months I didn't understand and I got zero in my examinations. My [report] card said zero, zero, zero. Mr. Nave asked what the problem was. At that time all instruction was in English. A *Nepali*[2] person said write from this magazine.

By copying words he learned to write English, and then progressively learned to speak it.

> I completed [the final qualifying] examination after 2 years with an 80 percent pass. It was a golden chance for me to be with these English people. From 1971 I began[3].

Although Nanhe was now trained in radio and television repair, he needed to find work:

> I had no money, finances were bad. I asked for an appointment with friends of Mrs. Wiser in Delhi; Mr. and Mrs. Wilcox....*Mem sahib* [Charlotte] said I was of good habit. A Mr. Hendricks said "Do you want to work in a factory?", but Mrs. Wiser said "You don't want work like that". I respected Mrs. Wiser...I worked in a car market in Delhi for Rs 150 per month in 1971. Money was given by Mrs. Wiser, Rs 150 per month as well... Mrs. Wilcox sent this pocket money but Mrs. Wiser was the base of this help. So I started.

Four years later, he met Sue Wadley who was making her second trip to the village:

> In 1975, I met Sue. I transcribed *dhola* and collected information. I earned enough money to buy a sewing machine, but didn't buy one. I used the money for a new room on my house.

Having a *pucca* (well maintained) house was important to Nanhe and he was justifiably proud of the home he owned. He told me that owning a house, rather than renting it, gave his family stability and security because no one could evict them. Nine years later, in 1984, Nanhe worked for Sue and her husband, Bruce, this time for ten months. With the money he earned, he made further alterations to his house and, with a loan from Sue, started his own business. Tucked away in the narrow lanes of Mainpuri's Sitaram market is Nanhe's shop: *Noor Radio House,* one of a dozen shops in the city which repair and sell transistor radios and cassette players.

> [In 1984] I also worked with Bruce collecting farming information and I collected *kachi* [cultivator] and *dhuna* [cotton carder] interviews. I did not collect information from *brahmans*[4]. At the time I did not have much time to help. But I did help at night by transcribing [interviews] into Hindi. I collected data on disease and about the number of children born. They [Sue and Bruce] wanted to know which month was dangerous [in terms of health] for the people and which month there was a shortage of food. To be frank, at that time I needed the money. My father was alive then, but he was a simple labourer.

Although Nanhe was grateful for the opportunity to work for Sue, it was during this visit that their relationship changed.

> In 1984 she was quite different. Maybe she had a heart problem.... I read the face of Sue, it was very different in 1975 and 1984. She was not so happy in 1984. Once I arranged a dinner party for Susan. She did not come. She sent Bruce and Huma Ahmed [a research assistant from Delhi who collected women's life histories]. She thought that because she was living with *brahmans* she was *brahman.* I never mind these things. But from that day things were slightly different between Susan and me[5].

Despite this perceived change in Sue and the change in their relationship, Nanhe often told me how his "roots" depended upon her. He told me how he would always be grateful to Sue for the loan which enabled him to start his business and for the work she gave him. He knew that without her help he would not have "progressed", and for that he was extremely grateful.

But one of the aspects of his work that he didn't enjoy was transcribing tapes that contained people's "secrets". Nanhe didn't think it was good for Karimpur that anthropologists collected these secrets because:

> The secrets can be told to others. When I found this out [that anthropologists collect secrets] I was very upset. Susan collected information about me, the character of Nanhe, the character of Nanhe's mother. I was very angry. When I wrote [transcribed] that cassette I found this out. It was too

> late to do anything about it. She collected very deep things. For example she collected sex information. Would you ask women how many times they meet with their husbands? There are some women who will give away their secrets for money. Susan knows how many women are corrupt [are sex workers] in Karimpur in 1984. She knows how many men are corrupt [how many have sex with these women] in Karimpur in 1984.

Nanhe is not the only research assistant working for an anthropologist in India to be shocked at the 'explicit' stories that anthropologists collect. His embarrassment in transcribing these 'secrets' parallells the reaction of Gold's research assistant, Raheja, who, when translating Rajasthani folk songs, found them to be so obscene that he couldn't transcribe them (Raheja 1994:xxx). Although Sue may have collected data about sex workers and their clients, and data about how many times women have sex with their husbands, to my knowledge this information has never been published. Neither has anything been published about Nanhe's or his mother's character. However, the fact that this information hasn't been published doesn't negate Nanhe's concern that, one day, it might be made public.

Besides working for Sue, Nanhe and his family provided food and accommodation for one of Sue's research assistants, Huma Ahmed, a Muslim woman from Delhi. Although he was paid for this, he found it difficult to provide adequately for her when she was staying in his home.

> In 1984 a student of Susan's came to work in Karimpur. She came from a rich family and was unmarried. Susan paid her for data collection and arranged for her to stay with me because the *brahmans* had refused to wash her pots because she was Muslim. But even the *brahmans* washed Susan's pots. I bought *ghi* [clarified butter], meat and eggs for her. Susan gave me Rs 400 per month to feed her[6], but it was not enough. She lived with my family during the rainy season and it is hard for rich people to live with poor people.

Nanhe mentioned that during the rainy season there was a flood in the house and water rose to half way up the leg of the *charpai* that Huma slept on. Although this was something that he and his family coped with during the worst monsoons, it was not what she was used to. While Nanhe felt a responsibility to be a good host, he was unable to live up to the standards he set for himself.

Nanhe and Huma were not the only Muslims to work for anthropologists in Karimpur. The Wisers employed a Muslim cook named Bashir in the 1960's, who was later employed by Sue in 1974-5, and again in 1983-4. He, unlike Huma, lived in the Pandey household and Nanhe was upset about this. He couldn't understand some of the distinctions that were made between the cook, himself and Huma, especially when all three were Muslim.

> Susan had a teacher, a sweeper, a *dhobi*, four research assistants, a driver, and a cook. She put a lot of money into Karimpur. Her cook was an old man who wanted to get lots of money any way he could. He said that

> buffalo meat was goats meat. He told me to eat [at Sue's house] behind closed doors, but I never did this. I ate with Susan and Bruce. He was a Muslim cooking in a *brahman* house. It made him angry to see me eating with the anthropologists when he had to eat separately[7].

But besides working for Sue and Bruce, Nanhe also worked for Sunil Khanna, not as a paid research assistant but, as Sunil pointed out in his comments on this dissertation, as an unpaid "important community link[8]". Sunil's relationship with Nanhe was established largely on the basis of Sue's prior links to the Muslim community in Karimpur, and Nanhe used his influence to persuade women to talk to Sunil and to let him measure them and their children.

> I met Sunil Khanna in 1994 and helped him measure Muslim women for a health analysis. By that type of work you can find out about your health. It was good work. He prescribed tonics for women [who were pregnant], and their children are now healthy. Some women were shy [about being measured] and for them a woman anthropologist is compulsory. Women anthropologists can measure everything...

Finally, Nanhe also worked for me. As I noted in the third chapter, I first met him in February 1994 when trying to buy a spinning top for my son in Karimpur. Payment was then a concern for many people, including myself, but Nanhe was the person in the crowd who gently suggested that "not everything had to be bought". I met him again several days later on a shopping trip to Mainpuri. Sue's driver was at the wheel of the white Ambassador car, Umesh sat in the front, and Nanhe and I in the back. The three of us —Umesh the Hindu, Nanhe the Muslim and myself the 'Christian'— had an animated discussion about the merits of our own religions all the way to the city and it was through this conversation that I discovered that, although my upbringing had been agnostic, in India I was more Christian than Hindu or Muslim. After all, I had grown up celebrating Christmas and Easter, not *Ramadan*[9] or *Holi*. Both Nanhe and Umesh clearly enjoyed practising their theological arguments on me, as much as I enjoyed discussing mine with them, but Nanhe was surprised to find that I was happy to discuss religion; in his experience not all anthropologists were as willing. Religion later became a source of gentle humour between Nanhe and I. When confronted with someone who wanted to talk passionately about all of their favourite Hindu gods, I would comment later that "there is only one God isn't there, Nanhe?" and he would grin in agreement. As monotheists in a predominantly polytheistic society, it was a belief we shared, but as I later discovered when doing his C.V., we also shared something else in common; although he was seven years older than me, we had the same birthday.

On my second trip, I met Nanhe when arranging to hire a car through one of his friends. He told me that we really should rent a car for the duration of our stay, not just for the day as we planned, but he also told me I should be doing research in Karimpur every day, like Sue did. It was clear that Nanhe had an experience of anthropologists,

as well as a few expectations about how they should behave. Towards the end of that first month I employed him as my research assistant and it was then that he told me that if I wanted to work in Karimpur I must help the people. It was an extremely pertinent piece of advice, for, as Chapter Three shows, "help" is an important aspect of the relationships that many people have with anthropologists in Karimpur. Nanhe worked for me for the duration of my second trip, teaching and guiding me, organising things, translating, advising, and interviewing. While I wanted to talk to people about anthropologists, I also wanted them to speak about what was important to them and record the context in which those conversations took place. This resulted in a much slower process of data collection than Nanhe was used to. Because it took time to conduct interviews this way and because I had to learn to operate in a new environment, I'm sure that at times Nanhe thought I was lazy. He also thought that I should have contributed more to one *brahman* wedding than I did, an expectation that was based on what previous anthropologists had given[10]. Every day we worked in the village he would call at my house in Mainpuri and escort me to Karimpur since, because I was a woman (without a car), he felt that I shouldn't travel on my own. As we walked to the *busistand* (bus stop), we would talk about the previous day's work, the latest village gossip, our families, our lives, our hopes and our dreams. Nanhe soon became not only my research assistant but my 'brother' and close friend.

As his employer, I was concerned that his work with me should fit in around his responsibilities to his business and family. Nanhe had a quiet pride in himself, his family and his business, neither of which were misplaced. Once "a poor village boy"he was a successful businessman with a wonderful wife (whom he once called his "Miss India") and six children who he proudly called the "flowers of his garden". Married in 1972, Nanhe was the primary income earner for a household of ten people: not only did he support his wife and children, but he also supported his mother and daughter-in-law. Because Nanhe had to work in his shop in Mainpuri, he wasn't available to work with me everyday so we agreed that he would work when he could, but not on Fridays, his day of prayer. I chose Sunday as my day off. During the month of Ramadan he fasted during the hours of daylight, and we agreed that if he ever felt tired or needed a break he must ask. In the initial stages of his fast he was often hungry and tired, but not once did he ask for time off.

Although I paid Nanhe for his work, there were times when I disliked doing so; the value of his anthropological skills and knowledge far exceeded the standard Karimpur rate of payment and what I could afford to pay. But, because we were close friends, money often felt like an inadequate and sometimes cold way of repaying him, yet at the same time I knew how much the extra income meant to Nanhe and his family. Nanhe decided to use the money he earned to extend his business; he repainted *Noor Radio House,* bought stocks of watches and clocks, installed a new glass counter, and *Noor Radio House* became *Noor Radio and Watch House.* It was an important day for us both when the renovations were completed and Nanhe began repairing and selling watches and clocks as well as radios. To both our delight, business continued to in-

crease to the point where he was able to employ his oldest son who had been working in an unsatisfactory and poorly paid job in Delhi. Nanhe thanked me for making all that possible, but I told him that he had earned every rupee it took to remodel the shop and expand his business. He had.

Nanhe had far more experience in interviewing than I did, and for much of the time I was in awe of just how much he knew. I often felt like his pupil, not his employer. When I was devising a list of questions for the interviews we were going to do, he told me he wanted to add his own questions about *jajman-kamin* relations and the power of the *brahmans*, two subjects which were of particular interest to him[11]. I enthusiastically agreed, and our combined questions became the basis for interviews. Hutheesing points out that a two-way learning process between the anthropologist and the researched can enhance the social awareness of both partners (in Bell 1993:94), but the same applies to a two-way learning process between an anthropologist and their research assistant. My relationship with Nanhe was, like Gold's relationship with her research assistant, Bhoju, a relationship of "double-directioned authority" (1992:81): while Nanhe might have worked for me as a research assistant, I knew him as one of Karimpur's indigenous anthropologists.

Nanhe, as a Muslim from the relatively low *jati* of *faqirs*, was also very aware of the dynamics of working in a job which some *brahmans* believed to be theirs. Sue had previously employed *brahmans* to interview *brahmans* and members of lower *jati* to interview *sudra*, but I employed Nanhe to interview everyone, regardless of *jati* or gender[12]. We were both aware that some *brahmans* might resent him interviewing them and that some women might resent a man interviewing them, but to our surprise none did. One *brahman* told Nanhe that he was extremely clever because he had got him talking about things that he never intended to discuss. Because of the delicate and potentially damaging nature of what he said, we promised not to use his name, but Nanhe was pleased to know that he was regarded as a worthy listener.

However, Nanhe's position in the *jati* hierarchy was often made apparent. At most houses I was expected to sit at the head of the *charpai* (cot), while Nanhe was expected to sit at the lower end or on the floor. If I suggested changing these seating arrangements, people would protest to the point where interviewing became totally impossible. In one *brahman* house, I was offered an unglazed (disposable) pottery cup of *chai* while Nanhe was served his in an unglazed saucer. This surprised me because I expected us both to be classified as *untouchable* by higher *jati* and was uncomfortable that any distinction was made *between* us[13]. Nanhe noticed these differences in the way we were treated, but accepted them. I put up with them but, like Nanhe, was never really happy about it. I regarded him as infinitely more knowledgeable and deserving of respect than I was, but my criteria for judgment were not those used in the *jati* hierarchy.

People's reactions to my working with Nanhe varied. The first time he came to visit

our house in Mainpuri there were some decidedly strange looks from a couple of the neighbours who were shocked to see a Muslim in their alleyway, but those same people reacted in a similar way when the Kenyan students first called to see us. Muslims were, it would seem, just as visible as black Kenyans. The policeman on duty near the *busistand* always said hello as Nanhe and I passed by, but on days when I went to the village with Clif and Tom he was more than delighted to see me. He told me how beautiful I was when I was with my family, implying that it was not really appropriate for me to be seen 'alone' with Nanhe. As I saw Nanhe as my 'brother' I never felt uneasy in his presence, nor he in mine, and as Kumar notes:

> It is easy for most men to get along with strange women in the role of elder brother. Your brother has the freedom to come to you at any time, seek advice and hospitality, sit at loose ends for hours in your home, bring his children over to meet their aunt, consult about his job and miscellaneous affairs (Kumar 1992:241).

Because he was usually too busy with his business in Sitaram market, Nanhe never sat around for hours on end at our house, but he did bring his family to visit and sought our advice and hospitality. I was honoured that he did. When the month of *Ramadan* came to an end, Nanhe's wife made us an *Eide*[14] meal which was delivered by Nanhe and the "flowers of his garden", all dressed in their best clothes. It was one of the best meals we had in India, made all the more enjoyable because we shared in the joy of the festival. In return we gave Nanhe a large basket of fruits and sweets which were shared among the Muslims in Karimpur in a communal meal.

Towards the end of our stay, Nanhe stayed at our house to translate taped interviews. After being told by Sue's cook some years before that he should eat separately from anthropologists, he was unsure as to whether he would be eating with Clif, Tom and I. Both Clif and I were adamant that he should eat with us, which he did, and he became a part of our household and our world. I put a bowl of fresh fruit in Nanhe's room every day that he stayed, but one night, because of a power cut, I inadvertently put a potato in the fruit bowl along with the apples and bananas. We both laughed about how I would never learn to be the perfect Indian hostess.

If I asked Nanhe to tell me about his experiences with other anthropologists, I thought it only fair that I ask him what he thought of Clif and I. My question was a difficult one considering I had asked him to comment on his 'sister', his employer and someone sitting in front of him, but his answer was an astute one:

> I do not know what you have in your heart. You are very useful for me and I will find out later if you are good or bad. If you love me afterwards [after you have left India] then you really love me and are not selfish. Money is not everything. Later, when you are in New Zealand, if you remember me then you are a good person.

Reserving judgment, until he saw how I related to him after I had left India, was a wise move considering that then I would no longer need him (professionally) as much as I did at the time. Remembering him and caring about him afterwards was the true

test of our relationship.

I miss Nanhe. He wrote to me telling me that he had dreamed about me many times since I left, and I wrote back telling him how in my culture we think about the people we miss. He is often in my thoughts, and until we meet again writing to each other helps bridge the gap and maintain our friendship. I know he cherishes the letters he receives from anthropologists and keeps them long after he has received them. Likewise I treasure the letters he sends me:

> In the Name of ALLAH, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
> Dear Sister,
> I received a lot of letters, the present and certificate[15], but I am sorry that I was unable to write my answer for you. Please excuse me. We are all well here and I hope that it is the same for you. My work is going well. I have good quality wrist watches for sale and wall clocks also. You asked if you could write a chapter about me. Yes, you can write without hesitation, but it must be favourable for me. I have all your letters in my file. Really I am not worthy for this much love which is given by you. When I read the letters I forget myself. I pray to GOD please give me much power, that much money or wings so that I can reach you.
> Everything is going well. Think about me sometimes.
> Give my Namaste to Mr. Clif, and love, every day, to Tom and his sister.
> Thanking you
> Your poor brother,
> Nanhe Khan.

Our correspondence maintains our relationship until we can see each other again. Like Mayer's letters to his "Rajput nephews", my letters and Nanhe's contain expressions of affection and general support (1975:41).

I was keen to ask Nanhe what he thought were the benefits and disadvantages of working for anthropologists. Having worked for four different anthropologists, he was well qualified to comment:

> The main thing about the good side is money and love at the same time. Without love you cannot work. People in the village think that because I work for anthropologists I have a lot of money. Anthropologists can't give to everybody and those people are jealous of me. I also get tired of being in the middle. People ask me "please ask *Mem sahab* for these things". If I refuse then those people get angry and this is bad for me. If I bring people to you [who want something], you anthropologists may get angry. From both sides it is a problem. If an anthropologist says no to a request that brings problems.

Aware of his being in the middle, between the anthropologist and requesting villagers, I tried to ensure that Nanhe was the conveyer of requests not a judge of need. In addition, I tried to make it clear that if I was angry about the umpteenth request of the day, then I was not angry with Nanhe for delivering it. But, despite these measures,

being in the middle, between anthropologist and research participants, is a difficult and tiring part of being a research assistant, which is reiterated later by Umesh. I remember one woman telling me that Sue was going to send her a tape recorder from America, but said that Nanhe had never given it to her. She inferred that Nanhe had kept the recorder for himself. Knowing the inefficiency of the Indian postal service and Nanhe's honesty, the parcel probably never arrived, but this woman, and others in the village, thought that sometimes research assistants were responsible for keeping what was not rightfully theirs. For some, this was a way of keeping face when they had not received what they asked for but, regardless of the truth of these accusations, as Nanhe says, these disputes affected his name in the village. They are what makes the job of being a research assistant difficult. Once, when people came requesting help at his house, Nanhe told Clif he felt like saying "Why don't you ask *Mem sahib* herself", but *'Mem sahib'* is not always there, and she is not always perceived as accessible as the research assistant or their family. However, despite Nanhe's family having to field requests, they were proud to be associated with anthropologists:

> They [my family] respect the guest. My wife and my mother treat them very honestly. They are very happy that anthropologists are here. So many people see us [Nanhe and anthropologists] together and my family are proud of this.

Parents in India usually have to pay for their children's school fees, uniforms and books, and in many cases these expenses are beyond the means of poorer families. The Wisers and Sue have both provided money for schooling expenses for a number of Karimpur children, and Nanhe operated an account on Sue's behalf, distributing money to the parents of children she supports as their expenses came due. This work helped pay off the remainder of his loan from Sue, but was a task which has its downside because people often came to him with demands for money or asked for loans, purposes for which the money was never intended. While he was happy to do this work, once again he was in the middle:

> Some student's expenses are paid through me: expenses such as school fees, books and uniforms. Susan asked me to give this money out slowly [as these expenses come due]. But people ask me for it and it is my duty to confirm what they need this money for...It is a very hard job...People think that this money is given to me, when it is given for school fees for other people. Once Susan gave a *kachi* family Rs 500 and the woman of this family said that the money had been stolen. I am not sure if it was. You are great anthropologists but it is hard for me to maintain myself in this society.

Nanhe was keen to read the copy of Sue's book (Wadley 1994) that I took to Karimpur. While he was interested to see what anthropologists did with the data he had collected, he was angry to discover that Sue had translated the name of his *jati (faqir)* as beggar (1994:15), but she is not the only anthropologist to have done so (see also Wiser 1936:xix). Nanhe was angry about this translation because he translated *faqir,* not as

beggar, but as a saint or holy person. For him, the distinction was an important one. He told me:"I have never begged, my father never begged, and my grandfather never begged for anything in his life". It is clear that anthropological writing does not have to be "explicitly sinister" to detrimentally affect the subjects of research (Berger 1993:76). Being "imprisoned inside the misinterpretation...of others can be a withering form of incarceration" (Smith in Gilliam 1992:290), even when that misinterpretation was unintentional. Nanhe had this to say about Sue's book:

> I have not read it all. The definition of *faqirs* is totally wrong. Anthropologists must change this, both definitions should be included. I know that some men define it as beggar, but *faqir* does not always mean beggar. *Faqir* means a saint or a holy person. *Brahmans* treat *faqirs* as beggars and this I never like. Therefore there is great opposition for me in Karimpur....If people [in Karimpur] read these books then they could correct it.

At his own instigation, Nanhe wrote to Sue and told her his feelings about the use of the term beggar[16].

While this translation upset Nanhe, there are other words in books about Karimpur which may also upset him. While the Wisers spoke about the people of the *manihar* (bangle seller) *jati* as living in two "well kept houses","*fakirs*" (sic) were described as a "gay happy-go-lucky crowd" who lived "sordid, meagre lives" in "crowded huts" (1963:34)[17]. Muslim officials told the Wisers that they thought *faqirs* had lost their Muslim identity and were converts from the lower Hindu *jatis* (Wiser 1963:33), and the Wiser's Muslim cook scorned them and didn't think they were "proper Muslims" (ibid). Despite representing the people of Nanhe's *jati* this way, it was Charlotte who hugged Nanhe when she first met him, and arranged training and work for him. While the Wisers were told that *faqirs* were not proper Muslims, I found Nanhe and his family to be among the most devout people I have ever met -of any religion.

As I have mentioned, in the interviews we did together, Nanhe wanted to ask people about *jati* relations. After listening to people's responses, this is what he had to say.

> *Brahmans* think that they are the best. Nowadays there is a big difference between the upper and lower castes. *Brahmans* never think of Muslims as another religion, they always think of them as a lower caste Hindu. They are jealous. Without education you cannot find these things out. I have consulted with a [Muslim] holy man, [and] the degree [of status] of a person in Muslim society is according to prayer. A high level Muslim prays hard. A beggar can be on the first line and a Prime Minister can come after him.

Nanhe's view of the world was very much a Muslim one, which he applies to his perception about ideal social relations in Karimpur. He told me that, regardless of your position in society, no Muslim can enter heaven if they have debts, which is, in part, the reason he was keen to pay back Sue's loan. For him, status was something you earned through your actions and your relationship with God, it was not something that is ascribed at birth. Nanhe thought that more should be written about the

Muslim families in Karimpur:

> Anthropologists should talk to lots of people and get lots of people to read your work. If you have a small chapter on *brahmans* anthropologists will be in trouble[18]. Please try and write about religion; about Muslim *and* Hindu specialists. There are 25 Muslim families in Karimpur[19] and not enough is written about them. Most Muslims in Karimpur are not qualified. My father was not educated and the work that he did was bad for him... A lack of qualifications means that you can't understand. People will learn and then there will be a great revolution in our society.

While Nanhe was aware that for Hindus "all distinctions emanate from and return to Brahmin (sic)" (Khare 1993:196), from his perspective there was still much to be researched about the Muslim community in the village. Van de Veer believes that the anthropology of India has been based upon a politics of difference, which centred largely on caste and religion and relied heavily on brahmanical discourse[20] (in Breckenridge 1992:1) and, although Sue worked consciously to negate this trend, there is still an emphasis in the literature on Karimpur on Hindus rather than on the followers of Islam. Although Muslims were only 6.49 percent of the total population in 1984 (Wadley 1994:15), Nanhe suggests there is an imbalance in the literature which should be rectified. This would appear to be an important focus of future research, particularly if the differences between Hindu and Muslim are growing (Wadley 1994:247).

Expanding on his ideas about status Nanhe had this to say:

> One *brahman* I know reads the *Bhagavad Gita* and *Ramayana* [Hindu holy books], but his brother was a gambler. Some *non-brahmans* do not drink, therefore they are *brahman*. The way you behave makes you *brahman*. They never like me to sit on the same *charpai* [cot] as them. I tell them that my house is made by my own money and therefore you can't do anything to me or for me. If you interview *brahman* women then they must respect you. In some *brahman* houses the women do not give any respect to me. They think that they are rich and *brahman*...The *jajmani* system does not exist. There are some successful people from the lower castes that think like me...I have never liked being treated like a lower caste person. Once my younger son was invited to a party at a *brahman* house. The *brahmans* were eating in the courtyard and the *sudra* were eating outside. When my son saw this he came home. He said..."from now on I will refuse this type of invitation". I said "Please relax, it will be different soon".

As people in Karimpur were aware, the *jajmani* system was able to function partly because people were illiterate and poor. While literacy increases *samajhna* [understanding], it also increases the chances of finding employment, and Nanhe was well aware of this from his own experience.

Nanhe also commented about the future of anthropology in the village:

> Any anthropologist comes to Karimpur to study. They cannot stay long

> [because they can't afford to]. But it would be good if you lived in the village and didn't work for one to two months.
> Mandy: Should there be any changes to what anthropologists do in the village?
> Whenever you come you treat me well. If you have family problems of your own these shouldn't affect the way that you treat me.
> Mandy: What is the future of anthropology in the village?
> Because lots of anthropologists have been here it is difficult for them to work here. If they come here then they must live in the village. It is more difficult if they live in Mainpuri.

Nanhe thought that I should have lived in Karimpur, not Mainpuri. There was an assumption, on the part of some *brahmans*, because Charlotte and William built the house now occupied by the Pandey family, that all anthropologists would stay there, but I did not want to be associated primarily with *brahmans*, nor did I necessarily want to be associated with other anthropologists. While Nanhe thought I should have lived in the village, he knew that living with *brahmans* had its disadvantages. His reference to how anthropologists must include a chapter on the *brahmans* highlights the fact that obeisance must be paid to the powerful[21], and he understood why I visited two *brahman* families every time I went to Karimpur, but despite this he thought that anthropologists:

> must live in their own house; not with *brahmans* or with *sudra*. The Charlotte Wiser house is difficult to live in for anthropologists.

Mainpuri offered my family facilities which were not available in Karimpur, but living in the city meant that I could maintain distance between myself and what at times felt like streams of constant requesters. But, in living in Mainpuri, I had allegiances to my neighbourhood and patron which at times conflicted with the research I was doing in Karimpur. One day, when Nanhe and I arranged to interview people in Karimpur, Clif and I were also invited to an integration rally. Subba Rao, a disciple of Gandhiji, was travelling by train through India with a group of 300 students from 20 states, spreading a message about unity in diversity and tolerance of ethnic and religious differences. On the thirty first of January at 9 a.m., he and his party were arriving in Mainpuri and we were invited to listen to the speeches at the Post Graduate Girls College. I was told that by 10 o'clock the rally would be finished, allowing me time to travel to Karimpur to meet with Nanhe who would be waiting there at 11 a.m..

Clif and I listened to the speeches, lit a candle in recognition of the goal of the rally, but were then obliged to stay for lunch, pose for photos and sign innumerable autographs for the students. I knew that this was a necessary public appearance, and an important occasion for the city, but by 1p.m. I was desperate because it looked like the rally was never going to end. There was no way of sending a message to Nanhe to let him know I was going to be very late. He was always so punctual and I felt that I had let him down badly. When I finally found him at his shop in the middle of the afternoon I was still upset. As I tried to explain what had happened, he gently told me that I was tired

and he would get me a cup of tea. He understood that I couldn't leave, but the memory of the day serves to remind me of the variety of complex obligations anthropologists have, obligations that cannot always be met, no matter how hard you try.

After working with several anthropologists, Nanhe had a thorough understanding of the costs of research. He thought that:

> In the future it will be difficult to work in Karimpur because there are so many costs[22]. You must bring money with you. Sue and Charlotte started with this problem and other anthropologists must do the same [they must face the fact that anthropologists must help the people and that this will cost money].

Nanhe knew that anthropologists should help those in need but, unlike many research participants, understood that it wasn't always possible for them to do this. I asked him what he thought was the best form of help and whether people in the village could also help themselves:

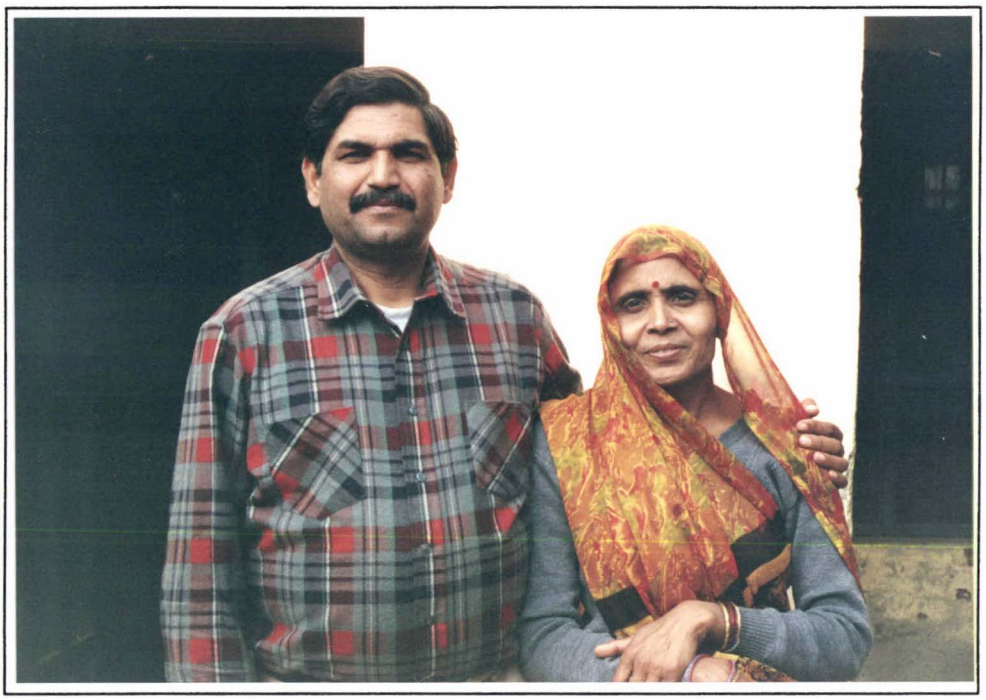
> Rs 100 is the best way to help; to start a business. One person can't help all the people. People get lazier and lazier. I believe that you must work hard and then you will get help. My conscience doesn't allow me to just take money. According to my opinion, if you work hard caring for a tree then the fruit will be good. If you water the tree with bad water then it will have bad fruit. Everything can be achieved by hard work. It is 100 percent fact. If a pregnant woman uses bad things she will give birth to a bad child. The symptoms will be on that child.
>
> Mandy: Can you change lazy people?
>
> I always tell my children to work hard. They must not think that because that we have a shop they do not have to work hard. If my children need something they must tell me why.

Nanhe translated Umesh's letter for the people we interviewed, and I was interested to know his opinion of the letter:

> It is the opinion of one person. Maybe he feels bad. Like him I feel that there is a great change in Susan which is why I think he wrote the letter. All anthropologists are not the same as Susan. It depends upon the time you do your research. Things change quickly...You are different, you are a New Zealander. Anthropologists are all so different. They come here at different times, they have different personalities and they do different research. People in Karimpur know that now. Different anthropologists pay different amounts, their charges vary. Some anthropologists earn more than others. People feel jealous of you because you have so much money. The good thing is that research assistants have got skills. The bad thing is that if there is no anthropologist they cannot use those skills. Anthropology will cost a lot in the future.

Despite the expectations placed on anthropologists to behave like other anthropologists who have worked in the village before, as Nanhe shows, research assistants have

an intimate understanding of the differences between individual anthropologists, something which research participants are not always clearly aware of. As Pitt-Rivers notes, an anthropologist's individual psychology, the period in which they work, their position in society, the circumstances of contact, and the culture of socialisation influence the type of data they collect (1992:133-4). From experience, Nanhe knew that anthropologists earn different amounts, conduct different types of research and have different personalities, but he also knew that the cost of research has increased over the years and will continue to increase because helping in Karimpur is now an entrenched tradition. Despite the difficulty of trying to convey the issues surrounding specific anthropological debates, many of which were referred to in Umesh's letter, Nanhe had a clear understanding of these issues from an emic perspective that deserves to be listened to.



5.2 Umesh Chandra Pandey and his wife, Hemlata Tiwari Pandey.

Umesh Pandey

Umesh's account has been constructed from the many conversations we had on my first trip to the village, from my own experiences and observations, and from his curriculum vitae. It should be noted that this is not Umesh's story, it is, like Nanhe's and Jageshwar's accounts, my account of him.

Umesh Chandra Pandey's relationships with anthropologists literally grew as he did. When he was born on the fifth of February 1952[23], Charlotte and William Wiser had been visiting and working in the village irregularly for almost thirty years. For five years, between 1925 and 1930, they camped in the village, and from 1930-1960, although they were involved in setting up the India Village Service, they continued to visit the village when they could. After her husband's death, Charlotte came to live in Karimpur in 1961 for a month or two every year (Wadley 1994:xix).

Between 1963 and 1968, Umesh helped Charlotte dispense aspirin and itching powders from the cabinet in the Wiser wing. He maintained the Wiser's collection of books and escorted Charlotte to Mainpuri, doing her banking and running errands for her. He remembered how once Charlotte had entrusted him to look after a girl's watch, which went missing, and he then had to tell her what had happened. As he expected, she gave him a short sermon about looking after other people's possessions, but she also gave him Rs 150 to buy another watch. Umesh liked Charlotte for her generosity and because she never criticised anyone. He told me that, instead of saying that *purdah*

was wrong, she said: "I don't like that". Umesh remembered *Dadi* fondly. As he notes in his letter to the AAA, his association with anthropologists began with the "excitement and love" of getting to know Charlotte and William (Pandey 1992).

In 1968, he attended the Training School at the Ingram Institute in Ghaziabad in Uttar Pradesh, doing a course in machine tool operation, and the following year attended a course in milling machine operation. Like Nanhe's training in radio repair, Umesh's qualifications were facilitated by Charlotte. But it was during this period he had his second job working for anthropologists, this time as a research assistant for Sue who employed him for a short time to record music, transcribe and test caste ranking. As a young boy of about 15, he was attracted to the young "white and blond" (Pandey 1992) with whom he worked, but kept his feelings to himself. Unaware of how Umesh felt, Sue treated him as her young 'nephew', a relative of the family with whom she lived.

In 1970, Umesh started work as a machinist at Flowmore Industries in Ghaziabad, and in June of that year, at the age of eighteen, married his wife Hemlata Tiwari. Two years later he graduated from the Christian Intermediate College in Mainpuri and his first child, Dolly, was born in September of the same year. Sadly, she died from dysentery in June 1973. For the next eleven years, from 1972-82, Umesh worked on the family farm in Karimpur, but this was not his only source of income. In 1974 and 1975, he worked for Sue and Bruce, transcribing interviews. His second child, Abhilasha, died at the age of 8 months in 1982 and Alaka, his daughter, was born in May the following year. From 1982-3 Umesh was a supervisor at Anant Raj Construction Agency in New Delhi

In 1983-4, Sue and Bruce returned to Karimpur, this time with their two daughters, Shona and Laura, (or Sona and Lila as they were called in the village). During their ten month stay, Umesh worked full time for Bruce and Sue as their research assistant. Although the Wadley-Derr family lived in Mainpuri and travelled to the village daily, they stored their anthropological equipment in the Wiser wing and Umesh remembered problems about whose responsibility it was to ensure that the wing was locked each night. Between 1984 and 1987, Umesh worked for a period of three or four months for Sue and Bruce conducting interviews, life histories, caste ranking, taking photographs, doing text transcription and translating from the village dialect to English.

In 1984-5, through his connections with Bruce, Umesh was employed as an office clerk at Abdul Tractor garage in Bhav Nagar, Gujarat, and the following year, through a student of Sue's (whose husband held a high government position), he obtained a job as a gate keeper and receptionist at Diamond Cements in Damoh, in the state of Madhyar Pradesh. By this time, as his work history shows, Umesh had come to the realisation, that he was "not happy working with Indians", and he began to look for other sources of employment. As acting head of the Pandey household, he was responsible for finding the money for his sister's wedding, and was therefore keen to

find work which not only suited him, but paid well. Anthropologists offered a feasible alternative. Through Sue, Umesh met Helen Meyers, an ethnomusicologist, who found him to be "literate and trustworthy". He "read her eyes" (assessed her character) and felt that he would be able to work with her. This was the beginning of a period in Umesh's life when his perceptions about anthropologists and foreigners were changed, but in some cases shattered.

In 1986, he flew to Benares with Helen (his first flight in a plane) where he worked as her research assistant, collecting folk songs, taking photographs, and acting as her interpreter. He also interviewed people, collected genealogies and life histories of musicians, and did text translation and transcription. While this was a time of comparative luxury, travelling and staying in hotels, it was also a time of hard work, but work that he enjoyed.

In 1988, while transcribing for Helen in Sweden, he participated in the *Festival of India,* a celebration of Indian culture held in Stockholm. For Umesh, going to Europe was a dream come true, but, as a result of this experience, his view of the 'West' was radically changed. He learned that not all people were quite like Charlotte, and that not everyone was rich as he thought they would be. As a young man he had seen a group of Charlotte's friends arrive in Karimpur in 5 very new cars, and he had assumed that all foreigners owned new cars. On his return to India he commented to a woman who worked in the Delhi archives of the American Indian Institute of Indian Studies, that he was shocked to see poor people in London. Umesh learned a great deal from the anthropologists who came to work in Karimpur, and felt they brought the world to him. During that time India had been his world, but through his experience as a research assistant in the village, in working for Helen in Benares, and through his experience overseas, he had begun to question the practice of anthropology. After participating in the *Festival of India,* he gave guest lectures at the University of Edinburgh, the School of Oriental and African Studies, and Queen's University in Belfast. It was in Belfast that he was described by one academic as "an escaped exhibit from an ethnographic zoo".

His presence in Belfast challenged the perception that the studied should remain 'at home'. Trinh T. Minh-ha echoes this assumption when she says: "it is as if everywhere we go, we become someone's private zoo"(1989:82, see also Duratalo 1992:208 and Deloria 1969:95). The idea that people are representative of the writings about them, that they are ethnographic 'exhibits' who should be contained, highlights the spurious nature of the artificial divisions between the researcher and researched. To believe that the studied will remain in the 'field' and that it is possible to keep the 'field' and academia separate, may not just be "hopeless", says Cohen, but "tantamount to an axiomatic and ethnocentric premise of the difference between the anthropological self and the anthropologised other" (1992a:352). The fear of 'going native', so prevalent in classical anthropological literature, is further evidence of an anthropological desire to maintain distance (Madan 1994:152). Umesh's presence in Belfast threatened that dis-

tance, that artificial divide.

I asked Umesh if he felt like an exhibit in a zoo when anthropologists came to work in Karimpur. He told me that at times he thought the anthropologists were the exhibits. It was a good point, and one I could relate to. There were many times when I felt like I was the local source of entertainment, and I was well aware that some people visited our house in Mainpuri just to look at the "foreigners". But related to the idea of being an 'escaped exhibit' was Umesh's belief that people who travel to other places are seen as unauthentic, as not quite as genuine as those who remain at 'home'. Umesh felt the people in Karimpur "are monkeys who must stay in the zoo", who "shouldn't be spoiled" through travel. Being 'immobile' or 'caged' has parallells to what Mudrooroo, an indigenous Australian activist, described as the "tame Other" (1995:3). If people left their 'cage', if they travelled overseas, they were no longer a "real native" (ibid:4), and in these cases Umesh felt that anthropologists were likely to "cut him out of their lists". Umesh, as far as I know, is the only resident of Karimpur to have travelled overseas, but travel within India has been something that the people of Karimpur have always done. Family obligations, weddings, festivals, pilgrimages and work all necessitated it. To view the village as static and its inhabitants as living out their entire lives within the village boundaries is false, as is believing that those who travel are somehow less authentic than those who remain behind.

Umesh has strong opinions about anthropologists. Not only does he think that some regard him as tainted by the experience of life in other countries, but he believes they treat the people of Karimpur as property. Reinforcing this, he told me: "We are not property. I own this house but they (anthropologists) think that they own the village". In questioning the practice of anthropology Umesh told me that it was Helen who tried to answer all his questions, but contributing to his anger was also the love he still had for Sue.

Umesh's friendship with Helen continued and once again they worked together, this time in America. In 1992 he co-taught a course with her at Trinity College in Connecticut, and the following is a course description taken from the university handbook of that year:

> FRSM-122-01 INDIAN VILLAGE LIFE: CONVERSATIONS WITH A NATIVE
>
> To learn about village life and Indian culture, we will read books written about the small agricultural village of Karimpur in Northern India, as well as material on Indian life in general. We will hold discussions with Mr. Umesh Pandey, a native of this much-researched village: view both commercial and scholarly films; cook a traditional Indian meal; and organise a major group project on village life. Topics include Hinduism in the village setting, animals and farming, the caste system, childhood and schooling, arranged marriages, sex and gender, and cremation.

Hopkins reminds anthropologists that the people they study may not only read the

texts they write, but they may "send their children to sit in our classes" (1993:126). However, anthropologists should be aware that the children of the people they study may also run courses about them and their work. It was through his association with Helen that Umesh successfully crossed the divide between the field and academia; he was no longer helping anthropologists gather their data, instead, he used that data in order to teach American students about people in Karimpur and the anthropologists who had worked there. As a "weaver of the border" (Mead in Gujar 1992:73), the experience of working with anthropologists irrevocably changed his life. He no longer waits for "the next glimpse" of anthropologists (Pandey 1992) or for them to visit his village; instead, he travels to America to work with them in their academic villages.

It was during this year in the States that Umesh cared for Helen's children and discovered how much he liked pizza (and how much it cost), but he also enjoyed teaching students and the course gave him the chance to explore many of the questions he had about anthropology. His wife, Hemlata, living in Mainpuri, understood that this was a chance for her husband to do work he enjoyed, but knew it was also a financially lucrative opportunity; in Connecticut he could earn more in one semester than he could in a whole year in India. While Umesh worked with Helen he came to the conclusion that anthropologists owed him something, and it was this which precipitated the writing of his letter that was published in the Newsletter of the AAA (1992). Umesh felt that, through his experiences with anthropologists, he had 'lost his own way of thinking' and I see the letter as a way of reclaiming that. But, by writing to the AAA, Umesh also reinforced the idea that the 'field' and the people who live there are "an inescapable part of one's life", and its boundaries are becoming "increasingly blurred" (Bell 1993:2, 38). While Umesh's voice from the 'Other-side' was heard by a number of anthropologists who read his letter, only a few were motivated enough to write to him, encouraging him to tell his story. They wrote offering words of encouragement, but Umesh told me that I was the only one to write offering to help him tell his story.

Sue had little idea of how Umesh felt about her and the work she had done in Karimpur, and therefore his letter to the AAA came as quite a surprise. While anthropologists may thrive on controversy in the classroom, controversy in the field is, as Davis notes, "quite a different matter" (in Brettell 1993:34). Although Sue now speaks about the letter pragmatically, at the time it must have been both personally and professionally challenging. Those who knew her well would have known that the letter was largely directed at her and her fieldwork practices. However, Sue told me that although the letter was difficult it has not destroyed their friendship and they remain very good friends. But rather than reply to Umesh's letter in the pages of the AAA Newsletter, Sue chose to respond to his letter in two ways. Firstly, she addressed Umesh's concerns in a practical manner. In 1992 she arranged money for him to employ an Indian writer to record his story because she felt that, although he speaks English, his nuances are Hindi and that someone who could speak both languages would be best able to help him tell his story. Funds were deposited with Joe Elder of the American Institute of Indian Studies in Delhi, but when I was in Karimpur that money had not

been used. While Sue felt the money would facilitate the telling of his story, Umesh thought the offer came with "strings attached". Because he was in America when I went to India in 1994-5, and because he never used that money to employ a writer, the story still remains unwritten[24]. Telling stories is not only informative but cathartic (MacIntyre 1993:51), and perhaps telling a portion of that story, in his letter to the AAA, was enough. Secondly, Sue responded publicly to Umesh's concerns in her latest monograph, *Struggling with Destiny in Karimpur* (Wadley 1994); her discussion of the "powerful anthropologist" who felt no sense of power in the field, the unachievable expectations that were placed on her, and her use of the phrase "I have learned to listen to them" (1994: xxiv-xxv) are addressed to Umesh as much as they are to any other reader.

In 1994, Umesh continued to work for anthropologists in Karimpur by acting as host to Sue, Sunil and myself. While he was pleased to see Sue, he acted as if she owed him something and his request for a plane ticket to the States reflected this. But, despite their personal problems, Sue noted how grateful she was for Umesh's work as a research assistant and for his "caring and warm hospitality which have made recent trips a pleasure" (Wadley 1994:xxviii). When Sue, Sunil and I were in Karimpur, he acted as a very gracious host. But he also translated for me and helped me interview people in Karimpur. Later that year he co-taught the same course he had taught two years before at Trinity College, and then returned from the States to live with his wife and children in his sister-in-law's house in Mainpuri. His brother, Mahesh, continued to farm the family land in Karimpur and he, his wife, daughter and mother, lived in the house built by the Wisers. His father lived at the tube well, some distance from the village, and Umesh, his wife and children made regular trips to visit the family in the village.

For Umesh, such a close association with anthropologists was a mixed blessing. As a young boy, India was his world, but through his work with Charlotte he saw foreigners as "saviours" who could improve his life and solve the villagers' problems. Umesh loved Charlotte and expected Sue to be like *Dadi*. He was confused and angry when she was not. He was also angry when she didn't return his love. Umesh believed that America was a land of milk and honey, a utopian paradise, but when he experienced life in other countries it led to greater confusion about his place in the world and the world of anthropology. As a small boy, Umesh was told how the mountains in Nepal are so high that you can simply reach up, pierce the clouds with a knife, and make it rain. When you are small, he told me, you believe everything you are told. In the same way he believed everything he was told about America. As Rushdie said: while "they have the power of description...we succumb to the pictures they construct" (in Madan 1994:164). But, wanting to believe the pictures anthropologists inadvertently constructed for him, Umesh probably added his own beliefs to make the picture more perfect. When the reality didn't match the fantasy, Umesh felt that he lost his "own way of thinking". He had become what Madan would call a "product of academic colonialism, a captive mind" (1994:145). Today he has crossed the divide and his mind

is no longer captive.

A friend of mine in Mainpuri, who knew Umesh well, jokingly described him as "Made in America"; he recognised the benefits of working for anthropologists. It is true that, over the years, the Pandey family has received comparatively more from anthropologists than any other family in Karimpur, and people in the village were well aware of this. Since 1925, three anthropologists (Charlotte, Sue and Bruce) lived with the family for extended periods, and at least four others stayed for shorter periods. Charlotte, William, Sue, Bruce and Helen have all contributed significantly to the maintenance of the Pandey household; Charlotte and William financed the building of the house in which they lived, and Sue and Bruce financed the building of the back half the house which comprised of four rooms, a bathroom and toilet. Helen Meyers gave the family money to purchase a cow and, on my first trip to India, a new light and switchboard, paid for by Sue, were installed in the wing. Numerous presents have also been given to members of the Pandey family over the years. On her first fieldwork trip in 1967, Sue bought identical saris for each woman in the Pandey family (Wadley 1994:69) and in 1994 she purchased a number of *salvar-kamiz* for the young girls in the extended Pandey family. These outfits added to the clothes and toys she had brought with her from the States for other family members. Presents bought for the Pandey children, such as Alaka's Indian Barbie doll and the stuffed toys for her and her brother Sanu, fill a shelf of the glass fronted cabinet in the Wiser Wing and another shelf of the *almirah* (metal cupboard) in Umesh's home in Mainpuri. Umesh's children, Alaka and Sanu, proudly showed me the jacket and track suit Sue had bought for them when she visited for several days in 1995.

While the Pandey family might have received a lot compared to other families in the village, they, like Umesh, have also experienced the disadvantages of such a close association with anthropologists. In the last few days of Sue and Sunil's stay in 1994, requests from the villagers for help increased rapidly, and for the Pandey family this meant an increasing number of visitors calling at the house at all hours of the day and night. During most of the day and at night, the courtyard was primarily the women's space, but more and more frequently this area was invaded by a variety of people seeking assistance. As a result, the women's activities and their freedom to move about the courtyard was curtailed. Taking a bath in what had become a public domain was a risky exercise, and relaxing in the afternoon sun, after a hard morning's work, was not always possible when visitors could be expected at any time[25].

While the Pandey family were in the middle, between anthropologists and requesting villagers, like Nanhe, so was Umesh. While there were three anthropologists staying in the house, he acted as a middle man, or as one person put it, a "broker for help for the people". One of the initial requests for help during my first stay came from a father wanting Sue to pay his child's school fees of 15 Rs per month. Umesh vouched for the man's worthiness by telling Sue the man had worked for him and had proven himself to be reliable and trustworthy. He relayed many other requests for help, but he also

took it upon himself to ensure that the cook Sue and I employed was doing her work properly. He ran errands and bought supplies for us in Mainpuri. While there were three anthropologists in his home, he was a busy man. When Sue and Sunil left, he told me, with a big sigh, that now he could relax. But even though Sue and Sunil had gone, the impact of anthropologists continued to surface. He still had to organise to have a trunk, payment for one of Sue's workers, transported from Mainpuri, and one of Sunil's workers came to him querying his rate of pay. "When is Sue coming back?" several people asked, but Umesh didn't know. His mother and wife were upset to discover that the cook had taken all the spices from the kitchen and a spoon was missing. While the spoon was later found under the bed in the Wiser Wing, the spices were never found. Umesh was the person who fielded all the questions and tied up the loose ends.

One family, from a lower *jati*, saw Umesh as something much more than a middleman; they saw him as their protector. They believed that if the data being recorded was going to harm them in any way then "Umesh wouldn't let the anthropologists write it down". Conversely, some people saw research assistants, not just as go-betweens, but as gatekeepers. As Nanhe found, research assistants may be blamed for an anthropologist's failure to help. For Umesh, there was a huge responsibility related to his position as middleman, which at times tired and visibly irritated him. But at the same time, it was a role which he, as head of a household, with a unique and weighty anthropological history, felt bound to assume.

5.3 Jageshwar Dube and his youngest daughter, in Mainpuri.

Jageshwar Dubey

I read about Jageshwar Dubey long before I actually met him. He was the man who, in December 1967, under Charlotte's instructions, had gone to Mainpuri to escort Sue on her first visit to Karimpur. Sue writes about that day:

> Leaving behind my American clothes, I wore what I thought would be appropriate - the *salvar-kamiz*, or long shirt and baggy pants worn by college girls in Delhi and women in the Punjab - and rode to Karimpur along the narrow country roads on the back of Jageshwar's bike. He took me directly to the house built by the Wisers and now inhabited by the family of Bajreng Prasad Pandey. Bajreng's large family, then numbering some twenty five adults and children, was to become my Karimpur family....Jageshwar who was working on his B. Ed. degree, helped me translate, his English being comparable to my Hindi. He later gave me a quick tour of the village (Wadley 1994:xx).

But Jageshwar has also been written about before. Charlotte developed a friendship with him when, as a quiet seventeen year old, he came to her to practice his English. And, as their relationship developed, she shared in his life as a young married man, father, teacher and farmer. She described him as "the most promising of the younger generation" in the village in the late 1960's (Wiser 1978).

Thirty five years later, in the second week of April 1995, Jageshwar arrived at my house in Mainpuri to invite us to a "tea party" at his home. He said he wanted to meet me and to get to know the latest anthropologist working in Karimpur. Jageshwar struck

me as an extremely concise, polite and eloquent man who chose his words carefully, regardless of whether he spoke in Hindi or English. In the conversation that followed, he described himself as a teacher, a philosopher, the author of 13 books on Hindu religion, and a "guide of Sue Wadley". He told me how Sue had been very young on her first trip and *Dadi* (Charlotte) had asked him to look after her. He described himself as Sue's teacher, and in his authoritative presence I felt I was going to be another of his students. He told me how, because of all of their hard work, anthropologists become professors, and how many of his students (referring to those he had taught at the Christian College in Mainpuri, but also to Sue) were now "important people, bigger than I am". "That", he said proudly, "is the role of a teacher".

Jageshwar thought that anthropology was good because it helped people "to understand the differences among people and how we are alike" and he applied this to the anthropologists he had known. He told me that Charlotte was a missionary but Sue was an anthropologist, but besides having different professions, he was aware that they had very different personalities. That, he told me, was why the people of the village had different memories of them. What he had to say at our first meeting was indicative of Jageshwar's long association with anthropologists and his understanding of the discipline.

Clif, Tom and I willingly went to his house for tea the following Thursday. We walked to a section of the city we had not visited before, where the fields meet the city, with Nanhe and Jageshwar escorting us through the myriad of small lanes, past an ashram and fields of wheat ripening quickly in the hot sun. Even though it was a relatively short walk, by the time we arrived at Jageshwar's place, we were very hot, tired and thirsty. Recognising how unused to the heat we were, his daughter (studying for a B.A. in Political Science) drew the curtains and turned on the ceiling fan which began to emit a wonderful cooling whirr, and over *chai* we talked about the posters on the walls of his home. He explained that the posters of Hindu Gods and Goddesses belonged to him and his wife. The other posters, he said with a smile, (the posters of current 'Bollywood' film stars) were of his children's Gods. He showed me his library, an extensive collection of books about Hinduism, but two of the books, American high school science texts (c. 1963), looked decidedly out of place in the collection which largely reflected his passion for religion and poetry. They had been given to him by Charlotte, and they reminded me of books I had used as a child with their illustrations of American houses, American towns and blonde freckle-faced children.

After tea, Clif and Tom headed off to buy vegetables from the bazaar while Jageshwar, his wife, Nanhe and I adjourned to the cool of the garden. We had met with the intention of getting to know each other, but also of interviewing Jageshwar, and he was keen to start. Although we spoke mostly in English, Nanhe and Jageshwar would break into rapid Hindi whenever they discovered that they shared similar experiences. The conversation came to a temporary halt when a hawker came to the door selling cushion covers, and Nanhe and I waited until Jageshwar and his wife decided which

ones they would buy and how much they were prepared to pay. What follows are excerpts from that interview:

> When I was a student in the eighth class I came in contact with Charlotte Wiser. That was in 1956. I was a student who always talked with Charlotte. She helped me in my study. When I was a second year student at Intermediate she said to me did I want to do a survey of this village. She gave me some papers and said 'please go house to house and find out how many are nuclear [families] and how many are joint'. I prepared papers about these families for Charlotte Wiser. I was 15 or 16 then.
>
> Mandy: Did Charlotte give you anything for working for her?
>
> No. She was a very social lady. She helped so many students at that time....I knew about 8 or 10 students that she helped. She gave [them] fees, bicycles, money. She helped.
>
> Mandy: And where did that money come from?
>
> It was Charlotte Wiser's money. She did social work for the poor. We remember her as a kind hearted lady. After that time some anthropologists came from America and Charlotte said 'Please go to Agra to their hotel and bring the anthropologists back'. I stayed in Clark's hotel. I remember one man, a very great man who was a head of a department of anthropology. Different universities had sent students to India; some from South America, and Italy and America...Work is work and they did their work. They wanted to know about Charlotte Wiser, the cultivators, and families of Karimpur.
>
> Mandy: What did the people [of Karimpur] think of all these anthropologists ?
>
> They thought only friendship, they didn't know why they came. They thought they were friends of Charlotte Wiser, they didn't know they were anthropologists. These people stayed in Mainpuri for four to five days and came to Karimpur everyday. The group and I went to Jaipur, Agra and Calcutta, a trip of about a month. This happened in 1962-3.

This was the event that Umesh remembered when five new cars arrived in the village. It had also been recalled by people Nanhe and I interviewed as 'the day there were hundreds of anthropologists in every lane in Karimpur'.

Jageshwar remembers William Wiser playing his violin while his father accompanied him on the harmonium, and one day he asked William why he had come to India:

> 'I came to be your friend' he said. After, I asked Charlotte 'why do you work in India?', she said: 'I am working in the IVS [Indian Village Service]'. Then she mentioned the Society of Brothers in America [the Presbyterian Mission]. People in the village treated her like a family member. All the people understood that she was family, a member of the whole village.

Jageshwar worked for Sue (to whom he gave "free service"), and met both Bruce Derr ("a friend who came to study agriculture") and Helen Meyers when she visited the village for several days.

While Jageshwar understood that anthropology was a way of enhancing relations between cultures, he had some ideas about how it could be improved:

> Jahawarhal Nehru knew a lot about other cultures...Sometimes anthropologists get things wrong. When they collect views sometimes they talk to illiterate people who don't know what is right or wrong...The methods [used] must...prevent mistakes. Anthropologists must show the people what they have written...after the book is complete they must consult with the people in Karimpur and ask the same people if it is correct. [Then] it will be a great book. Your tape recorder is right and when I read your book I will know if it is right. If there are two views then people will read both and decide [which one they agree with].

Not only did Jageshwar think it was important that the villagers read what anthropologists wrote about them, he also believed it was important that anthropologists helped people in Karimpur. He likened their helping to his own philosophy about caring for others:

> Nowadays you know that I am giving aid to 15 or 16 boys from my own pocket. This is the duty of mankind. At the end of the year I gave clothes to the poor boys. I expect you, when you are able, to please help mankind. I do not say help only Indians, but help the man from China as well. There is a Sanskrit saying: 'If you think about your family, your family members, your sons, then this is narrow minded thinking. You should also help the whole world'. The whole world is your family. Don't think about yourself, think about the whole world. When she was 70 or 80 the views of Charlotte were great. She helped not for mixing [in order to establish rapport], but she always thought about mankind. "I help these people and God will see. This is not our reward, it is our duty" she said. If you never help rich people in Karimpur you cannot work in Karimpur. This is a problem for anthropologists. [These] people think you should give rupees to them and to them only. Before you start work you should think about who you can help.

Like Nanhe, Jageshwar was aware of the complexities of working as an anthropologist in the village. Both knew that obeisance must be paid to those from the higher *jati*, but they also knew that those in need were usually from the lower *jati*. They agreed that somehow anthropologists must help, but who and how were questions they both found hard to answer. Like Nanhe and Umesh, Jageshwar thought highly of Charlotte and, like other members of the community, they used her as a standard to evaluate the performance of subsequent anthropologists.

After my last question, Jageshwar told me that now it was his turn to ask the questions and he then proceeded to ask me about religion. After a long discussion about the difference between religion and God, we finished the interview as the mosquitoes begin to get active. We used to joke that "M is for Mainpuri, mosquitoes and murder"

in a city which several years ago had the dubious distinction of a murder every day and a population of mosquitoes which far exceeded its 70,000 human residents.

Jageshwar and Nanhe escorted me home in the dark, and as we got closer to our house the familiar sounds of the neighbourhood could be heard. There had been a power cut, as there was every night. The oil-fired generator at the egg shop made a racket as it worked to keep the eggs cool, but despite the noise the neighbourhood seemed peaceful and beautiful in the glow of the candle light which shone out the windows of the houses. Nearer to home our neighbour's son sat on the doorstep of his house crying. I later found out there had been a family 'discussion' about money; the boy's father didn't have a job and both sons worked hard to keep the family in food. What they earned just wasn't enough, and tempers had flared. Another neighbour came rushing up the alleyway asking me to go to a *kirtan*[26] and Tom wanted to stay the night at a friend's. While I had been away talking anthropology, Clif had entertained fifteen visitors, mostly neighbours calling in for a chat. Life at home had continued on as usual. Jageshwar was concerned that we lived in a very dangerous part of the city, but I told him that we were safe and happy. I told how much we loved these people. I said goodbye to him, and promised to visit him and his family again.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that, for research assistants, a close association with anthropologists has its advantages and disadvantages. While the opportunity to earn money and learn new skills was a lucrative one, being in the middle had its stresses, particularly for Nanhe and Umesh. Umesh's experience highlighted problems associated with crossing the threshold between the 'field' and academia, and the changes to his perceptions of the world and the discipline which resulted from that experience. Nanhe's experience highlighted problems associated with being a research assistant from a lower *jati*. Both Nanhe and Jageshwar wanted to comment on what anthropologists wrote, and were well aware that research in Karimpur was becoming increasingly expensive. They noted how anthropologists in Karimpur must help the people and let them read what they wrote. All three men observed the increasing cost of research in Karimpur, the differences between individual anthropologists (both personal and professional), and problems associated with representation.

These experiences should be listened to and acted upon. I remain convinced that changes to the practice of anthropology and ethnography will derive their force and foundation, not only from the people who have been its subjects, but from the people who have been anthropological research assistants. The experience of being in the 'middle', although problematic in some respects, provided all three men with a unique and qualified insight with which to comment upon the practice of anthropology and the anthropologists for whom they had worked.

[1] For exceptions see Gujar 1992:77, in which Gold's research assistant writes about how foreigners have affected his life.

[2] A person from Nepal.

[3] Nanhe means that he began his working or adult life.

[4] Sue employed Umesh to interview *brahmans*.

[5] Sue responds to this in her comments: "Nanhe felt I had changed in 1984, and perhaps I had. But I don't believe that he had any sense of the stress of that research trip. I was responsible for myself, a husband (my Hindi was better than his, a key factor), two small children, a tutor for my children, several research assistants from Delhi, and eventually a driver, cook and other servants, plus research assistants in Karimpur, added to which were the constant demands for medical care and other help within the village itself. I was often frustrated that I never got my own work done because I was so busy helping those in the village. It was very frightening for me to bring my children to Karimpur. I had done too much research on child mortality to be sanguine about it. (They had a wonderful time and it was a great trip, despite various illnesses). Bruce and I had taken a course on paediatric emergencies before we left the US and had the *Paediatrician's Redbook* with us for emergencies - and used it. When I get stressed, I get tense, tight and quiet, all issues Nanhe might have felt. Why I didn't attend dinner, I don't remember, but I suspect it was due to a child's illness. I lost forty pounds that year, most of it with being 'ill'".

[6] In her comments, Sue notes that it was Huma who paid Nanhe, not her.

[7] Sue notes in her comments that rules in India (as elsewhere) become flexible when friendship and circumstance warrant it. This contributed to Bashir's acceptance by the Pandey family, with whom he lived, on and off for over thirty years. Despite living in their house he never, says Sue, ate their food and he always washed his dishes and the Wadley-Derr's dishes separately.

[8] As Sunil also pointed out, people in Karimpur can perform a variety of roles for an anthropologist; in some cases they be a research assistant, a research participant and an important link to the community. An example of all three would be my own relationship with Nanhe.

[9] Jageshwar Dubey, in his comments on this dissertation, noted that he believes the name of this festival to be *Ramzan*, not Ramadan.

[10] Mayer notes problems in deciding how much to give at weddings. "Was I to make a 'normal' gift to a fellow-villager at a wedding, for example, and risk being labelled a miser, or should I give in relation to my salary, and risk embarrassing the recipient, who would then have a large debt balance with me which he would have to find a suitable occasion to repay "(1975:39). It was a problem that I faced, but one that I addressed by giving a standard amount only at the weddings I attended.

[11] I welcomed Nanhe doing his own anthropology. He had a personal need as a member of a lower *jati* and as a Muslim to find answers for these questions. The success or failure of a collaborative project becomes apparent, says Kuhlman, "when the local people do such work themselves" (1992:277). I would like to think that one day Nanhe will continue with his project; in many ways he already is an anthropologist. His doing anthropology would counter Marx's incredibly ethnocentric notion that 'peasants' cannot represent themselves (in Faris 1992:257).

[12] See Berreman 1972: xxxvii for further discussion about the experience of employing a *brahman* and Muslim research assistants

[13] The *jati* hierarchy shows little change over time regardless of whether it is measured by attitudes or interactions. While people speak of the equality of all *jati* they know that this equality does not exist. Furthermore, economic prosperity, Sue suggests, has done little to change this. (Wadley 1994:224,6).

[14] The Muslim festival which marks the end of Ramadan.

[15] A letter of reference I wrote for him.

[16] In her comments, Sue notes that she never received Nanhe's letter. She respects his opinion but was following the standard practice for translating his *jati* name. She also notes how important Muslim identity has become in the past thirty years, not only for Nanhe, but the whole community.

[17] Perhaps more of a reflection on the fact that Muslims don't observe rules associated with purity and pollution as fastidiously as *brahmans* do, rather than a reflection on the cleanliness of their houses or persons (see Kakar 1996:111 for further discussion of the way in which some Hindus denigrate Muslims by equating them with dirt and animals).

[18] While Zuni Indians resented "their favourite anthropologist working with people outside their narrow family circle"(Gould 1975:210), *brahmans* may also object to an anthropologist researching only Muslims. However, this does not mean that such a study could not be done.

[19] In 1984, there were a total of 327 families in the village and Sue estimates a similar number in 1993. (Wadley 1994:15).

[20] This is evidenced for me in the way that the word *brahman* is often capitalised (*Brahman*) while the names of other jati are not. To my surprise I realised that I was following suit and since then I have consciously chosen to write it beginning with a lower case 'b'. The choice of pseudonym for the village also reflects a brahmanical bias. The suffix 'pur' is generally used for communities with a Hindu heritage, yet the real name for the village has a suffix which denotes its Muslim heritage. In using this pseudonym, the Wiser's, whether they were aware of this or not, essentially Hindu-ised the community.

[21] Who might be experiencing a "serious decline" (Wadley 1994:199) but who are still clinging to what power they have.

[22] Not only because people expect an anthropologist to help, but because of the increasing poverty in the village.

[23] This date and much of the data relating to his work history derives from Umesh's C.V.. Sue, in her comments on this dissertation, notes that Umesh's birth date has always been contested.

[24] However, as Sue pointed out in her comments on this dissertation, Joe Elder released the money in early 1996 "with the hope that even without a plan, he would still get his story told".

[25] Umesh told me that his father wouldn't allow people from every *jati* in his house. A solution to the seemingly large number of people calling at his house when anthropologists were in residence would be to open the door that lead directly to the front of the house. People could then enter directly into the room used by anthropologists, rather than traverse the courtyard.

[26] Women's religious celebration.

CHAPTER 6

The Publications: A Series of Conversations and Contradictions

In his letter to the AAA, Umesh said that none of the villagers in Karimpur had received copies of the papers that had been written about them. He felt a breach of privacy had occurred when people from his village talked to anthropologists "in friendship" but these conversations were later made public in books about the village. Umesh implied that the people of Karimpur took control by telling the anthropologist "what they wanted to know in order to please them and to get things from them" but, despite this, he thought that the writings about Karimpur would hurt the great-great grandchildren of the village who, unlike a large proportion of villagers at the time of writing, will be able to read them (Pandey 1992).

In our interviews, Nanhe and I asked forty people if they knew about the books that had been written about Karimpur. Only four (10 percent) said they had heard about them, and 90 percent knew nothing about them at all. None had ever seen any of the six books published about their community[1]. Therefore, for these people, who lived in "one of the most studied communities in South Asia" (Wadley 1994:xviii), being researched means having field workers, rather than ethnographers in their midst. Umesh Pandey, Jageshwar Dubey, and Nanhe Khan were the only people that I knew born in the community who had actually read any of the books published about the community. One young man in Mainpuri was almost embarrassed to admit that he didn't know anything about them. Being the grandson of an author who had written over forty books on ayurvedic medicine, he felt he should know about the well researched community that was only thirteen kilometres from the city in which he lived.

So, what did the people we spoke to think anthropologists did with the data they collected? Many knew that the data was used to teach American students about "the Indian way of life" or about the "village social system", but a majority were unaware that the anthropologists who studied their village actually wrote books about them. Nanhe and I didn't ask people if they knew about the fifty articles, conference papers, or chapters published in journals and books that had been written about the community, nor did we ask them about the four dissertations that derived from fieldwork in the village[2]. I assumed that few, if any, knew about these either[3].

Admittedly, only two of the six books (*Four Families* and *The Hindu Jajmani System*) were published in India, which reduced the chances of the people in Karimpur accessing them. The remainder were published in America, and all were written in English, thus further reducing people's access to them. This lack of access was vividly illustrated when I bought a book in Lucknow which contained an article by Sue and Bruce. I showed Nanhe the page where his contribution (in collecting data) was mentioned

6.1 Nanhe reading a photocopy of "Struggling with Destiny".

and, while he was delighted to see his name in print, he had no idea about the book or the article which included his name. He knew the Wisers had written books (although he had never seen any), but knew nothing about the book I showed him, or the chapter in which he was mentioned.

While anthropologists worry about how best to represent the 'Other', many of the people we spoke to didn't even know that anthropologists represent them outside the classroom, and this has parallells to other studied peoples. Anthropologists don't always consider the people they studied as potential readers of their work. Rooney, a subject of Margaret Mead's, never realised that his 'private village gossip' would be discussed at international conferences (in Foerstel 1992:46), and, as Brettell points out, neither Marcus and Cushman (1982) or Van Maanen (1988) ever considered 'native readers' among the audience of ethnographies. Despite this, Marcus and Fisher (1986) described native readership as a powerful tool in producing experimental writing (Brettell 1993:2). It would appear that many ethnographers think that they are only addressing other ethnographers, yet the people we spoke to in Karimpur wanted to read what has been written about them. Not knowing that they have been written about, and not having access to that writing, is an example of what Trask calls the "violence of educational colonialism" (1993:226). That the people of Karimpur contributed to the education of anthropology students and other academics in America, but were effectively denied access to that knowledge, is indeed reminiscent of a political system which benefited colonisers but rarely benefited the colonised.

1. REALITY AND A METACULTURE

My patron Anil, through his friendship with Umesh, had heard about the books that had been written about the village but had never read any of them. He also knew that the village had an anthropological pseudonym. One day, when I told him I was going to the village (using its real name), he laughingly corrected me saying "No, no Mrs. Mandy, you are going to *Karimpur*!" While the village's pseudonym was a source of humour between us, it highlighted a distinction that I often had to remind myself of. I was doing fieldwork in one of the 'most researched communities in the world', and yet the village to which I travelled by bus each day was not called Karimpur. Karimpur is an ethnographic fiction, a metaculture[4] based on a reality, yet the people I talked to in the village, whose lives were the basis for those texts, were very real. Unlike their representations in texts, their words could not be divided into quotes. They spoke when they wanted to, and, as I show later, they had very definite ideas about their representation.

The metaculture created about these people has the power to define the way others might relate to them, and the difference between reality and a metaculture was made very clear to me when I was talking to one of the milkmen in the village. I told him that I had read that there were a total of sixteen people from Karimpur who, like him, travelled daily to Mainpuri to sell their milk (Wadley 1994:217), but he politely corrected me saying that there were now twenty one. I was reminded that anthropologi-

cal writing is often out of date the minute the words hit the paper[5], but more importantly I was reminded that having read about Karimpur didn't necessarily ensure that I knew a great deal about the lives of individual villagers. It was a short but very effective lesson. Marcus reminds us that "(t)here are still many who must speak through ethnography and must therefore exist as representations of themselves over which they have no control" (1992:115, see also Iamo 1992:77), and I was glad that the milkman had corrected his representation and me. While this 'error' occurred because of the delay between writing and publication, other representations can more detrimentally affect research participants[6]. I will never forget hearing an anthropologist telling a Native American that they were indigenous, not aboriginal. While he believed his people had always lived on their tribal lands, the anthropologist thought his people had migrated there. The belief that anthropologists have a right to define others can sometimes spill over from their texts into everyday conversations in academic corridors.

While anthropologist write *about* others, they cannot and do not speak *for* them (Sutcliffe 1993:24 my emphasis), and before I went to the village on that first trip in 1994 I purposely read very little about Karimpur. While this may have had the effect of making me look ill-prepared in the eyes of the anthropologists working there, I wanted my understanding to be relatively uncluttered. I still believe that my decision to do this was a good one. But, when Sunil asked me what I thought of the village not long after we had arrived, I was at a loss as to how he expected me to respond. I was not quite sure which village he meant; the reality, the metaculture or a blend of both. On that first visit the village was primarily Umesh's home, not a site of anthropological data gathering. But the differences and similarities between a reality and a metaculture are a concern, not only for anthropologists, but also for the people studied.

2. AN EAGERNESS TO READ

I was initially surprised that so many of the people Nanhe and I spoke to were so keen to read what had been written about them. Perhaps I had assumed (slightly cynically and rather foolishly) that those texts wouldn't be of interest to them. But an ethnography aims to represent real people, and it was not surprising that many of those people were keen to see what anthropologists have said about them. For the 99 percent of people who wanted to see these books, most were clearly aware that some modifications would have to be made before they understood their contents.

Fifteen of the people Nanhe and I spoke to wanted the books translated into Hindi or the village dialect. Although they had never seen those books, they correctly assumed they were written in English. Two of the people we spoke to were able to read English, but weren't sure whether their language skills were good enough to comprehend what had been written. Several people told that because they were "uneducated" or lacked understanding (*samajhna*), having a book translated wouldn't necessarily guarantee they would understand what it was about. Books, in the opinion of some people from

the lower *jatis*, were objects primarily associated with the *brahmans* (who supposedly have understanding). Knowing that the village operates on the basis of non-equivalence and a hierarchy of knowledge and power made accepting this type of comment no easier for me. Like all anthropologists who have worked in the village, I valued their opinions.

Umesh spoke and read English, but told me how, when he read Sue Wadley's first book *Shakti: Power in the Conceptual Structure of Karimpur Religion* (1975), he had not been able to understand it. Sue thinks this was because he lacked the training and the context in which to read her work. Without an understanding of that language and the debates around which the data was centred, the book's covers were essentially locked and Umesh had no key. But his experience does highlight one of the problems that might be encountered if some books were translated verbatim, without explanation or contextualisation. Ethnographies seek to be representational in two senses: firstly (and most importantly) of the people studied, and secondly of current debates within anthropology (Eipper 1990:66), but while those debates are important to anthropologists, they can assume so much importance that they subsume experience to the point where the subject feels justifiably abused. In sharp contrast to his reading of Sue's first book, Umesh had read Charlotte Wiser's *Behind Mud Walls* and understood what she had to say. I feel sure that he would find Sue's latest book (Wadley 1994) even more accessible, as would others, if it was translated into the village dialect[7].

Five of the people that Nanhe and I interviewed wanted books about their village not only translated, but read to them. This was because three of this group were illiterate and two had "weak eyes[8]". Suresh told us that "if someone was willing to read it to me, I would certainly listen"and a woman proudly told me how her daughter, who had learned to read, could read the translated book to her. She looked forward to hearing what anthropologists had to say. In 1984, 23 percent of women and 44 percent of men were literate (Wadley 1994:196), and three people we spoke to specifically mentioned illiteracy as something which would prevent them from reading those books. But, of that group, all were keen to hear what those books had to say about them and their village. I remember wishing I had the time and the skills to translate for these people then and there.

Four people told us how expensive books were. Although they wanted to read what had been written about them, they knew they probably couldn't afford to buy those books. The cost of a monograph published in the States is well beyond the means of many people we spoke to, and probably well down on their lists of priorities. Sue lists four economic groups in Karimpur: the "affluent", those "who can live reasonably comfortably", those "eking out a bare subsistence", and the "very poor" (Wadley 1994:218), but even the "affluent" would have difficulty finding Rs 600-1,000 to buy a book about their village. Four people therefore asked anthropologists to give them the books as gifts. Three people expressly told us that it was the anthropologist's duty to

let them see these books. Overall, it was clear that these people wanted to see what had been written about them, and they wanted it in a format they could access and understand.

3. THE CURRENT POINT OF ACCESS: PHOTOGRAPHS

At the time of writing, the only point of access that people in Karimpur had were the photographs included in those five books. I took a photocopy of Sue Wadley's *Struggling with Destiny in Karimpur* to India and Nanhe and I showed this copy to some of the people we interviewed. Not surprisingly, the photographs were of more interest than the words. The experience had parallells to an Indian research participant who, on seeing an ethnography about his community for the first time, commented that it had some very nice photographs in it. That ethnography, like Sue's, was written in English and the photos were all that he, and the people we showed Sue's book to, could 'read'. People in Karimpur looked at the photos in Sue's book, named the people they knew, and tried to estimate when the photos had been taken.

For Madan Sen, an elderly *brahman*,'seeing' that book raised a raft of issues about the way he had been represented in it. Blinded by cataracts, it was his son who told him that Sue had included a photo of him in her book. He didn't ask what he looked like in the photo, nor did he ask when the photo was taken, but instead he asked what Sue had written about him. His son told him (in Hindi) that at the bottom of the page underneath the photograph were written the words: "*Mohan*, an elderly Brahman Landowner, with his grandson" (Wadley 1994:30 my emphasis). Madan Sen contemplated this, and then asked what the book was called. He was told, again in Hindi:"Struggling with Destiny in *Karimpur*" (my emphasis). He then turned to me, and said pointedly that if anthropologists were going to study his village then they should get some things right: like his name and the name of his village. This brought to mind the quote pinned on my office wall which said that research participants want to know what anthropologists write and, "unlike laboratory rats, they regard the findings with emotion" (Haring in Brettell 1993:v). Madan Sen's reaction to discovering that Sue had referred to him as *Mohan* and his village as *Karimpur* was an emotional one. The discussion then moved on to the reasons why anthropologists use pseudonyms, and although he knew they were used to disguise a research participant's identity, this didn't make accepting the practice any easier. He, like Dayar Shankar, the elderly land recorder, wanted his name in print. Madan Sen's brother added that if anthropologists used the "correct" name for the village, then people could find and visit it. Both he and his brother wanted people to visit Karimpur.

Sue (Wadley 1994:xxxvii), like other anthropologists (Jackson 1995:ix, Bennett 1996:33), was well aware that pseudonyms don't always protect one community resident from being recognised by another[9]. Pseudonyms are even less likely to protect an individual when photographs of the people written about are included in the text. Even though Madan Sen had aged since his photo had been taken, and although I had only met him once before, I could easily spot him in a crowd. When I saw the photos in-

cluded in Charlotte's book *Four Families of Karimpur* (1978), it was easy to recognise Jageshwar Dubey and Umesh Pandey, despite the fact those photographs had been taken twenty years before. Almost all the people whose photographs were included in Sue's book were recognised by those we showed them to, and most were well aware that "Sheila"and "Mohan" were not their real names. But, while "Mohan" and his brother wanted the village and their real names to be known, they were aware that not everybody in their community would feel similarly.

"Sheila" was one of the four people who knew that Sue was an author as well as a teacher. She was keen to read her book, but reminded us that it would have to be in Hindi. After we had talked about the time she spent working with Sue, I showed "Sheila" her photograph in the book (Wadley 1994:115). She smiled when she saw it and her husband immediately went into a room of their house to get the framed portrait of the same image that Sue had given her earlier that year. We compared them and agreed that her copy in its frame was definitely the best.

Dayar Shankar, a land recorder in Karimpur, was keen to see the books written about his community, largely because when Nanhe told him the title of Sue's book he knew that his work had contributed to it. He told us how he had "started this work (for anthropologists) in 1940", referring to the fact he had helped Charlotte and William obtain land records[10]. Then he told us how in 1984 the DM (District Magistrate) received a memo from Delhi authorising him to write down the land records for Sue and Bruce. He wanted to read Sue's book because he was keen to know "the difference between 1925 and 1984" especially in terms of land holdings, but he also wanted to see what it was that anthropologists did with the information he gathered for them. Hakim Singh, on the other hand, was keen to read the books because then he could give me his opinions about them. This was something most people wanted to do, which of course made it all the more important for me to have my dissertation translated and recorded on tape. As Bachchai said "Whatever you write you must show us".

4. MYTHS ABOUT PUBLICATIONS

There is a false perception that authors earn vast wealth from royalties of a book. Gould was asked how many millions of dollars he would make if he wrote a book about the people he studied (1975:208), and many people we spoke to in Karimpur thought that authors were both rich and famous. But, as any academic author well knows, because their books are usually written for a relatively small scholarly audience, what an author actually earns (in the form of money) from a publication is usually minimal, and any 'fame' is usually limited to an anthropological academic arena.

Research participants are often unaware of how long it takes anthropologists to turn raw data into books, dissertations and articles. The value of collected data depends on numerous factors. Although some data is interesting, it may be unusable for a variety of reasons: it may not fit neatly into an analysis or the subject being researched, nor may it fit the restraints imposed on workers within the discipline. Furthermore, it may

be unusable because of the harm it may cause research participants. Data in its raw form, like a photograph, lacks a context which must be provided in order to interpret its meaning, and it can takes months, sometimes years, before that data can be turned into a 'saleable' commodity that can be used to accrue academic capital in the form of degrees, books and other publications, conference papers and lectures. As previously noted, Sue felt that the six video tapes she held in her hands would require what felt like six years of analysis to make them accessible to an academic audience. I know what she means. People in Mainpuri were surprised that it would take me so long to turn the data I had collected into a dissertation; they expected me to have the product finished within a couple of months. In reality the 104 interviews, 9 volumes of fieldnotes and 1080 photographs took 18 months to turn into a format accessible for some people in Karimpur, other anthropologists, and my doctoral committee. It will take even longer to turn some data into a format that can be utilised by all the people of Karimpur. Portions of this data were unusable because they were potentially harmful, some photographs were of poor quality, and some of the data was excluded to keep the dissertation within a reasonable length. Nevertheless, as I wrote this dissertation, I was well aware that the people in Karimpur and Mainpuri eagerly awaited its completion.

5. MULTIPLE INTERPRETATIONS FROM ONE TEXT, ONE CONTEXT

> Ethnographies...are always subject to multiple interpretations. They are never beyond controversy or debate (Van Maanen 1988:35).

If people did see what was written about them, it is likely that their reactions would vary. From one text, as anthropologists well know, many interpretations are possible. In academic circles these multiple interpretations engender discussion, controversy and debate, which keep academics busy evaluating and critiquing. But it needs to be remembered that multiple interpretations, debate, and discussion, are just as likely among people who have been written about. Although none of the people we interviewed had ever actually read an ethnography, they were well aware of the potential for multiple interpretations from one text.

While Sue addressed the many interpretations possible by an author (Wadley 1994:xxxvii), the people of Karimpur were aware that, in a book, one person's view, or one *jati's* view, could predominate. They knew this to be true in terms of their own daily lives, and some were aware that this might well happen in a book about them. Suresh's solution was to "note the opinions of all castes, all sexes...(because) one picture does not give you the actual picture", and this idea has parallells to a story I had been told as an undergraduate, a story I remember as *The Many Views of the Elephant*[11]. In this parable five blind men who had never seen an elephant before tried to describe it. The man who felt the tail thought it was like a fly swatter, but the man who touched the trunk thought it was more like a snake. The third man, who felt the ears, was sure it was more like a fan, but the fourth man, who felt the solid leg of the animal, thought it was definitely more like a big tree. The fifth man, who felt the side of the elephant, was convinced it was like a wall. While each had a partial view, together all five were more able to fully describe the elephant. The story was a lasting lesson in the value of

holism. Anthropologists and their research participants in Karimpur knew that a *brahman* or *bhangi* view was not the only view. People we spoke to in the village endorsed the fact that anthropologists talked to people from a range of *jatis*, as well as to men and women. One person hoped that, besides listening to a variety of people, they would include all of these views in their book.

In another discussion about what anthropologists should write, Ram Swarup thought that it was the duty of anthropologists to write the "actual thing", while others said they must write about the "truth". Ram Swarup reasoned that if what they wrote was "correct", then it would be good for his community, but if it was wrong then he could foresee problems. In a discussion about what the "truth" might be, Madan Kant felt that whatever Sue wrote would be "100 percent true" because he thought highly of Sue and trusted her to recount his experiences accurately. Secondly, he believed that people in Karimpur treated anthropologists well, and because of this they were more likely to tell the truth; alluding to the veracity of the villagers (and his pride in the community), he told us that in other villages people would not be as truthful as they were in Karimpur. He thought that it was good that books were published about his village:

> Whatever is written is good for our society and our community. The world knows about Karimpur. Whatever they find, the weaknesses and the strengths will be written about. This is the nature of anthropologists. They write for the whole world, not for one person.

In another discussion, at a later date, several other people added to this idea. One person told Nanhe and I that a text is based on experience: "whatever Sue writes is not wrong because whatever she experiences she writes about". They knew that it was the job of anthropologists to write about what they experienced, which has parallells to the Cree hunter who testified in court in the case concerning the James Bay hydroelectric project. Asked to tell the truth (the whole truth and nothing but the truth) about his way of life, he is reputed to have said "I'm not sure I can tell the truth...I can only tell what I know" (Clifford 1986:8). Clifford, and this person in Karimpur, would agree that ethnographers are like the Cree Hunter: they can tell only what they know and knowing is based on experience[12] (ibid).

6. WEAKNESSES AND THE TRUTH

"There is a fine line between intrusion and immersion in the lives of the people we study" (Madan 1994:157), and there were limits for people in Karimpur as to what anthropologists should write about. While anthropologists 'write for the whole world', they also write about individual people. People in Karimpur wanted the 'truth' told, but were adamant that they didn't want their own 'weaknesses' exposed, even if they were part of the 'truth'. If these 'weaknesses' were made public, they knew this could have a detrimental impact on them. As Srinivas' research participants reminded him: "(o)ur secrets are now with you... and (y)ou can get many into trouble" (1976:333). Anthropology very effectively destroys the distinctions between the private and the public (Michaels 1992:265), which was the reason Srinivas' research participants and

people in Karimpur were so concerned. It was also the reason why the following person objected so strongly to their own weaknesses being exposed:

> If anyone writes bad things about the power of the *brahmans* going that is not good for *brahmans*. Old people respect anthropologists but they cannot be respected if they write about our weaknesses.

In Karimpur there had been a marked decrease in the percentage categorised as affluent; from 28.6 in 1925 to 13.8 in 1984 (Wadley 1994:218). The majority of families categorised as 'affluent' in 1925 were largely *brahman*, but, in 1984, one twelfth of *brahman* families barely met their subsistence needs (ibid:77). Although many *brahmans* were well aware that they were not as wealthy or as powerful as they once were, some didn't want this information made public. This has distinct parallells with what the Irish village schoolmaster said to anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes: "It's not your science I am questioning, but this: don't we have the right to lead unexamined lives, the right not to be analysed? Don't we have the right to hold on to an image of ourselves as different to be sure, but as innocent and unblemished all the same?" (in Brettell 1993:13). Like the school master, some of the *brahmans* wanted to maintain a powerful image. As Akeroyd reminds us, "knowledge is not only a source of enlightenment" but it also has the power "to both harm and benefit those studied" (in Finnegan 1992:216). People in Karimpur were well aware of this.

As noted in Chapter Four, one person took exception to the way one of the photos in Sue's book represented people:

> People who see these pictures will think that Karimpur is dirty and bad. Karimpur is famous. Anthropologists like Karimpur very much because we are faithful and always respect our guests. Anthropologists take time to research us because we respect them...

They knew these representations could be damaging. So, should you iron out the wrinkles on the elephant before you try to represent it? If the photographs I took with people in the village are any indication, then people in Karimpur think that you should[13]. Everyone I photographed wanted to be represented favourably, and it was seen by some as a betrayal of the villager's respect for anthropological guests when they are not represented in what they considered to be the best light.

I find this argument profoundly compelling. Empathetically I know how much a portrayal can affect a person's own sense of self worth, particularly if it is already under threat. This was clearly evident in the face and words of the person who spoke about the photos in Sue's book, and in the fact that they specifically asked to be interviewed about the subject. A desire to be represented favourably is endorsed by my own ethics code which states that an "anthropologist's paramount responsibility is to their research participants"; that they must do "everything in their power to protect research participant's physical, social, and psychological welfare", and to "honour their dignity and privacy" (NZASA 1990:1). Unlike the journalist, "who chooses to imply or state outright", anthropologists must often suppress information (Sheehan in Brettell 1993:80) or disguise its source in order to protect participants. However, Section 1g of

the code states that anthropologists also have "an obligation to reflect upon the foreseeable repercussions of research and publication on the *general population* being studied" (NZASA 1990:2 my emphasis), and one person's wishes may be at variance with the wishes of the rest of the population who may want these subjects and others discussed. What is clear is that, when research participants read what anthropologists have written, it is no longer possible to "pay lip service to issues of privacy and confidentiality" (Hopkins in Brettell 1993:7). When the studied read what is written about them, anthropologists must more stringently address the issues that arise out of this reading[14], and if they don't it is likely that research participants will force them to do so.

The contradiction between favourable representation and telling the 'truth' was recognised by people, not only in Karimpur, but in Mainpuri and beyond. Shashi, my adopted 'daughter' in Mainpuri, told me that when I wrote my dissertation I mustn't write bad things about our *parosi* (neighbourhood)[15]. I told her that writing about the "bad things", such as the arguments we had and neighbourhood petty jealousies, was part of the whole, but reassured her that I would also write about the "good things". She, her mother and our neighbours theoretically, but cautiously, approved of this. One of them then confessed that when we had first come to Mainpuri she had thought "bad things" about us, but she now felt very differently. She was not the only one. When I first moved into the neighbourhood some of my thoughts about my neighbours were not exactly favourable, but like her I realised how wrong those first impressions were. By then I understood that my need for privacy, after a day of visitors or interviews, looked like inexcusable rudeness to them. But by the end of our stay we were good friends, and the neighbourhood women had begun to accept my need to be alone at times, although none of them really understood this. By then, if I refused a request to visit, I wasn't a *proudy-proudy*, I was perceived as *gusa*, as being angry with someone. Accordingly, I had begun to accept and enjoy their company at all hours of the day and my responsibilities to the neighbourhood. We had changed, and in light of our close friendships we knew how inaccurate those initial feelings were. But, although my neighbours and friends knew that you should convey the good with the bad, they were still not exactly enthusiastic for what they perceived as "bad things" to be included.

The fear that I would write about the 'bad' aspects of people's lives was not peculiar to Karimpur or Mainpuri. The same concern was held by a group of men I met to the north-east of Mainpuri. Clif, Tom and I were visiting a village, and, towards nightfall, when our rickshaw failed to arrive, we caught a lift with a wedding party returning to the town of Karhal. Our travelling companions were about thirty men, all in high spirits after the day's celebrations, and they were only too happy for us to join them. Clif and Tom climbed into the already full trailer, but as the only woman in the group, I was given a seat on the tractor. We were grateful for the lift, even if it did mean that it was going to be a rather slow and squashed ride into town. When one of the men asked who I was, our friend Bunty told him I was an anthropologist, a person who

"studied human behaviour". The men's immediate response was to begin singing about how they were travelling with an anthropologist and must be on their "best behaviour", something which was not exactly easy when they were in such high spirits! Nevertheless, they behaved perfectly. It was a beautifully calm clear night and the trip was made all the more enjoyable by the men's laughter and singing in the trailer behind me. While nobody wants 'bad' things written about them, there is a "disjuncture" or contradiction between what individuals define as 'bad', and what they can expect from anthropological research and what it can provide (Brettell 1993:15).

In Karimpur, my research participants not only included the residents of the village but the anthropologists who had worked there, and this provided a unique insight into the concerns of both groups. I suggest that they share many of the same concerns about research. In her writing about her fieldwork with academic research participants, Elizabeth Sheehan assumes that her research participant's reactions differed in some respects from people who have classically been studied. While she knew that the people she wrote about would also be "the same people authorised to critique the publications resulting from my research" (Sheehan 1993a:76), I felt strongly that *both* of the groups I studied, the anthropologists who had worked in Karimpur and people who lived there, had the authority and right to critique what I wrote about them. Secondly, while "(i)ntellectual informants want to write the book for themselves" (ibid:81), one person in Karimpur kindly told me that if I did research on a certain topic then, because he knew a lot about that subject, he could write the book for me. While a majority may not want have wanted to be the author, many people in Karimpur certainly wanted to play a part in the process of representation. Thirdly, a question that arose from Sheehan's positioning was how her academic research participants would "separate their roles as critics and subjects, as disinterested scholars and as individuals deeply concerned with what I said about them and their colleagues" (1993a: 76-7). I claim that the people of Karimpur, Sheehan's subjects and my own academic research participants share a great deal. All were simultaneously critics and subjects.

Danish anthropologist, Kirsten Hastrup, provides further insight, from an academic's point of view, about what it is like to be researched. In 1988, the theatre group *Odin Teatret* performed a play called *Talbot* about Kirsten's life. "Being an 'informant' in someone else's story" is, she reminds us, a key issue in anthropology (1995:125). She was an "object of study, implicitly interesting and exotic"(ibid:128) who, under the inquisitor's gaze, invented herself for the troupe, but lost her sense of ' Self'. As a result, she was not quite sure who she was (ibid:129). Images of of being consumed arose as she moved from seeing her representation in rehearsals as "not-me", to finally, when she saw the play performed, as "not not-me" (ibid:135). Her experience is a poetic portrayal akin to those I have heard eloquently voiced in Karimpur.

The similarities between the experience of my academic research subjects and non-academic research participants in Karimpur do not surprise me, they inspire me and they give me hope. Both sets of people have a common experience and are (or should

be) ready to converse as equals on the basis of this shared experience. Anthropologists and research participants have learned to communicate in the village. Are they willing to continue this conversation? People in Karimpur want to read what anthropologists write about them.

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[1] *The Hindu Jajmani System* (William Wiser 1936), *Behind Mud walls* (William and Charlotte Wiser 1930), *the Foods of a Hindu Village* (Charlotte Wiser 1936), *Four Families of Karimpur* (Charlotte Wiser 1978), *Shakti: Power in the Conceptual Structure of Karimpur Religion* (Wadley 1975), and Struggling *with Destiny in Karimpur 1925-1984* (Wadley 1994).

[2] PhD dissertations by William Wiser, Bruce Derr and Sue Wadley, and an MA dissertation by Charlotte Wiser.

[3] For the reason that these would be significantly harder for villagers to obtain than monographs.

[4] Anthropologists represent rather than convey a mirror image of reality. In doing this they create a metaculture which people then experience (Jones in Foerstel 1992:xix).

[5] Which de Pina-Cabral sees as the stupidity of writing in an ethnographic present (de Pina-Cabral 1992:16)

[6] Conversely, the information that there were this number of people travelling into Mainpuri daily may have been welcomed by other members of the community who had no idea there were this many, but when that information relates specifically to an individual it was important, in this case, that it was correct.

[7] Moffatt describes this monograph as one written for the 'novice' , for students of village India (1996:172). However, because of it's lack of anthropological jargon, if translated it would be suited to people in Karimpur. It could be used to illustrate what it is that an anthropologists does with the data they collect in the village. Sue noted in her comments on this dissertation that Umesh had in fact read *Struggling with Destiny*. She responded to his critiques and altered the portions that he found problematic before publication.

[8] Having weak eyes was commonly thought to be a symptom of menopause (pers. comm. Sue Wadley).

[9] When the people of 'Springdale' recognised themselves in the pseudonyms used by two anthropologists (Vidich and Benseman 1958) they took serious offence to their use and parodied them in a community parade (Bennett 1996:33).

[10] This was the man who assumed that I would also want access to land records, which was a logical assumption considering that four anthropologists had used his services.

[11] Which, as a colleague told me, was originally an Indian fable.

[12] While these people recognise the link between knowledge and experience it is only been relatively recently that the discipline has fully grasped the importance of this connection. See, for example *The Anthropology of Experience* (Turner 1986).

[13] Berreman notes how the ethnographer seeks access to "back-region" information, while the subjects want to protect their "secrets" in order to maintain their public image (1972:xxxiv). This case illustrates this well.

[14] See also Wolf 1994:137-9.

[15] See also Nanhe's letter included in the preceding chapter.

CHAPTER 7

Tentative Conclusions and Future Directions

This thesis began with a letter which instigated the data collection process, and it is therefore appropriate to return to that letter in this penultimate chapter. While some of the questions that Umesh's letter raised have been addressed, not all of the issues it poses can be answered definitively, nor will they ever be. This chapter should, therefore, not be taken as an end to this matter, nor should it be assumed that experiences, opinions and conversation about anthropologists or anthropology in Karimpur will cease. People continue to live out their lives daily in the village, anthropologists will continue to visit the village, and both groups will continue to evaluate each 'Other'.

> Would You Like To Listen Or Not?
> My name is Umesh Pandey and I am a farmer from a North Indian village. I have been the subject of research by American anthropologists since my birth. I want you - members of the American Anthropological Association - to help me tell what effects this study has had on my life and the life of my village. I am willing to tell the story; would you like to listen or not?
>
> The story began in the 1920's when my grandfather was 13 years old. A young American couple pitched their tent in our mango grove. We rejected them because of our strict social system. Eventually we lost fear and let them visit behind the mud walls of our village. When we came to like them, they built their house among us and we grew old together.
>
> A new generation of American anthropologists appeared in the 1960s. They were not like the old couple - though it took years for us to learn this. One tall, small white and blond was there, and we boys watched and followed. This image kept appearing in our lives from time to time till now. It was wonderful to learn English and to help this white and blond learn village Hindi.
>
> Slowly we grew up. As far as I know, we gave the PhD to three American Scholars. I don't know how many papers have been written about us because we don't usually get copies.
>
> Day by day we talked to these new anthropologists in friendship, we didn't know this information would go into books and disclose our privacy. Over the decades the village people learned what you anthropologists were searching for. To please you, to get things and money out of you, we learned to tell any story you want. I fear your writings would hurt the people if they could read; they will certainly hurt our great-great grandchildren who

will read.

My story began with excitement and love, then turned to anger, fear and suspicion, and finally hope. It is the story of waiting - waiting for the next glimpse of you. Our villagers don't understand how you appear all of a sudden. There is always excitement to see you because whenever you leave our territory, our people ask you "When will you be back?" Then you say "I don't know".

Why do we wait for the next glimpse of you? Is it love or greed? Loving you Americans has destroyed our peace of mind and greed for your money has destroyed our dignity. While you are among us we feel that you have come from somewhere to take off our problems and burdens. And when you have gone we always hope that whenever we are in trouble you will take care of us. You have left a question mark on our hearts - whether or not, whether or not - always suspense.

We want friendship, you want information; we want life-long relations, you want information; we want to think of you as part of our families, you want information. You anthropologists come and go like a dream. It is difficult to know what to like or to hate. Still, we love you.

I am asking you to help me to write my story...The scholars I have met gave me two kinds of advice: (1) go ahead and write a book; (2) become an anthropologist. I do not wish to become an anthropologist but I do wish to write my story for you. You professionals have a path. You are in academic life and writing is your duty. How can a farmer do this.

As you have made a path into our private worlds, will you make for us — the people you study— a path into your private circle?
Would you like to listen or not?

(AAA Newsletter, June 1992: 3).

Like Umesh, I believe there is hope for the relationship between the people of Karimpur and the anthropologists who come to study them and, like him, I also believe that anthropologists will listen to what he and the people of his village had to say, that they will make a path for them into their 'private' circle. Similarly, I believe that the villagers would be willing to enter into a dialogue with anthropologists about the conditions under which they work and the constraints that they face. In short, I believe that the relationships between anthropologists and the people in Karimpur have many positive attributes, but that, like any relationship, they can always be improved.

1. THE PROCESS

Chapter One outlined the process which temporarily culminates in this dissertation, and in detailing the process it was my intention to make my part in the data collection process clear. No anthropological account, regardless of the stance of its author, will ever be neutral (Gough 1967:137) and, accordingly, my own professional and personal history, detailed in chapter one, illustrated my own lack of neutrality. Despite this lack of neutrality, it was my intention to present an honest account of what I had heard and experienced. Unlike Sue, who has been attracted towards activism but favoured scholarship (Wadley 1994:xxii), I believe anthropology is well positioned to incorporate both. Aronowitx and Giroux define the social function of intellectuals as either hegemonic, accommodating, critical, or transformative (in Webster 1993:38). I think it is important that anthropologists are not merely critical of their position and the discipline in which they work, but that they also act transformatively.

2. CLOSE AND DISTANT KIN

Chapter Two explored issues of incorporation from the perspective of people in Karimpur, and then from my own experience. Both sections highlighted the use of kin terms, the depth of feelings that lie behind these terms, and issues associated with the process of incorporation. The first section explored how a majority of people in Karimpur used fictive kin terms for the anthropologists, which in turn masked a variety of relationships. Degrees of closeness were an indicator of the depth of feeling people had for individual anthropologists. A majority of the people Nanhe and I spoke to regarded anthropologists as members of the village family, and therefore as being like a member of their own family, but they don't always expect them to behave as a member of their own family would. They treated them 'as family' because anthropologists were seen as guests in their community, who should ideally be respected and made welcome. Unlike the majority, a minority who had worked closely with an anthropologist or lived with them regarded them 'as family members'. A few referred to them as friends, and only a minority waited for them to return.

Because Karimpur is such a well researched community, people's expectations of individual anthropologists were based, in part, on a past experience of other researchers. This was reiterated in Chapter Three, which described how Charlotte's behaviour created the expectation that anthropologists will 'help' them, and in the fourth chapter about research assistants. People had a variety of explanations for my presence based on previous experiences with foreigners and anthropologists, and from a wide variety of acquaintances I gained a number of close friends and new family members. Issues associated with a sense of place, *parosi* (neighbours) and *parivar* (family) were addressed. While I went to the village to gather information, the people are the reason why I now want to return. In focussing on the emotional aspects of people's relationships, this chapter acted as a foundation for what followed.

3. MATERIAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Chapter Three built on the preceding chapter by exploring the material aspects of the relationship between research participants and anthropologists in Karimpur. The top three categories for things given to people in the village were clothing, money and medicine. I suspect that people in the village receive far more from anthropologists than they would in many other communities that have been researched, yet not all (between one half and a third) got what they wanted. Although there was an expectation of a reciprocal exchange (of information being given in the expectation that people will receive help), not all exchanges were in fact reciprocal. Charlotte's 'help' was regarded as being more like a free gift because people were unaware that she conducted research, and as a consequence she was regarded as having given without an expectation of return and therefore regarded more highly. The data gathering procedures of subsequent anthropologists were much more visible, and correspondingly they were regarded as collectors of information and providers of 'help'.

Viewing exchanges as 'gift based' ignores the objects involved in those exchanges, issues of power, and the commoditisation process. While anthropological help has tended to remain the same over time (anthropologists have given medicine, money and clothing since the 1920s), the commodity state of information varies. Anthropological help is irregular, but does try to meet the self-defined needs of people who request it, and because of increasing poverty is currently given more frequently than in the past. Participants in these exchanges use different regimes of value to assess their overall worth. Although an anthropologist's power is 'inelegant' and the people of Karimpur have some power about whether to withhold information or lie, in these exchanges it is the anthropologist who has the greater power.

Umesh implied there was a degree of dependency on the part of villagers who see anthropologists as someone who can solve their problems and help them whenever they are in trouble. But, because anthropologists visit irregularly, villagers cannot expect their help all the time. Although Umesh felt that anthropologists had made the people greedy, that was not my experience; many of the people who asked for help were in dire need. While Umesh felt that people in Karimpur told anthropologists things which were not true in order to get "money and things out of them", that was also not my experience. Instead, people had an expectation that they would receive help because they needed it, because it has been given in past, and because it was a return 'gift' for the information they had given an anthropologist.

4. COLLABORATIVE PHOTOGRAPHY AND ISSUES OF REPRESENTATION

Chapter Four examined an exchange I became involved in while working in Karimpur which, in other forms, has potential for future research practices. This project illustrated one way of utilising anthropological resources and skills to meet the needs of research participants, but at the same time it highlighted people's desire to be represented favourably and their desire to be involved in the process of representation.

What constituted a 'good' image was based on cultural and social values and further defined by gender, age, and by individual and economic circumstances, but was not necessarily 'scientifically correct'. Therefore, there is a contradiction between what the studied want from research and what it can provide. Researchers need to address this more fully.

5. RESEARCH ASSISTANTS: THE EXPERTS IN THE MIDDLE

Chapter Five examined the experience of three research assistants and highlighted the impact of this work had on their lives. While there were some positive aspects associated with their work, such as the money they earned and the skills they gained, this chapter also highlights the problems of being in the 'middle' between comparatively wealthy anthropologists and the villagers who wanted an anthropologist's 'help'. Nanhe's experience illustrated the problems associated being a Muslim research assistant from a lower *jati*, while Umesh's experience highlighted problems associated with crossing the threshold between the 'field' and academia. Jageshwar's account highlighted how research participants can play a correcting role in anthropological representations and reiterated the need for anthropologists to help the people with whom they work. All three men observed the increasing cost of research in Karimpur, the differences between individual anthropologists, and problems associated with representation. Being in the 'middle', although problematic in some respects, provided these research assistants with a qualified insight with which to comment upon the practice and products of anthropology.

6. THE TEXTS: PUBLICATIONS ABOUT KARIMPUR

Chapter Six examined what forty people in Karimpur knew about the books that had been written about them and their village. The people Nanhe and I spoke to wanted to read these books and comment on them. Because people viewed anthropologists as fieldworkers and teachers but not authors, Umesh was justified in feeling that villagers will have some concerns about their private conversations being made public. He was also right to question the effects of this writing on future generations. Because anthropologists are in 'academic life and writing is their 'duty' (Pandey 1992) and because anthropologists are trained to research and represent, I now wish to explore the issues associated with representation in greater depth as a way of highlighting how fieldwork practices can be improved in Karimpur.

7. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Field sites, through improved transport and telecommunication, are now much more accessible than when anthropology first began, and the discipline now demands that its practitioners speak more openly and honestly about the experience of fieldwork. As a result, conversations between academics and the people they research are likely to become more frank and much more frequent. In asking anthropologists if they *would like to listen or not?* Umesh emphasised that the artificial divide between *Self* and *Other*, between *field* and *home*, is beginning to crumble. If anthropologists listened to what the studied had to say about research they would hear that people in Karimpur want

to be part of the process beyond the data gathering phase. They want to read what anthropologists write about them and they want to comment on that representation.

Rosaldo (in Brettell 1993:20-1) identifies three types of reactions to challenges by research participants. Firstly there is the "Chicken Little reaction" in which the anthropologist retreats into hopelessness about the future of the discipline. Rather than stay and face the challenge, the "frightening spectre" of people interested in what has been written about them (Hong 1994:7) can send the anthropologist scuttling in despair. In extreme cases they may leave the discipline altogether (Kapp in Lele 1993:66).

Secondly, there is the "Two Worlds reaction" in which it is believed that the anthropologist and research participant speak two different languages and will therefore never be able to communicate. Reiterating this, Keelung Hong notes just how difficult it is to be heard when you have something to say about anthropologists[1]. After critiquing the work of an anthropologist who had conducted research in Taiwan, Keelung Hong was accused of reverse ethnocentrism, of being blinded by indigenous categories, and lacking sympathy for the language handicaps that native English speakers have when doing fieldwork in a country other than their own. Keelung pointed out that in speaking about these issues he had to voice his ideas in what was chronologically his fourth language (Hong 1994:7). Another expression of the belief that anthropologists and research participants can't communicate is evident in the "shrug of the shoulder approach" where in response to 'native challenges' the anthropologist makes no change and continues on as before (Kapp in Lele 1993:66).

But a third and more positive reaction to 'native' challenges is the "One Conversation reaction" which emphasises the insights gained "from *listening* to native responses"(Rosaldo in Brettell 1993:20-1, my emphasis). As Faris reminds us, anthropology is uniquely posited to be able to listen (1992:257) simply because the discipline and its practices are founded on listening to what other people have to say. In this third type of reaction research participants voice their concerns about research fieldwork practices and anthropological representation and anthropologists listen.

7.1 DIALOGUE

However, I suggest that merely listening is not enough. Anthropologists need to engage in a dialogue with research participants about how research can best meet a variety of needs; their own and the needs of the people they study[2]. What would such a dialogue entail and what could it hope to achieve? Firstly, a genuine dialogue occurs between equals speaking as distinct entities. It does not presuppose similarity or identity between the partners (Hastrup 1995:x-xi), nor do participants decide who the other will be (Sampson 1993:144). In a genuine dialogue, no-one has the last word or the power to reduce the voice of either participant (Driessen 1993:176). Research participants and anthropologists in Karimpur already have a distinct sense of themselves (founded on the classical positioning of Self and Other), but a willingness to engage in a true dialogue begins with the premise that the people studied are equal participants

in that conversation, that as people who have been studied they are not only qualified commentators but have a right to comment on the process of research and the research product. As Hastrup so rightly points out, the right to comment belongs to everyone (1995:148). Research participants deserve far more than merely giving voice to anthropological theories (ibid:151) and their concerns about research need to be addressed.

Secondly, a genuine dialogue has the potential to complement and correct (De Jonge in Driessen 1993:118, 120), and participants in such a dialogue might be surprised at how much they would learn. Robert Jay knows that had he treated the people he studied as consultants, he would have learned "so much more" (1974:37), and many other anthropologists might well be surprised at the suggestions their own research participants have about how to improve the practice and products of anthropology. As the previous chapter illustrated, people in Karimpur are already aware of the importance of holism and experientially based data. Likewise, research participants in Karimpur might be surprised to learn how expensive anthropological research is, and how difficult it is for an anthropologist to meet all of their requests for 'help'. They might well be surprised at how 'inelegant' or limited an anthropologist's power is. If classical anthropology was a "conversation of 'us'(anthropologists) with'us' (anthropologists) about 'them' (the people studied)" (Minh-ha 1989:65), throughout the duration of this research I have been engaged in a dialogue with 'them' and 'us' about 'us'. I know that it is possible to engage in a dialogue about representation.

Seeking feedback from research participants and engaging in an ongoing dialogue is now more physically possible than ever before. In 1928 Margaret Mead's trip to the village of Pere took weeks to complete, but forty years later, Barbara Roll completed the same trip in approximately 28 hours, including stopovers (1993:12). I can be in Karimpur in 17 hours, mail takes between 7 and 10 days to reach the village, and I can contact Umesh almost instantly by phone at his home in Mainpuri. While physical, emotional and professional distance fitted the classical fieldwork method (Feuchtwang 1973:79), as these distances are diminished the distinctions between 'home' and the 'field' begin to evaporate. Gone are the days when anthropologists could write totally isolated from their subjects, and for academics alone. As D'Amico Samuels now so rightly points out: "where does the field begin and end, if ever?" (1991:69). Regular returns to the field site subsume cultural distance, nourish relationships and promote the "fellowship of a WE-relation" (Schultz in Narayan 1993:677), and a We-relation implies dialogue.

7.2 TEXTUAL STRATEGIES AND SOLUTIONS

Before I discuss solutions to the concerns of research participants, it is important to look at some of strategies currently used in ethnographic writing about the people of Karimpur. While some people in the village wanted the 'truth' to be told in those books, they were also concerned that in the process their 'weaknesses' would be exposed. All excavations, including anthropological ones, can place the treasures they unearth in danger simply because they are exhibited (Eipper 1990:64) but some of the

'treasures' that anthropologists unearth in Karimpur are in fact reburied or disguised. Anthropologists have chosen *not* to write about some things out of an awareness that they may cause harm to their subjects (which led to the idea that ethnographies are interesting for what they don't cover, rather than for what they do), but they also disguise identities and people's words and phrase things carefully. These practices make anthropology limited and incomplete, but ultimately one of the most humanistic disciplines. Research participants need to be made aware of the decisions anthropologists make about what they include and exclude in their written products.

While anthropologists have chosen not to write about some things, the way in which they convey others has been criticised. One of the women that Margaret Mead wrote about, said that while Mead's description of Samoan women rang true, she hated the way that anthropologists wrote about her (Foerstel 1992:11). I know how she felt, as I explained in chapter one: I didn't enjoy being written about as a sociological category. Similarly, Nancy Scheper-Hughes found that her research participants didn't appreciate having "bits and pieces" of themselves strewn about in the text (Brettell 1993:7). Because "snippets of conversation become quotations or pronouncements" (MacIntyre 1993:56), people can become upset when "something that is unique and special to them is treated as an instance of a class of events or objects" (Becker in Brettell 1993:101), furthermore, being reduced to what you said in the past may not match your current perception of your self.

While some subjects may react to being written about in highly theoretical or abstract language, others may well object to being written about in accessible language. One of Nancy Scheper-Hughes' research participants asked her why she couldn't have written a "dusty dissertation" that no one read, or a "scholarly book that only the 'experts' could read?" (1993:13). Writing is, as anthropologists themselves well know, a far from satisfactory medium for representation.

7.3 ACCESSIBLE FORMATS

One solution is to construct a product in a form that meets the needs of the subjects for research. Because accommodating the "native" point of view is not simply a case of "add native, stir and proceed as usual" (Trouillot in Hastrup 1995:150), it may be necessary to radically rethink the shape and form of the product[3]. This is illustrated by the book *Stori Bilong Pere* (History of Pere) which came about, in part, because Kilepak, a research participant with whom Barbara and Fred Roll shared "kinship" and a close affinity, wanted a book about his community (1993:12,13). Forty family trees and 650 family photographs with a cross index of residents was compiled from anthropological archives to create the book. Sadly telling of the constraints of the publishing industry, the book had to be published privately, but copies were given as gifts to the head of each household and to each single adult in the village, as well as to those who lived outside the community (ibid:14). This was no small feat considering that the 350 copies, weighing 1,500 pounds had to be transported 9,000 miles (ibid:12), but it is indicative of the current academic climate that this book was published in the 1990's not in

the 1900's[4]. As Paredes notes "it is one thing to publish ethnographies about Trobrianders or Kwakiutls half a century ago (but) it is another to study people who read what you write and are willing to talk back" (in Brettell 1993:1). In a dialogue with anthropologists, research participants may well highlight their own needs for research.

Books are not the only way of meeting subject's needs. One anthropologist I met in Delhi who had just completed a translation of an oral epic was about to make a video of the epic comprised from footage of dancers and people listening to the epic, as well as storyboard drawings by local artists. Visual anthropologists have also been active in searching for ways of making their products more accessible to subjects. Anthropologists employed by Vincent Carelli, a Brazilian activist who fought for indigenous rights, produced a series of films called *Video in the Village,* designed to foster cultural and self-awareness of individual villagers. In these films it was the villagers, not the anthropologist, who dictated the thematic and compositional choices about their representation (Aufderheide 1995:83-4). Timothy Asch, another visual anthropologist, is also well known for relinquishing control over the process of representing the Yanomamo with the aim of seeing the kind of films that they might make about themselves (Asch 1991:102). In such a process, where the researcher and people studied collaborate to devise research that meets the subject's needs, the research process will be demystified and research capabilities increased. The quality of the research may also be improved, and the likelihood that the research will be used by non-researchers will be increased (Curtis 1989: 215). Although research partnerships can be costly in terms of time and money, they can provide results which are "valid, sensitive and relevant to community action" (Park 1992:591). These are sound reasons for anthropologists to investigate the needs of their research participants, and to work with them.

7.4 FEEDBACK

While in their somewhat 'god-like pose' anthropologists make decisions about research participants possible reactions to their representation, they are likely to unintentionally make judgments which may turn out to be poor ones. Although I didn't think that anyone was represented as dirty, poor and bad either through photographs or in *Struggling with Destiny in Karimpur* (Wadley 1994), one person certainly did. This is because definitions of what is 'bad', 'dirty' or what is the 'truth' are value-based judgments which derive from an individual's specific cultural and social context, and the anthropological criteria used to define them don't always match the definitions used by individual subjects. Anthropologists and research participants often use different "regimes of value" (Appadurai 1986:17). I know this from listening to people in Karimpur, but also from previous research experience.

When I had completed the final draft of my Masters thesis I sent it to a *kaumatua* (elder) of the *hapu* (subtribe) that was the subject of the research. He read the thesis and we met to go over it again. At that meeting I listened to his arguments and concerns, and he to mine, but one of the valuable lessons that I learned was that what you write can

unintentionally hurt the people you are seeking to represent. Contained in my thesis were three accounts which had references to alcohol, and in combination the elder felt that the *hapu* (sub-tribe) might be seen by some readers as a "bunch of drunken Maori". He and I both knew that this was not true, and such an interpretation was in direct opposition to one of the major themes of my thesis: that the *hapu* was working extremely hard to create a positive future for themselves educationally, socially, economically and culturally. However, my findings may not have prevented some people from viewing the *hapu* in this way, no matter how strong my arguments were. Although I never anticipated such an interpretation, the remedy was simple. With the consent of the interviewees we changed the strength of some of the words that were used in these three accounts. Words like "drunk"were changed to "tipsy" or "merry", but these were not the only changes we made.

In another section I had incorrectly attributed the naming of the cliffs on *hapu* land to an event that occurred in 1820. The elder pointed out this was wrong. He knew they had been named when the hapu first settled in the area several hundred years ago. His comments were added to the final draft. These changes resulted from the belief that sharing the power of authorship can only be of benefit to the text, but it also reflected the fact that this man was my teacher and I was a fallible student. Rather than threatening my authority as an anthropologist, this collaborative editing process helped to legitimate it. In the end I knew that those most qualified to assess the product were happy with the way I had represented them, and furthermore my anthropological assessors respected my decision to share my authorial power[5]. I have related this experience for three reasons: firstly as illustration of the many interpretations possible from a single text (which often go unseen by the author) and secondly, as illustration of the fallibility of an anthropologist. Thirdly, I offer the process as a solution which may resolve the disparities between anthropological and local interpretations. I am not suggesting that anthropologists necessarily change everything that research participants suggest, but I am suggesting that additions be made which illustrate the difference in perceptions and the problems associated with representation.

Anthropologists in Karimpur often asked research assistants to read what had been written about them (see for example Wadley 1994:xxix), but research participants would also like to see how they are represented. While this may take time, I suggest that it is a process which would benefit anthropologists, research participants, and the discipline itself. This process is seen as viable by anthropological subjects in Karimpur; they want to see what anthropologists write and they want comment on it.

7.5 RETURN-GIFTS

Harries-Jones, a supporter of advocacy anthropology, sees anthropologists as 'cultural translators' who provide subjects with a translation of their culture. This role, he says, is most visibly illustrated in the introductory chapters of an ethnography where the "anthropologist offers the text...as a gift in return for the hospitality received, and the insight and knowledge gained as a guest in another culture"(1985:224). The ethnogra-

phy, a return-gift, is given in "the shallow hope that an 'explanation' of the culture may, in some way, ameliorate the burden of economic and other adverse conditions besetting the giver of the gift" (ibid). While I recognise that these are symbolic gifts[6], if the people mentioned are not aware of the book's existence, if they don't have a copy of the book, and if they are unable to access what it says, these texts are not quite the gift they appear to be. In Karimpur, anthropologists in part 'pay' for their data by helping people, but the introductory chapters of their books also list the people who have been instrumental in terms of hospitality and data gathering. Similarly, because the people mentioned are often unaware of those texts, those acknowledgements or dedications are symbolic rather than real.

Implicit in the gift / counter-gift transaction is the hope that the gift contained within the covers of a book, the knowledge, or the book's impact or effects will somehow 'trickle-down' from the dominant culture to the culture of the dominated. But educational 'trickle-down' cannot be charted as easily as the effects of economic knowledge (Harries-Jones 1985:224)[7]. Sharing their knowledge would go some way to addressing the concerns of people at the ninteenth international Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Chicago in September 1973. One of the "angry voices" present is approximated by Jansen:

> You Sir or Madam, spent fifteen months in my village, published two books about 'your' (spare the mark!) people, and never sent us so much as a copy of either book or helped us in any way to profit from what you have learned (in Finnegan 1992:216).

In direct contrast, while researching conceptions of 'home', the anthropologist Michael Jackson was also engaged in research which the Walpiri wanted done in relation to land rights issues. Before publication he took his draft to the men he had worked with in order to have them review the manuscript:

> It was a nerve-racking experience. I had no idea how I was going to effectively communicate the content to men who could neither read nor write. I felt great trepidation about the way the people would respond to my descriptions of them. And there was the possibility that people would, for personal and political reasons, not want the work published at all (Jackson 1995:173).

While sharing textual authority reduces the risk of postpublication responses from the subjects being "unexpected and painful" or "acrimonious encounters" (Horowitz in Brettell 1993:8), like Jackson, I too felt a sense of trepidation about an elder of the *hapu* reading a draft of my dissertation. I hoped I had not inadvertently conveyed knowledge which was of a sacred nature (such as data relating to the *hapu's* prehistory[8]) but at the same time I hoped I had conveyed something of what it meant to be a member of this community, and that the thesis would facilitate their cultural and economic development. To my relief, apart from the issues already mentioned, the elder was delighted with the thesis and it has been used as background evidence for land claims. Sharing authority addresses the awareness that "(a)nthropology as a form of politics has historically contributed to imperialist domination" (Harrison 1991:104), but shar-

ing textual authority, and researching topics subjects want studied attempts to resolve that domination[9]. Multi-vocal texts, collaborative films and life history ethnographies further attest to the recognition that authority can be shared, and that anthropological products can be of use to research participants.

It will take time, ego-strength and money to share authority, and controversy and debate will occur, but recording these dialogues in the text will elucidate both anthropological and local perspectives and agendas. That, in turn, will enhance both the practice and products of anthropology. While in the past ethnographic authority could survive under "the cloak of distance and difference because the 'natives' never knew what had been written about them" (Brettell 1993:10), shedding that cloak and engaging in a dialogue will highlight issues of representation and research participants' needs for research. As Bell suggested in 1959, fulfilling our responsibility to the people we study may well improve the scientific validity of the final product (in Brettell 1993:11).

7.6 THE SUBJECT'S NEEDS FOR RESEARCH

Researchers have sometimes been accused of being more concerned with enhancing their own professional status and contributing something "novel" to the discipline, rather than something that is "relevant" to the needs of the people being studied (Leacock 1992:23). Pursuing anthropological research purely as a means of obtaining a degree or another publication, can result in scholarship becoming what Rooney calls a 'weapon' (Foerstel 1992:23) which has the potential to be used to the detriment of its subjects. This has been known to be true in Indian anthropology for some time.

In the formative period of the discipline in India knowledge based on the memoirs and experiences of colonial officials was used to facilitate the functioning of the colony. But, because capitalism needs to silence critical discourse but also appropriate resistance discourses (Lele 1993:46), any knowledge proved useful for the purposes of exploitation. Ethnographic knowledge was, therefore, particularly valuable to the colonisers. In 1890, H. H. Risley pointed out that this body of knowledge, based on memoirs and personal experience, was written by people who were so removed from their subjects that "the savage [sic] man has hardly had justice done to him at all" (1890:238). He therefore called for a more rigorous and ethnologically based study of Indian culture and "a permanent system of inquiry into custom into India" (ibid:263). The colonial administration promptly endorsed this, not because they recognised the validity of Risley's claim, but because they intended to use that rigorously obtained information to educate the men of the Indian services (Anderson 1912:3). Knowledge was, and still is, power.

In the last seventy years, indigenous Indian anthropology, unlike anthropology in many other countries, has been characterised by an 'anthropology at home[10]' (Sarana 1976:219), and correspondingly there has been an increasing awareness of the need to get away from Western models (ibid:217, see also Burghart 1990:277). Indian research-

ers working in India have largely tended to embrace sociology as a way of enacting change, and with increasing contact between Indian and American researchers, India has listened to England and America but she has also listened to herself (Vidyathi 1975:161).

Feuchtwang argues that, because foreign anthropologists have, generally, been doing the interpretation and representation of Indians, anthropologists have merely reproduced colonialism (1973:948, see also Burghart 1990). Recognising that the social sciences were indeed the "hand maiden of politics", Ramkrishna Mukherjee suggested that anthropology should be used as a tool that would benefit the people rather than those who gathered information (1976:72) Similarly, R. K. Mukerjee stressed the need for a collaborative relationship between social scientists and the people whom they studied (in Joshi 1986:1459). Anthropology does have the potential to play an important part in the service of human rights because it is holistic and relies upon cross cultural comparison. This was well known to both R. K. Mukerjee and Ramkrishna Mukherjee who have long called for a social science which addressed the needs of the people for change.

7.7 FUTURE RESEARCH IN KARIMPUR

In Karimpur, both Charlotte and Sue have written about the day that a member of the village will tell the story of the community and its people (Wiser 1963:235, Wadley 1994:xxvi). Anthropologists could facilitate that process by supporting indigenous researchers, but also by asking what research they want done. Currently,

> American Indian people no longer tolerate the intrusions of social scientists into their lives without some guarantee that they will not only see the final research product, but also have some control over it. They don't allow anthropologists to conduct research that is not of value to them, that resists their own perceptions of themselves, or that perpetuates stereotypes (McBeth in Brettell 1993:153).

Today some communities are setting their own agendas about what research can be done and how. In 1993, the United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples, at the first international conference on cultural and intellectual property rights, indigenous representatives from over fourteen countries including Japan, Australia, the Cook Islands, Fiji, India, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, Surinam, USA and Aotearoa (New Zealand), met in Whakatane (Aotearoa / New Zealand) to discuss issues relating to indigenous knowledge and intellectual property rights. On the final day of the conference the Mataatua Declaration was passed. This declaration stipulates that indigenous peoples have a right to self-determination, and that in order to exercise this right they must be recognised as exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property. While the declaration affirms that indigenous people's knowledge is of benefit to all humanity, it states that they want the right to define and control that resource. To this end, Section 1.3 outlines the need for a code of ethics that external users must observe when recording their customary and traditional knowledge (WGIP 1993).

Similarly, the Vanuatu National Cultural Council, after a two year moratorium on research in the Republic, devised a policy about the way future research would be conducted in Vanuatu. The *Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy* (1994) stipulates that all proposed research must receive the approval of the council as well as the local community. In addition, an authorisation fee which funds cultural resource management is paid by all researchers, and research done by foreign researchers must not duplicate that which has already been done by *ni-Vanuatu* (citizens of the Republic). A maximum involvement of indigenous scholars, students, and members of the community is required in any research that is conducted, and a cultural product of use to the local community (such as an educational booklet for use in the local school, photo albums, or training workshops), plus an interim report of the researcher's work are to be provided no later than six months after the fieldwork has been completed. The researcher is also expected to perform additional services for the people they studied; they may be called upon to provide assistance to the government, act as a consultant, or they may be required to conduct further anthropological research in the Republic. Such a policy, in altered form, could be of benefit to the people of Karimpur, as well as for the foreign and indigenous anthropologists who work there.

While the *Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy* was instituted by the Government of that country, I suggest that the villagers of Karimpur might want to institute a similar policy, in a form which accommodates their needs and the needs of researchers who come to work in their community. Through dialogue, both groups could define what those needs were and how a research policy could meet them. Such a discussion may well highlight issues of representation and the people's needs for research. However, the villagers should be aware that anthropologists working with such a policy will need to maintain their academic independence. They, as some villagers already know, are bound to tell the 'truth' by presenting a holistic account which incorporates the views of all *jatis* and both genders. People in the village should also be aware that, while anthropologists are ethically bound to address the needs of their research participants in the research process, they are not engaged in producing propaganda. As one villager already knows, they "write for the whole world, not just for one person". For villagers, a research policy has the potential to provide a greater degree of control over their intellectual and cultural property, as well as an awareness of what it is that happens to the data once it has been collected. A fee charged to researchers who obtained village approval to conduct research could be used to facilitate the maintenance of a facility for storage of anthropological materials. Currently, much of Sue's data is duplicated and stored at the American Institute of Indian Studies archives in New Delhi, but most villagers don't travel to Delhi that often and therefore getting access to that information is a problem. The front room of the Wiser's house, in which the Pandey family now live, would provide an ideal storehouse[11] for the preservation and storage of cultural materials. Providing *brahmans* shared administrative control with people of other *jatis*, it would provide a site which would then be physically accessible to all villagers. A research policy that ensured that those products were intellectually accessible to the people, in a language and form that suited their needs,

would further address the wishes of people wanting to see what had been written about them. Providing assistance in the form of consultancy work, or conducting further research needed by the community, would also make anthropological research more relevant to people in Karimpur. Such a policy could also be extended to define what 'help' an anthropologist should provide when in the village and to whom. Overall such a policy, which is suited to the needs of the villagers and anthropologists, has the potential to make the research process much more transparent, something over which the villagers have more control, and therefore of greater benefit and relevance to people in the village. People in Karimpur could see what happens to their words and experiences and they would learn that anthropologists are not just fieldworkers and teachers, but writers as well.

In Aotearoa, *Kaupapa Maori* research approaches (those based on Maori principles) challenge the dominance of the non-Maori world-view in research. In the past it was predominantly non-Maori who set the research agenda, controlled the research process and reported the outcomes (Bishop 1996:15) but, in contrast, *Kaupapa Maori* research places Maori cultural preferences, practices and aspirations as central to the research process itself (Smith in Bishop 1996:15). This approach supports Maori self determination and promotes participatory consciousness, but it does not preclude non-Maori from being involved (ibid: 16-17), nor does it impinge upon an academic's ability to expose lies and tell the truth. Using this approach, Bishop researched Maori educational researchers, and the basis of his research was a series of questions. These questions might also be used by anthropologists and villagers in Karimpur to discuss the benefits of research in their lives and delineate future directions for research:

Initiation

Who initiated the research and why? What were the goals of the project? Who set the goals? Who designed the work?

Benefits

What will the benefits be? Who gets the benefits? What assessment and evaluation procedures will be used to establish benefits? What difference will this study make for [the people studied]? How does this study support [the] cultural and language aspirations of [the people studied]? Who decides on the methods and procedures of assessment and evaluation?

Representation

What constitutes an adequate depiction of social reality? Whose interests, needs and concerns does the text represent? How were the goals and major questions of the study established? How were the tasks allocated? What agency do individuals or groups have? Whose voice is heard? Who did the work?

Legitimation

What authority does the text have? Who is going to process the data? Who is going to consider the results? Who defines what is accurate and complete in the text? Who theorises the findings?

Accountability
Who is the researcher accountable to? Who is to have accessibility to the research findings? Who has control over the distribution of the knowledge?
(Bishop 1996: 22).

While anthropology began with 'native' (or colonised) peoples, currently it is the concerns of that same group which are beginning to effect a change in the practice of anthropology (Bennett-Price in Paine 1985:117), and I can't help but agree with Madan when he says that he is convinced that anthropology will be saved by those who have been its subjects in the past (1994:138). The concerns of the studied must be taken seriously and treated as "fruitful points of departure for anthropological inquiry" (Dumont and Pocock in Madan 1994:53). People in Karimpur have insights and suggestions about research practices and issues of representation which should not only be listened to but acted upon.

As you have made a path into our private worlds, will you make for us — the people you study— a path into your private circle?

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[1] Being heard, listening, and issues of speaking for or with are recurrent issues raised when the researched speak about their experience. See the title of Umesh's letter, Trask 1993:234, and Larbalestier 1990:147.

[2] This is encouraged by my own ethics code which states that an anthropologist should make every effort to cooperate with members of the host community in the planning and execution of research projects (NZASA 1995:2).

[3] Agger and Jensen recognised this when they told their research participants that the book which derived from their research would be a narrative of the anthropologist's experience, and that it was likely that the research participant's version "would probably be very different" (Agger 1996:10).

[4] In 1975 a book called *Some Elmdon Families* (Robin 1975) was published for the people of Elmdon village in England. Like *Stori Bilong Pere* it too was published privately (Richards in Robin 1980:xxvi). A colleague, Annette Beasley, is also intending to publish a book for her research participants on their experiences about menopause. The need for such a monograph was highlighted by the women she studied.

[5] Other anthropologists have added an appendix to their work which detailed subject's objections, while others incorporated subject's responses as I did (Brettell 1993:21) .

[6] Which is redolent of the social dynamic of the gift; that the giver wants to have a relationship that is on-going. Dedications in monographs are also similarly symbolic.

[7] This of course presumes that anthropologists study 'down' when in fact many also study 'up'. They also study those in power.

[8] The period before Aotearoa / New Zealand was colonised.

[9] One reaction to this suggestion is likely to be that it threatens academic freedom. "(I)rrational shrieks of 'academic freedom' rose like rockets from launching pads" when Deloria dared to suggest this in the 1960's. (see Deloria 1969: 95 for further discussion of the difference between academic freedom and academic license). As Mphalele reminds us, a commitment to the needs of the people anthropologists work with need not result in propaganda (in Minh-ha 1989:11).

[10] By Indians doing anthropology in India.

[11] This room is accessible from the front verandah of the house. Using this entrance would help to maintain the family's privacy which was destroyed when requesting villagers used the courtyard entrance.

CHAPTER 8

Comments, Reactions and Suggestions

As stated in the first chapter, it was my intention to let a number of people who had been involved in this research read this dissertation, comment on it, and then incorporate those comments in the final draft. I sent a copy of the penultimate draft of this dissertation to Sue Wadley, Sunil Khanna, Nanhe Khan, Jageshwar Dubey and Umesh Pandey. The space between this chapter and the last therefore marks the time it took for those people to read this dissertation, and for me to address their comments, reactions and suggestions.

The period I spent waiting for people to read the dissertation and send me their comments was an anxious time, but I felt it was important to seek out comments for several reasons. As stated in the first chapter, I wanted to include the comments of other people because I knew that my account was not the only way of viewing anthropology and anthropologists in Karimpur. Secondly, I actively sought out people's comments because I knew that I didn't have the vast experience of anthropology or anthropologists that others did: I knew that I was fallible and that people's comments would enable me to correct discrepancies. Thirdly, I believe research participants have the right to read what has been written about them, as well as the right to comment. Allowing participants to read this dissertation was also important because a significant majority of the people interviewed about the texts on Karimpur had not read them. It was important to allow people who lived in "one of the most researched communities in South Asia" (Wadley 1994: xviii), as well as anthropologists who had worked in Karimpur, to read what I had written about them. Lastly, seeking out people's comments and including them in the text reflected the dialogic nature of the discipline, and the ongoing conversation that I believe anthropology to be.

While Sue, Umesh, Jageshwar, Nanhe, and Sunil read what I had written, I waited, and after a long six weeks their comments came back. Nanhe was the first to respond, and his letter was soon followed by one from Jageshwar. Sue then mailed her comments, not only to me but also to my colleague, Professor Margaret Trawick, and my supervisor, Dr. Jeff Sluka. Several weeks later I received Sunil's comments. Sue passed a copy of the dissertation to Bruce Derr who, she said, would read it and pass on any comments he wanted to make. However, at the time of writing, I have not received any comments from either Bruce or Umesh. While research participants have the right to comment on what has been written about them, they also have the right *not* to comment. Therefore, what follows is a discussion of how the comments I did receive were incorporated into this dissertation.

Firstly, people wrote some positive things about what they had read. The following is a section of Nanhe's letter:

> Dear Sister
> I received your book and presents. Thank you. According to my opinion and my views the collection, additions and information written by you is all true. I hope your book will be useful for coming generations. Of course I have not read your book so deeply but whatever I read I feel it is correct.... Ask my Namaste for Clif and daily love for Tom and Tom's sister,
> Nanhe Khan.

Jageshwar said he had read the dissertation very carefully, and after suggesting several changes he concluded by saying:

> Though anthropologists have worked and they wrote as they liked, your work is clean and without any hesitation. Again I wish and pray to God that your work will be brightened one day...Please say my Namaste to Tom and his father, *Tom ki Papa*. My love to your daughter. And finally with well wishes and thanks to you for your hard labour. Again my Namaste to you, with thanks.
> Yours sincerely,
> Jageshwar Prasad Dubey.

While Nanhe agreed with everything he had read, Jageshwar saw the need for four alterations. Sue saw the need for eighty one changes and Sunil for ten changes.

1. THE CHANGES WE AGREED UPON

While Nanhe thought that everything he had read so far was correct, Jageshwar, Sunil and Sue pointed out what they considered to be errors. This included things like dates (Sue pointed out several errors relating to the times she had worked in the village) and measurements (such as the length of a sari). In other cases I had misspelt Hindi words, and Jageshwar thought that the Muslim festival of Ramadan was spelt *Ramzan*. Commentators had also inferred meanings which I had not intended. In these cases I altered the dissertation in one of two ways. Firstly, where I believed commentators were correct, or where they had incorrectly inferred something from the text, the spelling or phrasing was corrected. Secondly, where I believed that more than one variant was possible (such as in the case of the name of the Muslim festival), I added a footnote on the appropriate page to that effect, noting that this information derived from reader's comments.

People's comments also provided additional information about the issues, experiences and events that I had written about. In two cases Sue's comments contributed to a fuller picture about negotiations I observed her participating in; they related to the help she gave a woman and the conditions under which the Ramlila was held. Sunil pointed out that, had we interviewed the people he employed as research assistants, the picture I presented about him would have been a fuller one, and in Chapter Five, he made the observation that Nanhe was an important link to the community, but not

his paid research assistant. Rather than place this important data in footnotes, I incorporated these comments into the text. At this point readers will already be aware of this because in each case the data was prefaced with a statement about its source.

Other comments, which I considered to be of lesser importance (such as comments relating to Umesh reading Sue's latest book, Umesh's age and Bruce and Sue photographing people who had died) were also prefaced by a statement about the information's source but were included in footnotes on the appropriate page. In summary, if comments were crucial to the text they were added to it, but if I deemed them to be of lesser significance then they were added as footnotes.

2. LESS AGREED UPON CHANGES

While these types of corrections were easily made, other points made by Sue, Sunil and Jageshwar were not so easily addressed. In several cases, comments made about other research participants were, in my opinion, derogatory, and in some cases they were not true. While one commentator wanted their comments included verbatim, as an anthropologist with an ethical responsibility to all research participants, I chose to exclude some of these comments because of the hurt they might cause. The decision to do this was based on my knowledge of the people concerned and I accept full responsibility for doing this. In a second category, comments addressed points which commentators thought had been omitted. In fact those issues had been addressed and were not included (again) for that reason. In other cases commentators suggestions about what I should include, such as Sue's suggestion that my analysis should focus more on a feminist perspective, were beyond the bounds of my research and were not included for that reason.

In a final category of cases, what commentators said did not entirely match my own conclusions. I felt that had I incorporated those comments in the text, or situated them in footnotes, it would have been confusing for the reader. Such a move had the potential to interrupt the flow to the point that the meaning (of the commentator's arguments, and my own arguments) would not have been clear. Rather than adding these comments to the text (as one commentator expected me to do), or situating them in footnotes, I chose to use this chapter to discuss them more fully. Many of the comments of this type had similar themes and it therefore made sense to discuss them in terms of their commonality, rather than treat them separately as they appeared in each of the letters.

2.1 VARIABLE AND CONDITIONAL DEFINITIONS

One of the most striking themes to emerge from people's comments was how what people said often highlighted the position from which they spoke. An example of this was Jageshwar's definition of what it means to be *brahman*. In Chapter Five I had recounted Nanhe's definition of a *brahman*, and after reading this Jageshwar wrote to me saying:

> Nanhe said "one Brahman I know reads the *Gita* and *Ramayan* but his brother was a gambler. Some non-Brahmans do not drink therefore they are Brahmans". I am not satisfied with this statement because Brahman is a caste, so how can you say one caste can change by reading good books or by an other way? Good or bad habits cannot change caste.

Jageshwar believed *jati* to be immutable, but in making this point he also highlights the social position from which he speaks. Jageshwar is a *brahman* from the uppermost *jati*, while Nanhe is a *faqir* from a *jati* near the bottom of the social hierarchy. As a *brahman* Jageshwar believes that the fruits of one's actions in this life are reflected in the position one is born into in the next life, while Nanhe, a Moslem, believes that the fruits of his actions are reflected later in this life. What both men say highlights their individual position within society, the differences in their religious beliefs and their approach to life itself.

In a similar way, Sue's comments highlighted the different way in which she and I (and the people of Karimpur) thought of the Wisers. In her comments she had the following to say:

> Charlotte and William Wiser were never anthropologists, nor would they have wanted to be thought that. They were missionaries who also wrote about village India and ultimately, after writing *Behind Mud Walls*, actually received some graduate social science training (William a PhD in Rural Sociology from Cornell University and Charlotte an MA in Nutrition). I think that this analysis would benefit from noting the distinction between anthropologist and missionary. Following Madan, they were pioneers, but I disagree in calling them anthropologists. I think for most readers of their books, they remain more missionary than anthropologist.

Sue regards the Wisers as missionaries, claims they thought of themselves similarly, and believes that readers of their books also think of them as missionaries, but just as Jageshwar and Nanhe differ in the way that they define what a *brahman* is, Sue and I use different criteria to define the Wisers. While I have noted their missionary activities, I have included them in the group 'anthropologists' for a variety of reasons. While Mandelbaum defined them as missionaries who made a notable contribution to anthropology (in foreword to Wiser 1963:vi), Madan defined them as anthropologists (1994:90n). Similarly, people in Karimpur tended to associate the Wisers with anthropologists who lived and worked in Karimpur. They expressed this by speaking about the connections between the Wisers and other anthropologists (by referring to them as fictive kin of each other), by recognising that they were professionally related, by expecting me to behave like Charlotte, and by speaking about their common char-

acteristics (such as the fact that four of them were born in America). Charlotte's similarities to Sue were also emphasised by people in the surrounding district, in the legend about the *rani sahab:* the one female who had continued to visit the village for many years (Wadley 1994:xvii). Because the people of Karimpur tended to emphasise their similarities (rather than their differences), because they treated them similarly, and because the Wisers have been defined by at least one anthropologist as anthropologists, I have, at times, done the same.

Sue's comments about the Wisers being missionaries (and my defining them as anthropologists), like Jageshwar's and Nanhe's comments about what makes a person *brahman,* reiterate the idea that definitions (whether they are made by the individual concerned or by others) are often variable, conditional and illustrate something about the speaker and the context.

2.2 DIFFERENT CRITERIA FOR ASSESSMENT

Another point, in Jageshwar's letter, illustrated the difference between anthropological and indigenous interpretations for defining wealth and poverty in Karimpur. In Chapter Three I cited Sue who concluded that, since 1925, the population of Karimpur had become increasingly poor. In response to this Jageshwar wrote:

> This statement by Wadley is doubtful. The population of Karimpur is increasingly wealthy. Nowadays it is 4,000. Every ten years it increases a lot.

While Jageshwar assesses the economic status of his natal village by population increase, Sue assesses land holdings, employment, ownership of material goods (such as tractors, trucks and motorcycles), housing standards, the value of dowries given and received, education levels, and people's ability to feed themselves and their families. She notes that, since 1925, the actual number of poor have increased and the the number of families categorised as affluent has decreased (Wadley 1994:218-9). While Sue and I use different criteria to define whether the Wisers were missionaries or anthropologists, Jageshwar and Sue use different criteria to assess prosperity.

2.3 WHEN CONCLUSIONS DON'T MATCH EXPERIENCE

Another important point, raised by Jageshwar's comments, was how anthropological accounts don't always match the perception you might have of yourself or your community. As noted in Chapter One, after being interviewed by a student for a paper on single parents my reading of that report didn't match my own perception of myself, nor did it match the enjoyment I had in talking about my experience. Similarly, one of Jageshwar's comments highlighted the sadness that can result when members of a community behave differently from the way you would wish them to. This was expressed in the following section of his letter:

> I read your dissertation very carefully and found Mrs. Wiser, Susan Wadley and the other anthropologists worked here and collected data and information. They said wherever you go everyone looks like they want something. They [anthropologists] made a sketch [a picture] of beggaring. To my knowledge these anthropologists helped poor people as they liked.

> But [for me] it is not a question of whether they helped or not. There are so many people in the village who do not want anything from these people. I never took any help from anyone. Whenever I read this point I feel very sorry. I also worked for a long period. Anthropologists have a limited sphere, i.e. they met Umesh, Nanhe Khan and others. They set a rate [of payment], gave them work, and after that they feel that they have lost something. In this connection my opinion is open. Any anthropologist is most welcome to come here and work. He is most welcome to come here. I and my friends will do our best without any payment. I will provide them with a residence in Mainpuri.

I understand that being told that people from your natal village wanted something from anthropologists is distressing, particularly when you, and the people you know, never wanted anything from them. While I did not intend to convey the idea that everyone is out to get something from anthropologists, I found there were many people who certainly thought that anthropologists should give them something; there were many who believed in reciprocal exchanges rather than free gifts. However, when Sue said that it feels as if "Every time you turn around there is someone wanting something from you" her words also highlighted the differences between the basis for relationships with people in India and relationships with people in America (and Aotearoa). In both of these countries, 'begging' (or expecting material help from a friend) is not commonly associated with friendship (Trawick 1990:16), and therefore, for non-Indian anthropologists working in Karimpur, this was a tiring and stressful part of their work. While requesters tired both Sue and I, there were also times when I was astounded by people's hospitality and profound generosity, often to the point where I had no hope of ever reciprocating. Jageshwar confirmed this for me when he said that he was prepared to work for any anthropologist without payment, and offered to provide accommodation for them.

2.4 AUTHORS AND ANTHROPOLOGISTS

While Jageshwar was upset to read about what he felt was a "sketch of beggaring", Sue commented on something which was at odds with my own conclusions. In response to Chapter Six, she noted how she had never explained her presence to anyone in Karimpur other than being there to write books:

> In fact my standard line, translated to English runs like this: "You know that Wiser *sahab* wrote a book about the village (invariably this would receive a polite yes-nod, though I doubted that in fact the person did). I would go on, "Well things have changed a lot since then. You know, he wrote a book a very long time ago." (More head nods). "So I am going to write a book about how the village is today. Is that OK? Things have changed, haven't they?" (And then we would be off and running on some topic).

While Sue explained her presence in the village as being there to collect data for a book, I found when Nanhe, Umesh or I asked forty people if they knew about these books, a significant majority told us they didn't. It could therefore be assumed that the

people Nanhe, Umesh and I spoke to had either not been interviewed by Sue, not told, or if told had forgotten that Sue was there to collect data for a book. The truth of this situation would be difficult to ascertain. However, despite this, in light of Sue's comment, it is even more vital that these people actually see what has been written about them, and that it be in a language and format they can understand. Perhaps then people will clearly understand what it is that anthropologists do with the "help" that the villagers give them. When they have read what anthropologists have written about them, and when they have the opportunity to comment on the texts, they will more fully understand that anthropologists collect data in order to write books.

2.5 THE ETHICS OF COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH

Both Sue and Sunil commented on the ethics of my research. In this section, and in the next, I address their concerns. Sue felt that I went to India to "help Umesh write his life story, not build a dissertation out of his life story", and she believed that Umesh's not being in India when I arrived on my second trip was indicative of his "reluctance to be involved in dissertation work". She also felt that I had lied to her about my research intentions and had therefore breached two sections of the NZASA Code of Ethics which states that firstly, "the aims of the investigation should be communicated as well as possible to research participants", and secondly, that "the approval of the host population should be sought before fieldwork is begun". She was "appalled at this ethical break" given my "goal of chastising those who worked in Karimpur" before me.

It is important to note that chastising anthropologists was never my goal, either before this research began or at any point throughout its duration. If it had been my goal then my conclusions would have reiterated many of the points that Umesh made in his letter to the AAA but, as this dissertation shows, there are several points in Umesh's letter upon which he and I disagree. If I had intended to "chastise" anthropologists, it would have been necessary to take a stand against anthropologists and maintain that throughout the duration of the research. Such an approach is contrary to my definition of what it is that an anthropologist or social scientist does. Furthermore, if I had intended to construct an account that chastised anthropologists, I would have excluded all accounts which spoke of anthropologists favourably and focussed only on the accounts which berated them. I believe that I have constructed a balanced representation.

To clarify the issue of ethics (and Sue's comments illustrate that it does need clarification), it is necessary to outline again the process that led me to do this research. As stated in Chapter One, I saw Umesh's letter as an opportunity to conduct collaborative research, to be involved in a research partnership with him, which would result in his story being told. But, from the outset, I made it clear, not only in a letter to Umesh, but also in correspondence with Sue, that while Umesh wanted to tell his story, as the other party in the research partnership, I wanted to conduct research for a PhD. I felt that it was possible for a dissertation to incorporate Umesh's story, because a dissertation format and the telling of a life story are not at odds. As McBeth shows, life histo-

ries which are collaboratively constructed not only "allow the individual to shape the final form and to receive credit", but they can be written for both an academic and non-academic audience (in Brettell 1993:154).

Whether my project with Umesh was feasible was fundamentally dependent on us being able to work together. Neither of us had any idea about whether that was possible until we met and talked[1]. I knew from previous research that talking face-to-face about this type of project was important; communication by letter or phone was not enough. Because collaborative anthropology is designed to be of benefit to both partners, discussions about the goals, objectives, and shape of the final product were essential before the project began. Umesh and I had to meet, talk and get to know each other, and therefore going to Karimpur in January 1994 was an essential part of that process. Unlike traditional anthropology, where the anthropologist largely decides what will be researched and how, collaborative anthropology is a negotiated process, dependent on both parties defining their needs and then arriving at agreement about how that research will be conducted. At all stages, with the consent of both parties, the project can be redefined or terminated. It was with these ideas in mind that Umesh and I first met Karimpur in January of 1994.

My fieldnotes and correspondence provide evidence of this process. In late 1993 I wrote to Umesh and Sue expressing not only my willingness to tell Umesh's story, but my desire to do that as part of a PhD. In both letters I described what was meant by collaborative anthropology. I also explained to Sue that I would want to situate Umesh's experience among the experience of others (including the villagers and anthropologists). Sue wrote back expressing her willingness to be of help, but expressed a concern that this project might be part of a PhD. She felt that because Umesh had written of how the villagers had 'given' three PhD's to anthropologists in his letter to the AAA, he would not want to be involved in another. I was well aware that Umesh might have similar concerns, but felt that a *collaboratively* constructed dissertation had the potential to address both of our needs.

On the twenty first of January, 1994, Sue, Sunil and I arrived in Karimpur, but it wasn't until the fourth day in the village that Umesh and I found the time to talk about our project. He was extremely busy hosting three anthropologists, and we agreed to wait until he had the space and time to talk. Umesh also had concerns about discussing his experiences in front of Sue and Sunil. By the twenty seventh of January, we had still not discussed our intended project, but we had found some time and space to talk about some of his experiences as a research assistant and his experiences with anthropologists. Umesh consented to my recording those experiences in a written format. After eight days in Karimpur, Umesh and I had agreed that we would record his story, and that it would form part of my PhD dissertation. We agreed that, at a later date, he would translate his story into Hindi and publish it separately as a book.

Two days later, on the first of February, Sue accused me of spying on her, and lying

about my research intentions. I reiterated what I had told her previously, but I also told her that, two days previously, Umesh and I had agreed to work together to record his story. The following day, with Sue and Sunil's help, I recorded the requests for help that were made to them by villagers and what items they had given them. Both consented to my doing this, and both helped me to record that data. Over the next two days, Umesh continued to tell me about his life and, after Sue and Sunil left the village, we interviewed seven residents of the village about their experiences with anthropologists. On the eleventh of February (the day I left Mainpuri to travel to Delhi), wanting to ensure that Umesh was still sure he wanted to continue with the project, I asked him twice whether he had any objections to me gaining a PhD from this collaborative project. Twice he replied that he didn't have any objections because the project would enable him to tell his story. While Sue believes that Umesh was reluctant to be involved in dissertation work, that was not my experience. Umesh was well aware that I was looking for a topic for a PhD when I first wrote to him, and he replied to that letter by inviting me to come and visit Karimpur. He showed no reluctance to be involved in a collaborative project, despite knowing that his story would become a part of a dissertation.

Nearly ten months later, on the second of December 1994, Clif, Tom and I arrived in Mainpuri and discovered that Umesh wouldn't be returning to India until June of the following year. I spoke to Umesh that night, by phone, and asked him what he thought I should do. He told me I should research the villagers' experience of anthropologists and, using his letter to the AAA as the basis for that research, that is what I did. While Sue interprets Umesh being in the States when I arrived in December of 1994 as a reluctance to be involved in dissertation work, from what Umesh told me, I understand his not returning to India to be the result of an opportunity to earn a lucrative amount of money by working in Connecticut with Helen Meyers.

I did not set out to chastise anthropologists, nor did I, at any stage, lie about my research intentions. I am satisfied that I did communicate the aims of the research to my research participants and that I did that to the best of my abilities. I also sought the approval of the host population before fieldwork began. On both visits, with Umesh and Nanhe's help, I sought approval from headmen in the village. Permission was sought to record Umesh's experiences, and Sue and Sunil's experiences of being asked for help by villagers, and permission to interview people in Karimpur was gained from the 104 people that Nanhe, Umesh and I interviewed. On the second trip, permission to conduct research was also obtained from the SSP (Senior Superintendent of Police) of the Mainpuri district. Finally, permission was sought from Sue and Sunil to include my observations of them (and the data they helped me to record on that first trip) in the writing up phase of the dissertation. Their permission was sought for the second time for two reasons. Firstly, the aims of the project had changed, but secondly, I believed that allowing Sue and Sunil to read what I had written about them in the context of the dissertation would enable them to see how their words and experiences had been used. Because this was not the final draft, they (like Jageshwar, Umesh, Bruce

and Nanhe) were free to comment on things that they didn't want included, or errors in my interpretations.

2.6 BENEFITS AND DIALOGUE

The last point I wish to address relates to the need to discuss my own research in light of the questions posed in the last chapter. Sunil said that throughout my dissertation, and more strongly in the concluding chapter, I had stressed the need for a dialogue between anthropologists and research participants. Although he said that the list of recommended questions included in the final chapter was well taken, he felt that I needed to discuss my own research in light of these points. As his comments imply, if I am going to propose that anthropologists (and research participants) reading this dissertation ask these questions of the research they have been involved in, then I should ask those same questions of my own work.

Sunil posed the following questions:

> Who set the goals of your research? What benefits will Karimpur residents have from your research? How do you plan to assess those benefits?.. [Did the researchers studied have a] part in deciding the scope and goals of your research? Was there a dialogue between you and them prior to your fieldwork?

The goals of this research were set by Umesh and I, with Umesh's letter providing the foundation. However, those goals were influenced and shaped by what people chose to talk about in 104 interviews, as well as my own experiences and observations. Topics that arose throughout the course of interviews (such as issues associated with representation) and my own experiences (such as an experience of photographing people) were discussed.

The benefits of this research could be judged in a variety of ways. Firstly, they could be assessed in terms of how many people in Karimpur gain physical and intellectual access to books and articles that have been written about them, and the relevance of that material to those people. Secondly, they could be assessed by researching, at a later date, how many of those people are successful in their transactions with anthropologists. Thirdly, the benefits could be assessed by researching the level of dialogue that results between anthropologists and research participants in the village and beyond. The degree to which a dialogue had occurred would be reflected in the level of understanding that both anthropologists and research participants have about each other's concerns, experiences and needs.

Sunil's last question, about the role that researchers played in deciding the goals and scope of the research, is answered by my response to his first question. No, those researchers did not play a part in deciding the goals, nor was there any dialogue between them and myself prior to fieldwork, apart from informing them of what my intentions were by mail. If I had listened to Sunil's and Sue's advice[2], I wouldn't have continued with the project, for both made it clear, in different ways and at different

times, that I should not continue with my original intention to record Umesh's story. In retrospect, I am pleased that I did not take their advice, and that I did continue with Umesh's suggestion to research the villager's experience of anthropologists. As stated in the first chapter, this research sought to find out what research participants think about anthropologists and their fieldwork. It is my hope that this dissertation makes a contribution towards addressing this "enormous gap" in anthropological research (Clifford 1988:59).

REFLECTIONS ON THE PROCESS

While I might understand far more about anthropologists and anthropology than the day I first arrived in Karimpur, I now understand how complex and varied people's views of anthropologists and anthropology can be. What I have learned is how an individual's words and actions speak volumes about their social, cultural and individual position. For me this serves to confirm the conditional, multivocal and dialectical nature of research. In short, anthropology is more about conversations than a singular and definitive voice.

I remain convinced that anthropologists and the people with whom they work share many things in common beyond site and a degree of shared experience. What is most striking to me is the similarity in the way both groups behave as research participants. While people in Karimpur wanted to read what had been written about them, wanted to be involved in their own representation, and wanted reciprocal research relationships, these were also concerns for the anthropologists who worked in the community. They wanted to read what I wrote about them, they wanted to be involved in their own representation, and they had concerns about reciprocity. It is these similarities which strongly suggest the potential for a continued dialogue with research participants about the benefits and problems associated with anthropological research. As participants in a dialogue and a "We-relation" (Schultz in Narayan 1993:677), anthropologists and research participants can facilitate changes in anthropological practices.

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[1] As Park notes, a 'partnership' depends upon a joint engagement based on negotiation (1992:582). Meeting and talking was an essential part of that process.

2. Sue believed that although Umesh spoke English fluently, his nuances were Hindi. Therefore, she thought that someone who spoke both languages was more suited to recording Umesh's story.

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APPENDICES

1. NZASA Ethics Code

New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists
"PRINCIPLES OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY
AND ETHICAL CONDUCT"
(As adopted in 1987 and amended in 1990)

"NEW ZEALAND ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS: PRINCIPLES OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND ETHICAL CONDUCT"[1]

Prologue

The relationship between ethics and research is one of the most important problems faced by anthropologists. The demand for accountability and ethical responsibility in research is valid and has become irresistible, as instances to the contrary have resulted in impaired research opportunities, infringement on the autonomy of peoples studied, and in some instances harm to research participants.

The following Principles of Professional Responsibility and Ethical Conduct set forth the major ethical issues confronting New Zealand anthropologists in their work. It should be borne in mind that the issue of professional ethics, and the principles that follow, have been the focus of considerable debate and disagreement. The ethical problems faced by anthropologists have changed over time and have become more difficult to resolve, and there is not now, nor is there ever likely to be, any definitive agreement concerning either the nature of these problems or their solutions. With this in mind, this set of "Principles of Professional Responsibility" is intended to be a working document, amenable to revision after discussion at any AGM of the Association.

Ethical principles are vital for anthropologists because important ethical issues frequently arise in their work. This set of principles is intended to heighten awareness of the ethical issues that face anthropologists, and to offer them workable guidelines to help resolve these issues. It encourages anthropologists to educate themselves in this area, and to exercise their own good judgement. It is also intended to provide protection for anthropologists who come under pressure to act in ways contrary to their professional ethics.

It is recognized that ethical responsibilities sometimes conflict with one another, and the following principles are presented with full recognition of the social and cultural pluralism of host societies and the consequent plurality of values, interests, and demands in those societies. Nonetheless, it is imperative that anthropologists be knowledgeable about ethical issues, be concerned about the welfare of research participants and about the future uses of the knowledge they acquire, and accept personal responsibility for their decisions and actions. Where these imperatives cannot be met, anthropologists would be well-advised not to pursue the particular work in question.

The following principles are deemed fundamental to the anthropologist's responsible, ethical pursuit of the profession.

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[1] This document is a revised version of the American Anthropological Association's "Principles of Professional Responsibility" (1976). We are grateful to the AAA for permission to use their document as the basis for our own.

1. *Responsibility to Research Participants:*

In their work, anthropologists' paramount responsibility is to their research participants. When there is a conflict of interest, these individuals must come first. Anthropologists must do everything in their power to protect their physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honour their dignity and privacy.

a. Where research involves the acquisition of material and information transferred on the assumption of trust between persons, it is axiomatic that the rights, interests, and sensitivities of those persons must be safeguarded.

b. The aims of the investigation should be communicated as well as possible to research participants.

c. If at all possible, the approval of the host population or groups studied should be sought before fieldwork is begun. Anthropologists should also recognise and respect the right to choose not to be studied. Ethical research practice requires respecting researchparticipant's rights to refuse permission to conduct research, to decline to participate, and to rescind permission and discontinue participation at any time without harm.

d. Every effort should be exerted to cooperate with members of the host society in the planning and execution of research projects. Ideally, fieldwork based research should be a joint effort or partnership based on a collaborative and equal relationship between anthropologists and research participants or host communities.

e. While there is always an implied assumption of trust between researchers and research participants, every effort should be made to reach an explicit agreement to this effect.

f. Research participants have a right to remain anonymous. This right should be respected both where it has been promised explicitly and where no clear understanding to the contrary has been reached. These strictures apply to the collection of data by means of cameras, tape recorders, and other data-gathering devices, as well as data collected in face-to-face interviews or in participant-observation. Research participants should understand the capacities of such devices; they should be free to reject them if they wish; and if they accept them, the results obtained should be consonant with their right to welfare, dignity, and privacy. Despite every effort being made to preserve anonymity it should be made clear to research participants that such anonymity may be compromised unintentionally.

g. There is an obligation to reflect on the foreseeable repercussions of research and publication on the general population being studied.

h. The anticipated consequences of research should be communicated as fully as possible to the individuals and groups likely to be affected.

i. There should be no exploitation of research participants for personal gain. Fair return should be given them for their help and services. Ideally, anthropological research should have mutual benefits for the anthropologist and research participants. Anthropologists should recognise their debt to research participants and their obligation to reciprocate in appropriate ways. In order to maximize such potential benefits, the needs of research participants and the host community for research related to their welfare and development, as they perceive them, should be considered in setting research priorities, and participants should be involved in a collaborative relationship during all phases of the research.

j. In accordance with the Association's general position on clandestine and secret research, no reports should be provided to sponsors that are not also available to the general public and, where practicable, to the population studied.

2. Mataatua Declaration

Distr.
LIMITED

E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.4/1993/CRP.5
26 July 1993

Original: ENGLISH ONLY

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Sub-Commission on Prevention of
Discrimination and Protection
of Minorities
Working Group on Indigenous Populations
19-30 July 1993

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE CULTURAL & INTELLECTUAL
PROPERTY RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
WHAKATANE 12-18 JUNE 1993 AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

THE MATAATUA DECLARATION ON CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

JUNE 1993

GE.93-14346

In recognition that 1993 is the United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples;

The Nine Tribes of Mataatua in the Bay of Plenty Region of Aotearoa New Zealand convened the First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, (12 - 18 June 1993, Whakatane).

Over 150 Delegates from fourteen countries attended, including indigenous representatives from Ainu (Japan), Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, India, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Surinam, USA, and Aotearoa.

The Conference met over six days to consider a range of significant issues, including; the value of indigenous knowledge, biodiversity and biotechnology, customary environmental management, arts, music, language and other physical and spiritual cultural forms. On the final day, the following Declaration was passed by the Plenary.

PREAMBLE

Recognising that 1993 is the United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples;

Reaffirming the undertaking of United Nations Member States to:
"Adopt or strengthen appropriate policies and/or legal instruments that will protect indigenous intellectual and cultural property and the right to preserve customary and administrative systems and practices." - United Nations Conference on Environmental Development; UNCED Agenda 21 (26.4b);

Noting the Working principles that emerged from the United Nations Technical Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Environment in Santiago, Chile from 18 - 22 May 1992 (E/CN.4/Sub. 2/1992/31);

Endorsing the recommendations on Culture and Science from the World Conference of Indigenous Peoples on Territory, Environment and Development, Kari-Oca, Brazil, 25 - 30 May 1992;

WE

Declare that Indigenous Peoples of the world have the right to self determination; and in exercising that right must be recognised as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property.

Acknowledge that Indigenous Peoples have a commonality of experiences relating to the exploitation of their cultural and intellectual property;

Affirm that the knowledge of the Indigenous Peoples of the world is of benefit to all humanity;

Recognise that Indigenous Peoples are capable of managing their traditional knowledge themselves, but are willing to offer it to all humanity provided their fundamental rights to define and control this knowledge are protected by the international community;

Insist that the first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge (cultural and intellectual property rights) must be the direct indigenous descendants of such knowledge;

Declare that all forms of discrimination and exploitation of indigenous peoples, indigenous knowledge and indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights must cease.

1. RECOMMENDATIONS TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

In the development of policies and practices, indigenous peoples should:

1.1 Define for themselves their own intellectual and cultural property.

1.2 Note that existing protection mechanisms are insufficient for the protection of Indigenous Peoples Intellectual and Cultural Property Rights.

1.3 Develop a code of ethics which external users must observe when recording (visual, audio, written) their traditional and customary knowledge.

1.4 Prioritise the establishment of indigenous education, research and training centres to promote their knowledge of customary environmental and cultural practices.

1.5 Reacquire traditional indigenous lands for the purpose of promoting customary agricultural production.

1.6 Develop and maintain their traditional practices and sanctions for the protection, preservation and revitalisation of their traditional intellectual and cultural properties.

1.7 Assess existing legislation with respect to the protection of antiquities.

1.8 Establish an appropriate body with appropriate mechanisms to:

a) preserve and monitor the commercialism or otherwise of indigenous cultural properties in the public domain

b) generally advise and encourage indigenous peoples to take steps to protect their cultural heritage

c) allow a mandatory consultative process with respect to any new legislation affecting indigenous peoples cultural and intellectual property rights.

1.9 Establish international indigenous information centres and networks.

1.10 Convene a Second International Conference (Hui) on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples to be hosted by the Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Peoples Organisations of the Amazon Basin (COICA).

2. RECOMMENDATIONS TO STATES, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

In the development of policies and practices, States, National and International Agencies must:

2.1 Recognise that indigenous peoples are the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that knowledge.

2.2 Recognise that indigenous peoples also have the right to create new knowledge based on cultural traditions.

2.3 Note that existing protection mechanisms are insufficient for the protection of Indigenous Peoples Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights.

2.4 Accept that the cultural and intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples are vested with those who created them.

2.5 Develop in full co-operation with indigenous peoples an additional cultural and intellectual property rights regime incorporating the following:

- collective (as well as individual) ownership and origin
- retroactive coverage of historical as well as contemporary works
- protection against debasement of culturally significant items
- co-operative rather than competitive framework
- first beneficiaries to be the direct descendants of the traditional guardians of that knowledge
- multi-generational coverage span

BIODIVERSITY AND CUSTOMARY ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

2.6 Indigenous flora and fauna is inextricably bound to the territories of indigenous communities and any property right claims must recognise their traditional guardianship.

2.7 Commercialisation of any traditional plants and medicines of Indigenous Peoples, must be managed by the indigenous peoples who have inherited such knowledge.

2.8 A moratorium on any further commercialisation of indigenous medicinal plants and human genetic materials must be declared until indigenous communities have developed appropriate protection mechanisms.

2.9 Companies, institutions both governmental and private must not undertake experiments or commercialisation of any biogenetic resources without the consent of the appropriate indigenous peoples.

2.10 Prioritise settlement of any outstanding land and natural resources claims of indigenous peoples for the purpose of promoting customary, agricultural and marine production.

2.11 Ensure current scientific environmental research is strengthened by increasing the involvement of indigenous communities and of customary environmental knowledge.

CULTURAL OBJECTS

2.12 All human remains and burial objects of indigenous peoples held by museums and other institutions must be returned to their traditional areas in a culturally appropriate manner.

2.13 Museums and other institutions must provide, to the country and indigenous peoples concerned, an inventory of any indigenous cultural objects still held in their possession.

2.14 Indigenous cultural objects held in museums and other institutions must be offered back to their traditional owners.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

In respect for the rights of indigenous peoples, the United Nations should:

3.1 Ensure the process of participation of indigenous peoples in United Nations fora is strengthened so their views are fairly represented.

3.2 Incorporate the Mataatua Declaration in its entirety in the United Nations Study on Cultural and Intellectual Property of Indigenous Peoples.

3.3 Monitor and take action against any States whose persistent policies and activities damage the cultural and intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples.

3.4 Ensure that indigenous peoples actively contribute to the way in which indigenous cultures are incorporated into the 1995 United Nations International Year of Culture.

3.5 Call for an immediate halt to the ongoing 'Human Genome Diversity Project' (HUGO) until its moral, ethical, socio-economic, physical and political implications have been thoroughly discussed, understood and approved by indigenous peoples.

4. CONCLUSION

4.1 The United Nations, International and National Agencies and States must provide additional funding to indigenous communities in order to implement these recommendations.

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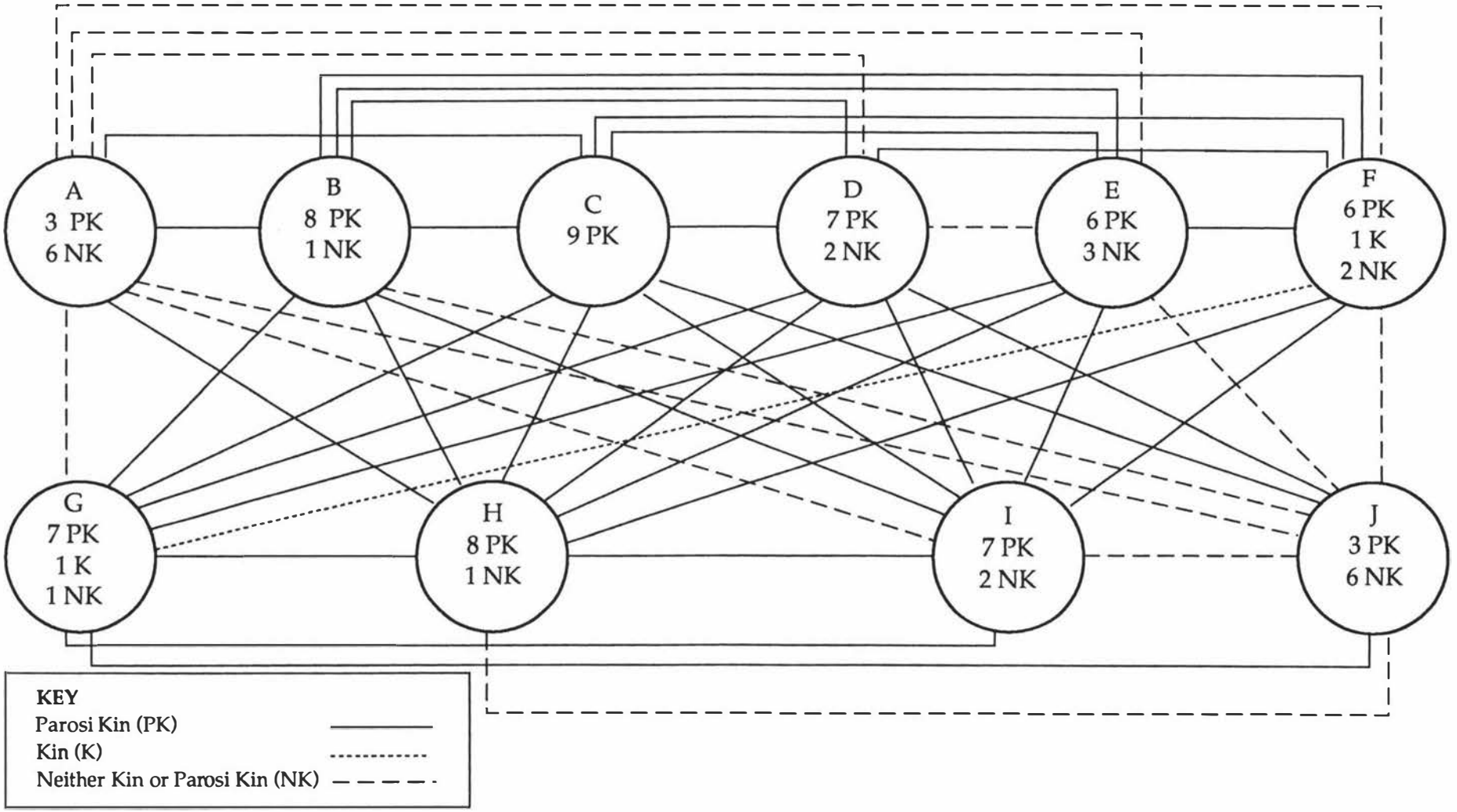
3. A "Parosi Kin Chart"

Relations for ten households living in one alleyway



4. Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy

VANUATU CULTURAL RESEARCH POLICY

1. Definitions

"Kastom" : traditional political, social, religious and economic structures, and their associated practices, systems of knowledge and material items.

"Local community" : the group(s) of people that are the subject of the research effort and/or live in the area in which research is being undertaken.

"Ni-Vanuatu" : a citizen of the Republic of Vanuatu as defined by the Constitution.

"Products of research" : publications (including reports, theses, books, manuscripts, academic articles, sound recordings, film and video, computer databases), field notes, illustrations, photographs, film and video, sound recordings, collected material artefacts, specimens.

"Cultural research" : any endeavour, by means of critical investigation and study of a subject, to discover new or collate old facts or hypotheses on a cultural subject; the latter being defined as any ethnographic or anthropological study, including basic data collection, studies of or incorporating traditional knowledge or classification systems (eg. studies of the medicinal properties of plants, land and marine tenure systems), documentary films, archaeology, linguistics and ethno-historical accounts. This excludes any research undertaken by ni-Vanuatu, by Government officers in the execution of their duty or at the request of the Government of the Republic of Vanuatu.

"Tabu" : a subject to which access is restricted to any degree. Such subjects can include places, names, knowledge, oral traditions, objects and practices.

"Traditional copyright" : the traditional right of informants to control the ways the information they provide is used and accessed. The issue of traditional copyright arises when informants either own or are the custodians of specialised (and usually tabu) knowledge and its communication. This knowledge can include names, designs or forms, oral traditions, practices and skills.

2. Guiding principles

i) Kastom is the expression of the achievements of the people of Vanuatu and encompasses the many different and distinct cultures of Vanuatu.

ii) Kastom belongs to individuals, families, lineages and communities in Vanuatu.

iii) The people of Vanuatu recognise the importance of knowing and conserving their kastom and history.

iv) Knowledge is founded upon research in the broadest sense, that is, upon the collation of new facts and hypotheses and the criticism, evaluation and interpretation of existing ones. Inevitably research is the product of researchers and their particular viewpoints.

v) The knowledge and dissemination of the kastom and history of Vanuatu should be directed firstly, if the subject is a particular culture to the people of that culture, secondly to other ni-Vanuatu and lastly to non-citizens.

vi) Research in practice is a cooperative venture involving researchers, individual and groups of informants, local communities, chiefs, cultural fieldworkers, cultural administrative bodies and local and national governments, and should be approached as such.

3. Policy statements

i) *Responsibility for research in Vanuatu*

The Vanuatu National Cultural Council is responsible for research in Vanuatu under cap.186, 6(2)(e) of the Laws of the Republic of Vanuatu. It is the role of the National Cultural Council to define and implement national research policies (including those outlined in this document), to define national research priorities, and to sponsor, regulate and carry out programs of research. As part of its regulatory function, the National Cultural

Council will determine whether it is desirable that a foreign national undertake research in the stated field.

ii) *Approval of research proposals*

1) *Evaluation* : All research proposals must receive the approval of the Vanuatu National Cultural Council and the local community. An explanation of the proposed research project to the local community by the researcher and/or the Cultural Centre is a prerequisite to the local community giving approval. Other bodies that should be consulted include the local government and the area council of chiefs. In cases where there are conflicts of interest (for example the local community wants a researcher but the local government disapproves) it is up to the National Cultural Council to determine whose wishes take precedence. The National Cultural Council may bring in advisors such as the Minister responsible for culture, chiefs, academics and professionals to assist in the evaluation of a research proposal. All researchers must provide to the Council the name and address of a referee of professional standing to assist in its evaluation of the proposal.

2) *Fees / Guarantees* : An authorisation fee to cover all administrative costs incurred in the setting up and implementation of the research venture must be provided by the researcher before the research proposal can be approved. This fee is 15 000 vatu for undergraduate students and 25 000 vatu for postgraduates, professional researchers and non-affiliated individuals and teams. Where research involves more than one visit, and this is clearly stated in the Research Agreement, a fee of 5000 vatu is to be paid on each subsequent visit after the first. In addition, researchers not affiliated with a recognised research institution will be required to provide a deposit of 40 000 vatu to ensure compliance with the conditions for the deposit of products of research as stipulated in section 3(vi) of this document. This fee is retrievable once such deposits are made. For affiliated researchers, a letter from the relevant institution guaranteeing the deposit of products of research by the researcher is required before the research proposal can be approved. All funds received from the researcher will be deposited in the National Museum Account, which is administered by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and used to fund the general work of cultural resource management in Vanuatu, including cultural research, documentation and revival projects. In cases where it is necessary for Cultural Centre personnel to travel to the proposed research location to help facilitate the research venture (either prior to, during or after the period of research), the researcher will agree in writing to reimburse the Cultural Centre for any costs incurred in such travel, and this agreement will be recorded in section 12 (Additional clauses/conditions) of the Research Agreement. The National Cultural Council may waive any or all of the above fees.

3) *Signification of approval* : The approval of a research proposal is signified by the signing of the Research Agreement [Appendix 1] by the researcher(s) and the National Cultural Council, the latter signing on behalf of the local community and the national government. In research ventures that involve more than one researcher, a separate agreement may be required for each researcher stating exactly what the research topic and capacity of each individual is to be, and which may carry its own unique obligations. Once the Research Agreement has been signed, the researcher is eligible to receive a "Researcher" visa, which is the permit the researcher requires to undertake research in Vanuatu. Should the National Cultural Council decide to terminate a research venture (see section (x) of this document), this will be signified by the withdrawal of this visa.

iii) *Encouragement of ni-Vanuatu performed research*

With a view to maximising opportunities for ni-Vanuatu to conduct research it is the responsibility of the National Cultural Council to: (a) initiate research ventures to be undertaken by ni-Vanuatu, including cooperative ventures with expatriates; (b) ensure input by ni-Vanuatu into all research projects; and (c) ensure that a research proposal received from a foreign national does not conflict with research undertaken by a ni-Vanuatu, which will involve identifying the possible research aspirations of ni-Vanuatu scholars in training. It is desirable that participatory research (where members of a community undertake research on their own culture) and research by non-academics in local communities, as well as by scholars, is encouraged. The national government has a role in encouraging research by ni-Vanuatu and in the support, recognition and provision of facilities for ni-Vanuatu researchers.

iv) *Training*

There must be maximum involvement of indigenous scholars, students and members of the community in research, full recognition of their collaboration, and training to enable their further contribution to country and community. Such training will be in specific areas determined by the researcher but should be generally concerned with cultural research and documentation skills, and have the aim of facilitating the continuation of research once the foreign researcher leaves the country. The National Cultural Council may nominate individuals to be involved in research and/or trained.

v) *Benefit to the local community*
All research projects will include a cultural product of *immediate benefit and use* to the local community. This product will be decided upon by the researcher, the local community and the Cultural Centre as part of the initial agreement, and the Cultural Centre should have a role in assisting the researcher in its provision. Such products could include booklets of kastom information, photo albums of visual records, simple educational booklets for use in schools (the provision of all products for use in schools should be coordinated by the Curriculum Development Unit), programs for the revitalisation of particular kastom skills in the community, training workshops in cultural documentation, etc. This product will be provided no later than 6 months after termination of the research period.

vi) *Deposit of products of research*
Copies of all non-artefact products of research are to be deposited without charge with the Cultural Centre [under cap.88 of the Laws of Vanuatu] and, where feasible, with the local community. Two copies of films and videos are to be provided, one for public screening and the other for deposit in the archives. In the case of films, a copy on video is also required. Any artefacts collected become the property of the Cultural Centre unless traditional ownership has been established as stipulated in the Traditional Copyright Agreement [Appendix 2]. The carrying of any artefacts or specimens outside the country is prohibited as stipulated under cap.39 of the Laws of Vanuatu. Artefacts and specimens may be taken out of the country for overseas study and analysis under cap.39(7), with conditions for their return being stipulated in the Research Agreement. The Vanuatu Cultural and Historic Sites Survey is to be consulted about the provision of information on any sites of cultural or historic significance recorded.

vii) *Accessibility of products of research*
The researcher will be responsible for the translation of a publication in a language other than a vernacular language of Vanuatu or one of the three national languages of Vanuatu into a vernacular or one of the national languages, preferably the one used in education in the local community. They will also make the information in all products of research, subject to copyright restrictions as stipulated in the Traditional Copyright Agreement, accessible to the local community through such means as audio cassettes or copies of recorded information, preferably in the vernacular. Researchers are also required to submit an interim report of not less than 2000 words no later than 6 months after the research period has ended giving a reasonable precis of their work. This should be in one of the national languages and in 'layman's terms' so as to be of general use to all citizens.

viii) *Benefit to the nation*
Having a trained person working at a local community level is an opportunity from which the nation can gain significant benefit, and the National Cultural Council, the Cultural Centre or the national government may therefore request the researcher to perform certain services additional to their research work. For instance, researchers could provide assistance to government by providing information on sideline topics of a general nature from their community research perspective, such as health surveys, information on the viability of certain development projects, etc. They could also provide free and independent consultancies to national bodies and teaching and curriculum development services. Similarly, the Cultural Centre could benefit from requesting the researcher to undertake specific lines of inquiry of an anthropological nature for its own purposes concurrently with their own research topic. Furthermore, such a trained person could initiate in their host community projects on behalf of the Cultural Centre such as libraries, education centres, Cultural Centres, etc. Foreign researchers can also provide for the Cultural Centre invaluable access to materials on Vanuatu held overseas, contacts overseas, and might be able to facilitate scholarships for ni-Vanuatu students in overseas educational institutions. Any such undertaking(s) expected of the researcher will be stipulated in the Research Agreement.

ix) *The Traditional Copyright Agreement*
The Traditional Copyright Agreement [Appendix 2] is intended to protect traditional copyrights and to ensure the respect of this indigenous method of controlling information and the communication of specialised knowledge and form. In all instances where information or material data is obtained by the researcher, the researcher and the supplier of this data must complete the Traditional Copyright Agreement which will state the conditions under which this material may or may not be used. The purpose of this agreement is to make the subjects and informants of research aware of their ownership and rights over the information they impart and to contractually enshrine these rights, thus obligating the researcher to respect them.

x) *Termination of a research project*
The National Cultural Council may revoke its approval of and terminate a research venture should the researcher fail to comply with any of the conditions agreed to in the Research Agreement. Should a research project be terminated before its completion, copies of all products of research made prior to termination are to

be deposited with the Cultural Centre as outlined in section 3(vi) of this document. In the case of termination by the local community, the National Cultural Council may reconsider the research project for another locality.

xi) *Role of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre*
The Cultural Centre is responsible for facilitating, coordinating, and administering all research projects in the country and for ensuring feedback on these projects to national government and non-government bodies. In this capacity the Cultural Centre will:

1) Identify potential subjects and areas of research, formulate research proposals and invite foreign and ni-Vanuatu researchers to undertake certain projects.

2) Facilitate and assist the undertaking of research by ni-Vanuatu.

3) Identify and facilitate opportunities for local communities to request trained researchers to assist them with research of their kastom and history.

4) Provide advice on obtaining permission to conduct research and on conditions of work and living in potential areas of research to interested parties.

5) Assist in the formulation of research proposals to involve input by ni-Vanuatu, and nominate persons for involvement.

6) Provide advice to the National Cultural Council.

7) Facilitate and ensure awareness of the research proposal in the local community and assist the members of the community in making a decision as to their involvement.

8) Educate local community members and the researcher(s) as to their rights under the Research Agreement and the Traditional Copyright Agreement.

9) Assist the local community and the researcher in determining the product of immediate benefit and use to be provided by the researcher and assist in its provision.

10) Inform the local government, area council of chiefs and any other relevant regional and national bodies of the undertaking of a research project.

11) Monitor the research venture with a view to ensuring compliance with the Research Agreement and providing feedback to relevant national bodies.

12) Assist the researcher.

13) Receive and caretake deposited products of research.

14) Facilitate the provision of products of research to schools and assist the National Curriculum Unit in their preparation.

15) Publicise this policy within Vanuatu and to overseas research institutions, universities, etc.

xii) *Commercial ventures*
Where any of the products of research are to be used for commercial purposes, a separate agreement between the National Cultural Council and the researcher will be made specifying the basis on which the proceeds of sales are to be distributed. The details of this agreement will be recorded in section 12 of the Research Agreement. As a general principle, 60% of all proceeds of sales are to accrue to the National Cultural Council, which is then responsible for distributing the funds received to the designated individuals, communities and institutions within Vanuatu. Where research is engaged in for commercial purposes, it is the responsibility of the researcher to make all informants and suppliers of information aware of this fact, and to come to an agreement with them (recorded in the Traditional Copyright Agreement) on the amount of royalties to be paid on received data. Copies of all commercial products of research are to be deposited with the Cultural Centre as specified in section 3(vi) of this document.

(2) The Researcher has paid an authorisation fee of either 25 000 or 15 000 vatu to cover all administrative costs incurred in the setting up and implementation of the research venture, or this fee has been waived by the Council.

(3) The right to the products of research shall belong to the Researcher who shall be entitled to reproduce them for educational, academic or scientific purposes, provided that traditional copyrights are not compromised and the permission to use material has been obtained, through the Traditional Copyright Agreement, from copyright holders. The products of research shall not be reproduced or offered for sale or otherwise used for commercial purposes, unless specified under section 12 of this agreement.

(4) Copies of all non-artefact products of research are to be deposited without charge with the Cultural Centre and, where feasible, with the local community. Two copies of films and videos are to be provided, one for public screening and the other for deposit in the archives. In the case of films, a copy on video is also required. Any artefacts collected become the property of the Cultural Centre unless traditional ownership has been established in the Traditional Copyright Agreement. The carrying of any artefacts or specimens outside the country is prohibited as stipulated under cap.39 of the Laws of Vanuatu. Artefacts and specimens may be taken out of the country for overseas study and analysis under cap.39(7). The conditions for the return of the following materials are:
(Specify artefacts/specimens/other materials and conditions for return)

The Researcher has either
(a) provided a letter from the institution to which they are affiliated guaranteeing the researcher's compliance with the above conditions, or
(b) provided a retrievable deposit of 40 000 vatu to ensure their compliance with these conditions.

(5) The Researcher will be responsible for the translation of a publication in a language other than a vernacular language or one of the three national languages of Vanuatu into a vernacular or one of the national languages, preferably the one used in education in the local community. They will also make the information in all products of research, subject to copyright restrictions, accessible to the local community through such means as audio cassettes or copies of recorded information, preferably in the vernacular. The Researcher will also submit an interim report of not less than 2000 words no later than 6 months after the research period has ended giving a reasonable precis of their work. This will be in one of the national languages and in 'layman's terms' so as to be of general use to all citizens.

(6) There will be maximum involvement of indigenous scholars, students and members of the community in research, full recognition of their collaboration, and training to enable their further contribution to country and community. The Council nominates the following individuals to be involved in research and/or trained, in the following capacities:

(7) A product of immediate benefit and use to the local community will be provided by the Researcher no later than 6 months after termination of the research period. This product is:

(8) In addition to their research work, the Researcher will, as a service to the nation of Vanuatu, undertake to: (section3(viii) of the Cultural Research Policy suggests possible services of benefit to the nation)

(9) In undertaking research the Researcher will:
a) recognise the rights of people being studied, including the right not to be studied, to privacy, to anonymity, and to confidentiality;
b) recognise the primary right of informants and suppliers of data and materials to the knowledge and use of that information and material, and respect traditional copyrights, which always remain with the local community;
c) assume a responsibility to make the subjects in research fully aware of their rights and the nature of the research and their involvement in it;
d) respect local customs and values and carry out research in a manner consistent with these;
e) contribute to the interests of the local community in whatever ways possible so as to maximise the return to the community for their cooperation in the research work;
f) recognise their continuing obligations to the local community after the completion of field work, including returning materials as desired and providing support and continuing concern.

(10) In all cases where information or material data is obtained by the Researcher, a Traditional Copyright Agreement will be completed by the Researcher and the supplier of data regarding this material. The Researcher has a responsibility to make such informants fully aware of their rights and obligations, and those of the Researcher, in the signing of the Traditional Copyright Agreement.

(11) A breach of any part of this agreement by the Researcher or a decision by the local community that it no longer wishes to be involved in the research venture will result in the termination of the research project.

(12) (Additional clauses/conditions) (This section will detail commercial ventures, extra costs incurred by the Cultural Centre, etc.)

Appendix 1.

Research Agreement

AN AGREEMENT made the day of , 199 .

BETWEEN : THE NATIONAL CULTURAL COUNCIL, representing the Government of the Republic of Vanuatu and the local community, (hereinafter called "the Council") of the one part.

AND :

of (institution)

(hereinafter called "the Researcher") of the other part.

WHEREAS :

(1) The Researcher has applied to the Council to do research work in the Republic of Vanuatu, and agrees to the conditions placed upon her/him in this document and to compliance with the intent of the ethics described in the Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy.

(2) The Council has agreed to allow the Researcher to do such research, and has agreed to the obligations placed upon it by this document and by the Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy.

AND THEREFORE THE PARTIES AGREED AS FOLLOWS :

(1) The Council hereby authorises the Researcher to undertake research work in Vanuatu on the subject of

with the communit(y/ies) of

on the island/s of

in the capacity of (if more than one researcher is involved)

for the period up until (Specify if research will involve more than one visit)