Notes

Chapter One  Introduction

1. Khush is a term used by a number of South Asian queers, diasporic and within South Asia, to refer to themselves. Khush literally means happy in Hindi.

2. Desi another Hindi word that means: native or from “desh.” Desh refers to one’s nation, nation of origin, or community.

3. I specifically focus on contemporary feminist anthropology and recognize that the essay as a genre is much used amongst feminists (both non-academic and academic) outside of the discipline of anthropology.

4. In order to increase the “growth rate” the reforms included an increase in foreign investments and incentives for exporters, a 20 percent depreciation of the rupee, reduction in protection to public sector industries, increase in foreign investor equity to 51 percent and rise in price of rice, steel, sugar, and electricity.

5. The cross-conditionality of the IMF and World Bank loans included structural adjustment and stabilization measures involving trade and the economy such as: cutting subsidies, increasing the prices of food and fertilizers, reduction of fiscal deficits, delicensing, increase in foreign investment, and devaluation of the rupee. Shastri, Vanita, “The Politics of Economic Liberalization in India,” Contemporary South Asia (1997), 6(1), 27–56.

6. For instance, listserves such as the khush list and LGBT India (and several other local list serves) have been extremely vital in connecting khush activists and scholars (especially between India, United States, United Kingdom, and Canada).

7. Anamika was a group formed in 1985, in the United States, for South Asian lesbians and by the early 1990s was no longer in operation. Trikone was formed in 1986, in the United States, for South Asian queers and is still running strong. Desh Pardesh (literally Nation/Abroad) was an organization, based in Toronto, Canada, that annually organized a conference/festival “Desh Pardesh” for South Asians and diasporic South Asians.

9. *Humjinsi: A Resource Book on Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Rights in India* has a list of South Asia specific publications (academic and non-academic and of various genres) starting from 1990 to 1996. Furthermore work by Ratna Kapur, Shohini Ghose, Rosemary George, and Gayatri Gopinath have variously contributed to the discussions of law, free speech, diasporic identity, and the media.

10. My work does not specifically address the hijra communities, “third gender” communities, or any work done on “transexual” communities. Furthermore, I use the term genderqueer in a very broad sense to refer to folks who identify as lesbian, khush, or gay and also are non-normative in their gender expression, and in a broad sense trans/gendered.


**Chapter Two  The Evidence of Arrogant Experience: Boomerang Anthropology and Curdled Otherness**


3. I am specifically referring to the work of anthropologists (many of whom variously identify as feminist, queer, of color, and/or mixed race/national/cultural) such as Kath Weston, Lila Abu-Lughod, Kirin Narayan, Ruth Behar, Kamala Visweswaran, and Faye Harrison.

4. A term borrowed from Arjun Appadurai.


7. I want to thank Kath Weston for providing me a historical context regarding the SOLGA T-shirt issue.

8. Kath Weston refers to the epistemological roots of anthropology (and other related and coterminous disciplines such as sexology and psychology) within an existing Anglo-European culture that perpetuated and reproduced “stigmatized categories” of homosexual behaviors, identities, and practices. Weston notes that earlier versions of “expert” knowledge that perceived homosexuality as a “matter of individual pathology” (such as the medical and the psychological models) began being challenged by scholars of “the social constructivist school in the 1970s.” Furthermore,
Weston notes that the few anthropological works on homosexuality in the late 1960s arose within the context of a burgeoning lesbian and gay movement in the United States.

9. Weston explores hegemonic understandings of what kinship/family has meant in mainstream culture, the ongoing exiling of lesbians and gay men from this particular understanding of kinship and how lesbian and gay men create and therefore “choose” their own families and kinship networks. Weston also challenges the standards and theories used in kinship studies in anthropology. Weston’s ethnography covers interconnected topics that include issues such as: how lesbians and gay men form or “choose” their families, “come out” to “blood” relatives/family, parenting in lesbian/gay families, xenophobic policies and attitudes in the United States regarding lesbian and gay men.

10. Asad makes a specific reference to Victor Turner in his Introduction to Colonialism in Africa 1870–1960, where Turner says that “Thus yesterday’s ‘socialist’ has become today’s reactionary,” and that “there is no point in special pleading or contentious argument”; there are “objective,” “common sense” and “professional standards” in anthropology.

11. Scott, Gender and the Politics of History, p. 408.

Chapter Three  Compulsory Individuality and the Trans/national Family of Nations: The Girl-Child, Bollywood Barbie, and Ms. Worldly Universe

1. Swa means “own” and deshi means “national” or “native.” So Swadeshi means self-rule or a nation that was independent and uncolonized, and was capable of being governed by indigenous leaders. Videshi meant the opposite: external rule, colonization, and foreign dominance. So, for example, the Indian nationalists advocated Swadeshi and the elimination of Videshi culture and dominance.

2. India gained its independence from the British empire in 1947. Independence Day is on August 15, marking India’s freedom from British colonialism. On January 26, 1948, India became an independent republic, thus Republic Day.

3. Doordarshan is the state sponsored national TV station. Doordarshan was started in the early 1970s and until recently had a complete monopoly. Star and Zee Channels are private TV stations that started operations in the early 1990s. Star Channel is owned by the media baron Rupert Murdoch, the owner of the Fox Channel in the United States and several TV stations in Asia, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Zee Channel is owned by Indian entrepreneurs based in Mumbai.

4. The film industry was based in Bombay (now Mumbai). This film industry produces three times more films than Hollywood.

5. Raj Kapoor was an established Bollywood director and producer (and during his early career a huge star) of numerous films that produced
movies that problematically raised issues such as: family honor, duty, virginity, and Indian-ness.

6. *Filmi* is the result of cross pollinization of Hindi and English, or Hinglish, and is a slang term for Bollywood representations.

7. Malayalam is the language spoken by Malayalis who are the ethno-linguistic communities from the state of Kerala.

8. Literally meaning wealth that belongs to others. The term implies that daughters will always marry out of her birth family and become the wealth (as reproducer and caretaker) of her husband’s family. Thus as an investment the daughter produces better returns for her husband and his family and is a guaranteed bad investment for her family of origin.

9. The Nairs are considered to be one of the upper caste Malayalis (the warrior caste just below the Namboodiri priestly caste) and are considered to have a matrilineal kinship system. Although some work has been done on the history of Nairs in Kerala, the anti-caste movements in twentieth-century Kerala, and the colonial effects on land and lineage systems of the matrilineal Nairs, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to delve into these issues.

10. Socially Useful and Productive Work was a compulsory class at our all-girls school where students were taught to do volunteer work—such as assist doctors at clinics and visit the elderly in “old age homes.”


14. Vimla Patil, editor of *Femina* (a popular woman’s magazine), which is one of the chief sponsors of the national Femina Miss India, contest that selects winners for international beauty contests.

15. Jyoti Basu was the Chief Minister of West Bengal. The ruling party, in the state of West Bengal, that he heads is the Communist Party of India (Marxists) or CPI(M). The CPI(M) under Jyoti Basu has been continuously in power since 1977.

16. Businesses involved at the national level also include Proctor & Gamble, Ford, L’oreal, Revlon, Yardley, Benckiser, Pepsi Foods Limited, Coke, Kawasaki, Godrej, Cinthol, Garden, Kelvinator, Colgate-Palmolive, Prestige, and various airline companies.


19. In fact, India struck a “triple whammy” in 2000, because an Indian contestant, Diya Mirza Handrich, won Miss Asia Pacific. But not much attention got paid to this fact or to the winner. In 1998, 1995, 1993, and 1973 Indian women have come in as first-runners-up. And, in 1970, film star Zeenat Aman won the title. It is particularly interesting to note that
many of the Indian contestants who participated in this contest came from Anglo-Indian and/or Parsee families.


21. From the 1995 India Day Parade in N.Y.C.


23. Sushmita Sen’s answer to the question asked during the final round of the Miss Universe Contest. The question was: What does it mean to be a contemporary Indian woman?

24. Dravidians and Adivasis are usually equated with the indigenous and tribal peoples of India. It is assumed by many that Dravidians and Adivasis are much darker than the “average” Indian.

25. Jamshed Boman Homi Wadia (1901–1986) was a Hindi film director, active member of Parsee Theater, and founder of the Radical Democratic Party of India (1937). His fascination with U.S. westerns and the stunt genre led him to form the Wadia Movie Tone Company in 1933. He is best known for the Fearless Nadia films such as *Hunterwali* (1935), *Miss Frontier Mail* (1936), *Diamond Queen* (1940), Carnival Queen (1955), and *Hatimtai* (1956). He ended up marrying Fearless Nadia in 1961. Recently, Fearless Nadia’s relative, Riyad Wadia, has made his own film, Hunterwali, to include the left out queer story of Fearless Nadia.


27. Both the book and the 1957 movie have been extensively discussed by Mrinalini Sinha and Parma Roy, respectively.

28. Other parallel contests in which Indian women participated in since the 1960s were: Miss International, Mrs. World, and Miss Teen. Mrs. World, which was an erratic contest started in 1984 and a subsidiary of Miss World Inc., had an Indian winner in 2000. Mr. World, started in 1996, by Miss World, had frequent Indian contestants, but the most successful attempt was reaching the semifinals in 1996. And then there is Manhunt International, which has produced many Indian actors (such as Bollywood’s Dino Morea) and models and a winner from India in 2001. Miss Intercontinental (previously known as Miss Teen Princess Intercontinental), and which began in 1973, has a long Indian line up since 1975. The first Indian winner was Tina Munim in 1975 (Bollywood actress and Ambani corporate wife), a 1997 winner and many have made it to the semifinals. And, then there is Miss World Worldwide a diasporic contest of sorts. Begun in 1990 it has winners from the global Indian diaspora.

29. Another case of Asian foreign/beauty policy occurred in 1956. Miss Pakistan-Universe was allowed to participate, despite objections from the Brotherhood of Mullahs over the swimsuit segment, when the more “emancipated” and “westward-looking” members of the Pakistani Pageant Association “...promised that when Miss Pakistan reached
California, she would be in a good position to say a few words in favor of Pakistan's claim to Kashmir." *Time*, June 25, 1956.


33. Najundaswamy and the State Farmer’s Association had also been involved in “direct action” against MNC food chains, such as KFC and Pizza Hut, and those operating in the food sector.

34. Protestors included The BJP, which is the main opposition party to ruling Janata Dal and Chief Minister J.H. Patel in Karnataka; it mobilized its elected representatives from the state and members of local bodies. Other protestors included the following: Hindu Nationalists (BJP, Kannada Chaluvali, VHP), Marxist groups such as the CPI(M), Center of Indian Trade Unions (who protested the entry of MNCs through beauty contests); Akhil Bharatiya Vidhyarti Parishad, Youth Congress(I), a variety of women’s groups (e.g., Mahila Morcha of the BJP, Mahila Dakshata Dal, Karnataka Mahila Dal, Mahila Jagran Samiti); Tamilnadu Pennurimal Kazagan, the All India Women’s Progressive Association, Working Women’s Front, Tamilnadu Integrated Women’s Front, Women’s Legal Cell, Women’s Education Center, Dravidar Kazhagam, CPI(ML), Freedom Panthers, Tamil National Communist Party, Worker’s Liberation Movement, Tamilnadu Paraiyar Peravai, Progressive Youth Federation, Revolutionary Youth League, Dalit Friends Association and Scientific Literary Center, All India Democratic Women’s Association (Brinda Karat and Subhasini Ali); Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha—same as State Farmer’s Association (KRRS), Girls Islamic Organization (GLO), and the women’s wing of the Jamat-e-Islami. Protests were also held in nearby cities such as Hyderabad, Chennai, and Tuticorin.

35. A joint petition was filed by the Mahila Jagran and Pramila Nesargi of the BJP to the Karnataka High Court, opposing the hosting of the pageant anywhere in India, stating the following reasons: That it was against “Bharatiya Samskruti” (Indian Culture) and a violation of 292 of the IPC (indecent representation of women), particularly the assisting of the pageant by the Karnataka Government; the unauthorized use of the stadium; the serving of alcohol as violation of the Excise Act; the abuse of city and state resources such as water, electricity, and security forces; and the use of loudspeakers after 10pm (a violation of the Police Act). The Karnataka High Court then ruled on Nov 19. It did not ban the pageant, but imposed certain conditions on ABCL. The court ruled the following: No liquor, no indecent exposure, nudity or obscene gestures that would injure the dignity of women (so a designated member of the police and high court would monitor the event), no paramilitary forces; Army or Border Security Forces would be used, no defense premises or property to be used by the show—since these would be public funds, and ABCL was to provide payment for extra security; (“ABCL Plea Hearing Today,” *The Telegraph*, November 22, 1996; “Supreme Court Clears Catwalk for
Beauties,” *The Telegraph*, November 23, 1996). This ruling was taken up by ABCL to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court then said that liquor was selectively permissible for a discriminating few in certain enclosures (dignitaries, organizers etc). It would be used as a welcome and ending toast. No liquor was to be served to the “general audience and participants.” However, the swimsuit portion of the contest was held in the island of Seychelles on the Indian Ocean.

37. Other sponsors included Godrej, Citibank, Air India, Motorola, Sahara Airlines, Yatrik, and Europcar.
43. Polygamy practiced by Brahmins in West Bengal.
45. For example, Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922) started the Mahila Samaj (women’s groups) to address these issues. However, her critique of Hinduism and Hindu scriptures did not make her too popular with the nationalists.
46. In 1928, the name was changed to All India Women’s Conference. Other national women’s groups included the Women’s India Association (1917) and the Ladies Congress (1908).
48. These areas thus include investment rules, license-raj deregulations, investment taxes, stock market regulations/disputes, customs duties on imported cars, and exchange rate reforms. If anything Varshney points out that these reforms may negatively impact indigenous industrialists who have received heavy protection. Resistance to these kinds of internal liberalization was expressed initially by the Hindu nationalist government as well as by some in Congress.
50. Ibid., the authors point out that this monopoly is restricted to this specialty based on the constraints placed by the diamond industries supplier and international diamond cartel, De Beers.

51. I draw from U. Kalpagam’s work on economically marginalized women in the rural and urban unorganized sector who are self-employed, and wage workers in both the manufacturing and service activities. Kalpagam points out some of the challenges and tensions of survival in the midst of developmental policies of self-help or “agency discourses,” patriarchal ideologies that facilitate economic marginalization, and the male-led organized labor movement.


54. Ibid.


60. Pointed out by host Daisy Fuentes.


Chapter Four Taxonomic Desires, the Sutram of Kama, and the World Bank: “Sexual Minorities” and Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code

1. Knowledge, magic, tricks (sutram) of Kama (god of lust/love).

2. Silk Smitha was a Andhra-born Tamilian actress. She died in Chennai. She was found hanging from a ceiling fan in her bedroom. She left behind a

3. A Washington, D.C. organization, Zero Population Growth, visited my campus in 2000 to alert students about the global pressure from China and India, who are said to jointly contribute a disproportionate 2 billion people to the global 6 billion population.


5. Sanjam Ahluwalia has pointed to India’s colonial history of “population control” and birth control debates between 1877–1947. She has argued that Malthusian, eugenic, cultural nationalist, and sexological theories have dominated and marked the varied responses from nationalists, Indian and international feminists, biomedical experts and the colonial government. She argues that the concern by sexologists and economists over the madly out of control “copulating masses,” who lacked any sense of sexual pleasure, lead to early theories of economic development and poverty alleviation. Most feminists adopted a “maternal politics” wherein the concern was for maternal mortality/morality/health of fit/strong mothers, and thus infant and national mortality/morality. Most importantly she argues that the Census Report (which was implemented in 1871) of 1931 provided crucial statistical evidence for a pre-existing concern over “population control.” Sanjam Ahluwalia, “Controlling Births, Policing Sexualities: A History of Birth Control in Colonial India, 1877–1947,” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2000. Some of this has also been pointed out by Barbara Ramusack, “Embattled Advocates: The Debate Over Birth Control in India, 1920–40,” Journal of Women’s History, 1: 2 (Fall) 1989.

6. The National AIDS Committee was first set up in 1986 by the Ministry of Health and Family Services, which then launched the National AIDS Control Program. In 1989 the World Health Organization funded the organization with $10 million. But it was in 1992 that NACO gained significant momentum when it received World Bank support. NACO was established to manage HIV/AIDS prevention programs nationwide. NACO also oversees and manages AIDS/HIV NGOs, collaborates with international agencies/funders (such as WHO, World Bank, UNAIDS, UNICEF, UNDP, DFI, and CIDA) and private businesses (like Indian industry and condom industries). The first World Bank financed project (Phase I: 1992–1999) was followed by the second World Bank financed project (Phase II: 1999–2004). The first phase included $84 million from the World Bank, $14.1 million from the World Health Organization and $1.5 million from the Government of India. The second phase received $191 million from the World Bank, $38.8 from the Indian Government, Rs. 1,660 million from USAID and Rs. 1,040 million from DFID-UK.

8. Ahluwalia, “Controlling Births,” 59–67. Ahluwalia points to sexological-economics of authors such as: Population Problem (1934), by Wattal; Sex Problems (1934), by Pillay, and Eugenics for India (1934), by Phadke.


10. Vicziany sees this blindness as a major obstacle in regards to HIV/AIDS prevention in India and refers to the study done by Jeremy Seabrook, Love In a Different Climate: Men Who Have Sex With Men, 1999 but she ignores the vast activist NGO literature on “MSMs” predating Seabrook’s book.

11. J.K. Chemicals first successfully launched Kama Sutra in India in 1991. The Aurangabad factory is a 1996 joint venture between Ansell, a subsidiary of the Australian company Pacific Dunlop and a Mumbai based upscale textile and men’s clothing company, Raymonds. In addition to supplying to the Indian government and NGOs, Ansell-Raymond now supplies Kama Sutra to 20 countries including the United States.

12. These issues have been explored variously by many authors and is beyond the scope of this book. For example, Cindy Patton, The Invention of AIDS, New York: Routledge 1990 and Cindy Patten, Globalizing AIDS, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002 and Paula Triechler, How To Have a Theory in an Epidemic: Cultural Chronicle of AIDS, Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.


16. Similar incidents of abuse and violence directed at HIV/AIDS outreach workers (often peer educators) for NGOs working with women in prostitution (SANGRAM in Maharashtra, VAMP and Samraksha in Karnataka, CHES in Tamil Nadu) and MSMs (Sangama in Karnataka, Sahodaran in Tamil Nadu, Naz Foundation-India in Delhi), male sex workers (Samabhavana in Maharashtra have been reported and documented. “India: Epidemic of Abuse: Police Harassment of HIV/AIDS Outreach Workers in India,” Human Rights Watch, 14(5), July 2002.


21. Ibid., 123.

22. Ibid.


24. Ibid., 101.


26. The Contagious Diseases Act was promoted to curtail middle-class men’s access to women (especially working class women) outside of marriage. Intended to curtail prostitution, it was directed toward the “protection of women and girls.”


28. Thomas Cromwell (1485–1540) was the King’s chief advisor and minister. He presided over Henry’s divorce to Catherine of Aragon in 1533. Henry’s break with the Roman Catholic Church, assumption of headship of the Church of England, and a series of administrative measures strengthened the power of the Crown.


30. Zamindari rights were conferred on landowners by the Mughal administration; they included collecting revenues and maintaining civil and criminal law and order.

31. Areas of India remapped by the British into zones of political control were referred to as Presidencies.


33. A Divan was a fiscal or revenue officer under the Mughal administration. Rights of revenue collection were acquired by the Company from local rulers and were often rearranged to suit Company needs.


36. From conversations with ex-Chief Justice, Padma Khastagir, in Calcutta.

37. Substantive law creates, defines, and regulates the rights and duties of parties.

38. Adjective law prescribes practice, procedure or legal machinery by which substantive law is enforced. V.D. Kulshreshta’s *Landmarks in Indian

39. William Jones quoted in “The Command of Language and the Language of Command,” B.S. Cohn, in Subaltern Studies IV: Writings on South Asian History and Society, 295, edited by Ranajit Guha, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995. The analogy of the British conquerors in India to the Classical Romans, conquerors of the Greeks, notes Cohn, was also expressed via “visual reminders” in the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, where there are statues of Jones and Hastings in the garb of Roman senators.


44. All India Reporter, 1968:1277.


46. A similar case involving a Section 377 conviction and oral rape of a child is Khanu vs Emperor, 26 Cri LJ, 1925.

47. 1969 Cri LJ 818 (State of Kerala vs K. Govindan).

48. Ganpat vs Emperor. AIR 1918 Lahore 322 (2); Sardar Ahmed vs Emperor. AIR 1914 Lahore 565; Devi Das vs Emperor. 1928 Cri LJ 31; Sain Dass vs Emperor. 1926 Cri LJ 27; Mahomed Yousef vs Emperor. 1932 Cri. LJ 34; Kaku Mashghul vs Emperor. 45 Cri. LJ 1944; Fazal Rab Choudhary vs State of Bihar. 1983 Cri. LJ 632; Bal Mukundo Singh vs Emperor. 1937 Cri. LJ 38; Mirro vs Emperor. 1947 Cri. LJ 48; Khanu vs Emperor. 26 Cri. LJ 1925; Brother John Anthony vs The State. 1992 Cri. LJ 1352; K. Govindan vs State of Kerala. 1969 Cr. LJ 75; and Lohana Vasanthal Devchand vs The State. 1968 Cri. LJ 74.


50. Esop (1836) 7 C7P 456; Charanjit Singh 1986 Cri LJ 173 (HP); Ratan Mia 1988 Cri. LJ 980;

51. Mirro vs Emperor. AIR 1947 All. 79. 48 Cri. LJ 376.

52. Khandu vs Emperor. AIR 1934 Lah 261.


58. Esop (1832) 7 C & P 456.
63. Though there are definite variations in their individual works this position influences some of their arguments. Sweet and Zwilling, Ruth Vanita and Saleem Kidwai, and Giti Thadani.
64. Gayatri Reddy, “Crossing ‘lines’ of Subjectivity: The Negotiation of Sexual Identity in Hyderabad, India,” *Pukaar*, #36, January 2002. In her ethnographic work on the kothi community in Hyderabad, Reddy argues that kothis’ like gay identified persons, are heterogeneous and include hijra (including sexual and asexual) communities.
69. Many activists have pointed out the multiple meaning systems amongst kothis, including those of hijras.
70. This is something that Shivananda Khan has also alluded to.
71. Conversation with gay activist, Manohar, in Calcutta.
73. Section 376 and case law has been explored by Veena Das, “Sexual Violence, Discursive Formations and the State,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, XXXI, (35, 36 and 37), September 1996.
74. Dilip is referring to (a) legislation passed so that hijras have the right to vote (1936), and run for political office (1977) and the recent right to vote as women in national elections (1994). He is also referring to (b) what authors such as Serena Nanda and Kira Hall have extensively written on, political and cultural practices of verbal abuse, hand-clapping and exposure of genitals as potential strategies of shaming/embarrassing hostile or disrespectful non-hijras.
75. Although this is not an exhaustive list I shall mention some of the most visible organizations, resource guides, and public petitions made by organizations. A more comprehensive list can be found in newsletters such as Trikone. Organizations in India include: Hum-safar Center,
Humrahi, Good As You, Bombay Dost, Sakhi, Sangini, Stree Sangam, Counsel Club, Praajak, Saathi, Friends India, ABVA, and Naz Foundation India Trust; in the US: Trikone, SALGA, Masala, Khuli Zaban, Khush-DC, Shamakami; in Canada: Shamakami, Sathi, Khush, Desh Pardesh and Atish; in the United Kingdom: Naz Project London, Shakti, and Naz Foundation.

Following the ABVA Report, Less Than Gay (1991), one of the first resource guides that addressed Section 377 and described some of the cases (and instances of harassment by the police), an updated resource guide, Humjinsi, edited Bina Fernandez, was published by The India Center for Human Rights (Mumbai) in 1999.

Public forums, statements, and petitions following ABVA’s formal petition to the Indian government to repeal Section 377 include: a national seminar at the National Law School in Bangalore; a 1996 report by Anuja Gupta to the U.N. International Human Rights Tribunal in New York City; and a statement in 1999 and 2000 by the Campaign for Lesbian Rights, New Delhi.

Chapter Five  Inverting Economic Man: Pleasure, Violence, and “Lesbian Pacts” in Postcolonial India

1. Penguin Books published Shobha De’s novel, Strange Obsession, in 1992. Shobha De was born in India, educated in psychology at St. Xavier’s College in Bombay. Since 1988, she has written the following novels: Socialite Evenings, Starry Nights and Sisters. She also is the founder, editor and contributor to several women’s magazines in India, including Femina. De is a winner of one of the Miss Femina contests and often serves as a judge to Femina Miss India contests.

2. A term used by many South Asians to refer to queer, lesbian, gay, transgendered, and/or bisexual identified.

3. Giti Thadani in Sakhiyani: Lesbian Desire in Ancient and Modern India, Cassell, 1996, has pointed out passages from texts such as The Laws of Manu (a document translated into English in 1794 from various 5th century B.C. Brahmanical sources) concerning explicit punishments directed at female same-sex erotic/sexual encounters. They have included fines as well as the cutting off of fingers. She has also referred to early Ayurvedic texts (Charak Samhita and Sushrat Samhita) that have references to the female homosexual figure as a product of inversion. The female homosexual (nari shandi) was born this way due to inverted intercourse where the woman was active and embryonic damage, and desires like a man (the invert).

4. Mills & Boon are Harlequin like romance novels.

6. Thadani also discusses these letters in Sakhiyani. Thadani points out that she was struck by the overwhelming theme of isolation and the need for contact with other lesbians. Women used “lesbian” to describe their experiences even if English was not their first language. Many women talked about the sacrifices they had made to fulfill their duty as daughters, the loss of contact with lovers, the experience of being married and in lesbian relationships, had questions about “homo-sex” and “lesbo-sex,” they also spoke of suicide, and hoped to meet other lesbians (including their hope that Sakhi would be something like a dating service).


8. Feminist literature on this is extensive and include authors such as—Aihwa Ong, Cynthia Enloe and Grace Chang.


11. This is based on a few reports posted on the khush-list (August 30, 2001). The Sahayatrika Project is an advocacy and support group for lesbian, bisexual, and “women-loving women.”

12. Trouble and commotion.

13. They are now a couple.

14. The Inspector General of Police, in charge of the Madhya Pradesh Special Armed Forces under which comes the 23rd battalion.

15. Exchange garlands at the temple.


17. Director General of Police in Madhya Pradesh.

18. A local neighborhood.

19. Singing songs at local festivals.

20. Village function.

21. The word filmi is an Indian English term that describes something or someone as posted from the world of movies, or the way identities get stereotyped in films.

22. Kamalahassan is a South Indian film star who also made it big in Bollywood. Amitabh Bachchan and Sri Devi are Bollywood stars.

23. Another word for dadas or gang members.


27. November 18, 1999 in Sameeksha (translated from Malayalam by Deepa).

29. Halliburton has pointed to some studies that suggest that 69 percent of females in Kerala are more suicide-prone (in accordance with national literature that suggests that suicide is more of an “acceptable” feminine behavior trait) and another study that points out that “successful suicide attempts” in Kerala tend to be 72 percent males. Ibid., 2342.

30. The complex and historical significance of matriliney across caste and religious communities in Kerala also embodies the tension of the double message. A subject beyond the scope of this chapter.


32. Organizations such as the Campaign for Lesbian Rights (a collective working for lesbian and bisexual women’s rights in Delhi), Sangini (a support group for lesbian and bisexual women and part of Naz Foundation-India, Delhi), Aanchal (a help line for lesbian and bisexual women, Mumbai); Stree Sangam (a lesbian and bisexual collective, Mumbai), Sappho (a support group for lesbians and bisexual women, Calcutta), Prerana (a support group for lesbian and bisexual women, Bangalore), Organized Lesbian Alliance for Visibility and Acceptance—OLAVA (a “space for women who love women” in Pune) and finally the most recent NGO—the Sahayatrika Project in Thiruvanathapuram, Kerala (2002). The reactions in relation to Fire and CALERI have been discussed by Geeta Patel and Mona Bachman in *Queering India: Same-Sex Love and Eroticism in Indian Culture and Society*, edited by Ruth Vanita, New York: Routledge, 2001; Mary E. John and Tejaswini Niranjana, “Mirror Politics: ‘Fire,’ Hinduvta, and Indian Culture,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 6–13, 1999; and Ratna Kapur, “Cultural Politics of Fire,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 22, 1999.


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Law Journals
All India Reporter
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Newspapers and Magazines
Anamika
The Asian Age
Bombay Dost
The Business Standard
Femina
Femina Girl
Frontline
Gentleman
The Illustrated Weekly of India
India Today
The Indian Express
Naz Ki Pukaar
Mathrubhumi
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