



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Fandom on display: intimate visualities and the politics of spectacle
Gerritsen, R.

Citation

Gerritsen, R. (2012, November 8). *Fandom on display: intimate visualities and the politics of spectacle*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20107>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20107>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20107> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Gerritsen, Roos

Title: Fandom on display : intimate visualities and the politics of spectacle

Date: 2012-11-08

EPILOGUE



Entertainment offers
with Vodafone **Delights**

Register at www.vodafone.in

power to you



A Vodafone Essar Company

In 2010, around the time that the film *Endhiran* (Shankar 2010) was to be released, fans in Tamil Nadu read in newspapers, magazines and saw on television how the release was a worldwide phenomenon.¹ In the Introduction and Chapter 1, I have already described the film's worldwide success: it reached the top ten of popular films in the UK and the music release scored high in the i-tunes online music store. In India it was the highest grossing film ever made. The film's technological innovations were impressive. Before the film was released fans proudly linked their superstar Rajinikanth to the innovations. But these same innovations also indicated a fundamental shift.

In the previous two chapters I concentrated on a shift in publics regarding images displayed in public spaces. The removal of imagery from public spaces and its replacement with new beautification images indicates a distancing from a certain kind of populist politics and the embracing of a new middle class. I consider the release of *Endhiran* to be another turning point, in this case for the overall functioning of fan clubs. Is the figure of the fan declining in a state in which ever greater emphasis is being placed on neoliberal politics and imaginations? In this Epilogue I describe some current neoliberal tendencies which seem to indicate that the figure of the fan is indeed losing its currency in the realm of film production and watching.

Saktivel, the fan club leader and Panchayat president from Vannur, was until recently always assured of tickets for himself and at least the fans most close to him. He is in very close contact with both district leaders Rajini Ibrahim of Villupuram and Rajini Shankar of Pondicherry. For the release of *Endhiran*, however, for the first time it turned out to be difficult to get tickets. To Saktivel's humiliation, he, who as a leader it is assumed will get tickets not only for himself but also for his fellow fans could not be sure of seeing the film on the first day. In the end, however, Saktivel and many of his fan club member friends did manage to get tickets at the last minute. But then the next disappointment came. The film did not meet their expectations of a real Rajinikanth movie: it was too high-tech to appreciate the character of Rajinikanth that fans like so much.

The embarrassment of not receiving tickets and the disappointment of the film highlight three issues that I want to take up in this Epilogue. These issues indicate both a shift in publics and priorities at the level of cinema. Firstly, the humiliation that Saktivel felt by not being in a position to distribute tickets to himself and his fellow fan club members we could read as a sign that authorities who give permission for the fan show are increasingly sidelining fans. Secondly, as more and more movie theaters are being transformed into multiplexes they seem to be targeting a different public, at least not the public of relatively less affluent fans. Plush seats, popcorn and more expensive tickets exclude a public of fans that do not feel at home in that environment and often cannot afford such tickets. What's more, these multiplexes do not prioritize fan clubs in any way. Thirdly, Saktivel and other fans were disappointed about the content of the film *Endhiran*. The film suggested that Rajinikanth's typical roles were moving in a new direction: away from his fans towards a more cosmopolitan audience.

As I already pointed out in earlier chapters, the privilege of the fan show has been put to an end to once before. The city administration of Pondicherry and also that of Chennai have

¹ The photo shows an ad of the Vodafone telephone company. They are put up on the blind walls of cheap government housing estates. Chennai 2010.

sometimes made it harder for fan clubs to buy the first day tickets for film releases starring their favorite movie actor. Whereas previously in Pondicherry local patronage connections and the Rajinikanth fan club's involvement in political canvassing activities had persuaded the city to give the fan show back to fans, in Chennai the city has been less accommodating and there fans have to obtain tickets in the same way as ordinary audiences. But even in Pondicherry there are signs that a fan show is less likely to return. This relates not only to an administrative move away from vernacular support, as I suggest in Chapter 6 with regards to beautification projects but also to a transformation of the movie theaters in which film releases are being screened.² Film distributors increasingly sell their films to state-of-the-art multiplex theaters instead of the smaller theaters that are a common sight in Tamil Nadu's towns and cities.

Over the past decades, cinema has gained larger public acclaim. For a long time visitor numbers were decreasing in movie theaters, partly due to its stigma but also because of the increasing availability of cable and satellite television, as well as versions on VHS and VCD. However, the increasing export market of the diaspora has professionalized the industry (Vasudevan 2004). This has resulted, among other things, in the development of comfortable multi-screen, air-conditioned multiplexes (ibid.). Increasingly, older theaters are being transformed into multiplex environments and new multiplexes are appearing regularly. The following quote articulates the ways in which multiplexes situate themselves:

Adlabs Cinemas, part of the Reliance Anil Dhirubhai Ambani Group and India's leading entertainment conglomerate Adlabs Films, opened its first cinema in Pondicherry today.

Adlabs Jeeva Rukmani has a total seating capacity of 1178 seats across two screens and is one of the best known locations in the city. Kamal Hassan's mega movie Dasavatharam was released in both screens with the first show starting at 6.45am and eager patrons thronged the box office as early as 6am.... The state-of-the-art sound and projection technology comprises of crystal-clear Dolby sound and superior Xenon projection systems, with three food and beverage counters and plush push-back seats in order to provide a world class cinematic experience. (News post on Reliance website posted on June 13 2008, <http://www.rbe.co.in/news-adlabs-8.html>)

The text on the Reliance website, owner of the chain of multiplex movie theaters Adlabs, describes the new but also a few traces of what once was. From plush seats to eager fans that throng the box-office as early as 6 am. The new state-of-the-art theater was the first multiplex theater in Pondicherry. Soon Raja Talkies followed suit. The movie theater just a few meters away from Adlabs was renovated and converted into an air-conditioned theater with the latest sound and projection technology. Tickets can be booked online. Another theater, Anandha, which was appreciated among Pondicherry's residents for its quality movies, was razed to the ground a few years ago to make way for a shopping mall.

I am not describing these transformations to evoke a sense of nostalgia. However, the development of multiplexes illustrates a tendency that has been felt by theaters and fan clubs alike. Smaller or older theaters are not able to buy the latest releases anymore and are bypassed by the multiplexes that have the capital to buy the latest releases from distributors. Apart from the diffi-

² See Athique 2009 and Athique 2011 for a discussion on the rise of the multiplex in India.

culties this brings with it for the smaller theaters as far as earning sufficient revenue is concerned, it has also caused fan clubs to lose their fan privileges. As already mentioned, they do not have the privilege of a fan show anymore and multiplexes charge much higher prices for tickets. Even though the first day shows of films like *Endhiran* are always sold for much more than for other shows, multiplexes' basic prices are much higher than those of the b-grade theaters that most fans attend. Where a ticket for a multiplex theater starts at ninety rupees, a ticket at an ordinary theater costs between ten and fifty rupees in Pondicherry, a considerable difference for the less affluent.³ The price of the ticket therefore excludes audiences who cannot afford such tickets and who also do not feel at ease in such an environment. In multiplexes you pay for the exclusivity. In the words of Reliance, the owner of the Adlab theaters in the quote above: "The state-of-the-art sound and projection technology comprises crystal-clear Dolby sound and superior Xenon projection systems, with three food and beverage counters and plush push-back seats in order to provide a *world class* cinematic experience".⁴ The cleanliness, types of snacks, seats, and sound and projection systems contribute to the "world class" experience that Reliance describes.

Although older theaters have introduced rules to regulate audience behavior on the first day shows (see Chapter 1), multiplexes are much stricter in the kind of behavior that is allowed. Phones have to be switched off and "fan behavior" such as dancing and singing is out of the question and completely banned. In addition, banners or posters made by fans are not allowed in the theater compound. Arikrishnan, Pondicherry's Kamal Hassan fan club leader, voiced his disappointment:

The newly opened Jeeva Rukmani Theater told us not to place any banners or posters inside the theater. The Reliance group is imitating western style [theaters] by not putting up banners, posters or cutouts. Now we have to put up our banners on the road somewhere.

But exhibiting banners in public spaces has also been made much more difficult by city authorities as I described in previous chapters. Fans feel less incentive to put the same effort into imagery as they used to. Before the release of *Endhiran* Rajini Shankar said:

The expectations for Endhiran are huge because Shankar is the director. He will do well and in addition Sun Pictures are producing it. It has a good music score too. But fan involvement will be less. They'll sell tickets mostly to people from outside [non-fans], only to rich people. [...] Only if they cheer up the fans will the fans bring in the crowds to the theater. The fan show is very important but now there is nothing for fans. It goes only to rich people and only they watch the show for the first three days. We used to do decorations which attracted the crowds but now we are not going to do anything for Endhiran.

Both Arikrishnan's and Rajini Shankar's words suggest a feeling of loss. Although Reliance still describes the ardent fans thronging the box office as early as 6 am, Rajini Shankar and Arikrishnan do not feel attracted to such a theater environment. Banners, the once all-important images at celebrative events, are not allowed anymore. Rich people can see the film before fans can and fan involvement will be less. Fans do not feel connected to these new images of world class as they cannot support their hero by attracting crowds to the theater. The responsibility

³ These were the average prices in Pondicherry around 2008-2011.

⁴ News post on Reliance website posted on June 13 2008, <http://www.rbe.co.in/news-adlabs-8.html>. Emphasis mine.

they feel to attract crowds to the theater has been sidelined. Even though fans feel the need to protect their hero by trying to prevent piracy (see Chapter 1), they were not happy with the simultaneous screenings of the film. *Endhiran* was screened throughout India in around 3000 film theaters, with at least four to ten shows a day, with an estimated 1.5 million people watching the film on the first day (*India Today* October 2010). This new trend of selling a film to multiplexes and screening it as much as possible on the first day(s) of the release is a way for the producer to earn its revenue before the film enters the pirate market. In this way, the film will most likely be screened for a much shorter time than was the case previously. As fans feel an obligation to keep the film running in the theaters as long as possible, the multiple screenings make it harder for fans to reach their goal of keeping the film in the theater for at least 50 or 100 days.

The third issue I observed deals with a loss of connectedness to the content of film. The film *Endhiran* is a continuous display of technological fireworks comparable to films such as *Minority Report* (Spielberg 2002) or *Terminator* (Cameron 1984). This is not the type of film Rajinikanth fans connect with. The story of *Endhiran* features Rajinikanth in a dual role, both as a scientist and as his creation, the robot Chitti. Chitti is a copy of the scientist that has human emotions. When the robot falls into the hands of a competing scientist he implants a chip into the robot and Chitti becomes a destructive force. The second half of the film in particular revolves around Chitti's destructive forces. The film turns into a high-tech sci-fi story with countless visual special effects. The film departs here from a "classical Rajinikanth film" in which he, an outsider and low-profile person, fights the bad guys with his bare hands. In a "typical" Rajinikanth film, he saves the heroine, a family or entire communities from the bad guy's evil and social injustice.

His everyday appearance in films and in real life is what makes Rajinikanth so attractive to his audiences. Any film in which he deviated from this role was unsuccessful. *Endhiran* was hyped so much beforehand that it was almost impossible for it not to be a success. Fans as well as ordinary audiences were curious to see what this new film was like. Friends of mine who have two daughters, one of whom was preparing for her final exams in high school, picked up their daughters from school with the excuse that their grandmother was severely ill and the entire family headed to one of the multiplexes on the ECR road in Chennai. Normally they never watch films in multiplexes and they usually do not allow their children to spend much time at home watching television, particularly not films. But the new Rajinikanth release was an exception. Their daughters would never have forgiven their parents if they had excluded them from this first day glimpse of a new Rajinikanth film. It was not the story that they really cared about but the opportunity of seeing the popular superstar in the collective of other people celebrating.

But even though the film was a box-office hit in India and around the world, Rajinikanth's fan club members were in fact disappointed to meet this new Rajinikanth. Now Rajinikanth was not identifiable as the jovial character or as an angry person fighting injustice with his bare hands: the Rajini fans like so much. Instead the film was a chain of high-tech scenes overloaded with visual effects. Could we understand *Endhiran's* visual extravaganza as not catering to lower socio-economic or rural audiences as the theme of the film is not something they can relate to? If we follow Dickey's (1993a) argument that film offers a realistic yet utopian world to which the urban poor audiences can connect and dream about, *Endhiran* does not seem to connect with this audience anymore. Even though Tamil movies are increasingly focusing on urban, middle-class environments, Rajinikanth cannot deviate from his particular role (see Introduction

and Chapter 1). Rajinikanth's character in *Endhiran* did show some of his characteristic style and mannerisms but most of the film revolved around the high-tech visual effects that went beyond a standard feel-good Rajinikanth film.

The music in this film, and even more so in Rajinikanth's previous film *Sivaji: The Boss* (Shankar 2007), disappointed many fans. Despite the fact that the music was composed by Tamil Nadu's most celebrated composer A.R. Rahman, most fans could not repress the feeling that the music was a bit too "foreign" as they called it.

Just as images come and go, gain power and lose ground, it seems that fan practice also transforms, adapts and vanishes. Once again, I am not describing these feelings of disconnectedness to end this dissertation with a sense of nostalgia. Rather, they highlight the way in which something that seemed a sustained practice for fans is subject to change. The disappointments described here emphasize the ways in which the navigational capacity of fans in vernacular political networks seems to be losing ground.

In this dissertation I have outlined the practices of Rajinikanth fans that start by relating to film and slowly, throughout a fan's life, involve the establishment of social and political networks. I have made a particular study of the role of images in the engagement of fans with their star as well as their proliferation in a larger social world of fans. In the first two parts I showed how fans become fans and how images produce and articulate a fan's desires, ambitions, and engagements. Images, I argue, are crucial ways of articulating the agency of fans in revering their star. Fans feel the need to see their star, to be close to him. The proximity that they desire is established in the image practice in everyday spaces.

In Part II I explored the politics of fandom. Once fans are older prestige and political networks become an inherent part of fan club membership. Fans consider the fan club a way of opening up domains otherwise difficult to access because of their socio-economic background. In other words, the fan club is an environment through which fans make the system work for them. The benefits, which are often mediated by local influential big men or brokers, range from movie tickets, access to political parties to prestige. Here too images are an important incentive in establishing and nurturing these relationships. These images are made to be visible and displayed in public spaces in towns and cities. The images do not reflect the socio-political networks by which they are somehow produced; they constitute a veritable part of life itself. I have shown however, that the fans' political engagements are subject to a constant sense of ambiguity. All fans expect political success yet one is not supposed to be openly political in the fan club.

In the last part, Part III, I move from the figure of the fan via images to broader issues regarding public space, a larger visual economy and world-class ideologies. Part III reveals a more general debate surrounding public space and image politics. In this way I try to situate fan activity in a larger world of cinema and political practice, frictions around imagery and neoliberal world-class ideologies. I show how a new type of image, now prevalent on Chennai's walls, is part of a shift in political profiling directed at the middle classes of "shining India."

All the chapters have prefigured various shifts and transformations. First of all in the life trajectories of fans from cinematic desires to political aspirations. And secondly in the materiality of images, in technological changes and how these have conveyed and transformed these desires and aspirations. Transformations at the level of the visual have also informed the last two chapters where I show how regulations, opinions and ideologies have resulted in the presence or

absence of images related to film and politics. Regulations have made it harder to put up banners and posters, which make it less worthwhile for fans to spend money and time on publicity. And finally, I end by illustrating the ways in which the entertainment industry itself is approaching another public, seeing new business in an industry that had been marginal for decades. The paths fans have found to create networks that make the system work for them, to open doors which are otherwise closed will become less workable with these shifts in political attention and in the movie industry.

All the chapters describe a shift from how fans employ a political patronage system to how it is slowly being undermined. Yet, I have shown how, even though the canvas of display has remained the same, publics may have started to shift.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, T., and M. Horkheimer. 2007. "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception." In *Stardom and Celebrity: a Reader*, ed. Sean Redmond and Su Holmes, 34–43. London: Sage.
- Alpers, Svetlana. 1991. "The Museum as a Way of Seeing." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, 25–32. Washington, WA: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1978. "Cartoons and Monuments: The Evolution of Political Communication under the New Order." In *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, ed. Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye, 282–321. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- . 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Ang, Ien. 1991. *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. London: Routledge.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. "Topographies of the Self: Praise and Emotion in Hindu India." In *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, ed. Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, 92–112. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- . 2001. "Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics." *Environment and Urbanization* 13 (2): 23.
- Appadurai, Arjun, and Carol A. Breckenridge. 1976. "The South Indian Temple: Authority, Honour and Redistribution." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 10 (2) (July 1): 187–211.
- . 1988. "Why Public Culture?" *Public Culture* 1 (1): 5–10.
- . 1992. "Museums Are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India." In *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. Ivan Karp, 34–55. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- . 1995. "Public Modernity in India." In *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge, 1–20. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Apter, Emily. 1993. "Introduction." In *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, ed. Emily Apter and William Pietz, 1–9. 1996th ed. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Arabindoo, Pushpa. 2007. "A Class Act: Bourgeois Ordering of Public Spaces in Chennai." In *British Association of South Asian Studies Annual Conference and AGM 2005*. Vol. 20.
- Assmann, Aleida, and Jan Assmann. 2003. "Air from Other Planets Blowing: The Logic of Authenticity and the Prophet of the Aura." In *Mapping Benjamin: The Work of Art in the Digital Age*, ed. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Michael Marrinan, 147–157. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Athique, Adrian. 2009. "Leisure Capital in the New Economy: The Rapid Rise of the Multiplex in India." *Contemporary South Asia* 17 (2) (June): 123–140.
- . 2011. "From Cinema Hall to Multiplex: A Public History." *South Asian Popular Culture* 9 (2) (July): 147–160.
- Babb, Lawrence A. 1981. "Glancing: Visual Interaction in Hinduism." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 37 (4) (December 1): 387–401.
- . 1983. "The Physiology of Redemption." *History of Religions* 22 (4) (May 1): 293–312.
- Babb, Lawrence A., and S.S. Wadley. 1995. *Media and the Transformation of Religion in South Asia*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bailey, Frederick George. 1963. *Politics and Social Change: Orissa in 1959*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Balasubramanian, P.C., and Raja Krishnamoorthy. 2010. *Rajini's Punch Tantra: Value Statements on Business and Life Management*. Chennai: Oxygen books.
- Barber, Karin. 1997. "Introduction." In *Readings in African Popular Culture*, ed. Karin Barber, 1–12. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Barker, Joshua, and Johan Lindquist. 2009. "Figures of Indonesian Modernity." *Indonesia* (87): 35–72.
- Barthes, Roland. 1981. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang.
- Baskaran, S. T. 1996. *The Eye of the Serpent: An Introduction to Tamil Cinema*. Madras: East West Books.
- Bate, Bernard. 2009. *Tamil Oratory and the Dravidian Aesthetic: Democratic Practice in South India*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.
- Baudrillard, Jean. 1994. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Michigan, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Beelen, Karl, Roos Gerritsen, and A. Srivathsan. 2010. "Climbing up the Rank Ladder." *Monu: Magazine on Urbanism*.
- Behrend, Heike. 2003. "Imagined Journeys: The Likoni Ferry Photographers of Mombasa, Kenya." In *Photography's Other Histories*, 221–239. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1969a. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, 217–252. New York, N.Y.: Schocken Books.
- . 1969b. *Illuminations*. New York, N.Y.: Schocken Books.
- . 1986. *Reflections*. New York, N.Y.: Schocken Books.
- Berger, John. 2008. *Ways of Seeing*. New York, N.Y.: Penguin Classics.
- Bhatia, Nandi. 2004. *Acts of Authority, Acts of Resistance: Theater and Politics in Colonial and Postcolonial India*. Michigan, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- de Boeck, Filip, and Marie-Françoise Plissart. 2004. *Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City*. Antwerpen: Ludion.
- Boorstin, D. J. 1992. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America*. New York, N.Y.: Vintage Books.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. 2002nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brooker, Will, and Deborah Jermyn. 2003. *The Audience Studies Reader*. London: Routledge.

- Brosius, Christiane. 2005. *Empowering Visions: The Politics of Representation in Hindu Nationalism*. London: Anthem Press.
- . 2010. *India's Middle Class: New Forms of Urban Leisure, Consumption and Prosperity*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Brown, P. R. L. 1981. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Buck-Morss, Susan. 1989. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chatterjee, Partha. 1998. "Community in the East." *Economic and Political Weekly* (February 7). Scan.
- . 2004. *Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. New Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Chopra, Radhika, Caroline Osella, and Filippo Osella, eds. 2004. *South Asian Masculinities: Context of Change, Sites of Continuity*. New Delhi: Women Unlimited.
- Chopra, Vir K. 1996. *Marginal Players in Marginal Assemblies: The Indian MLA*. London: Orient Longman.
- Cohen, E. 1972. "Toward a Sociology of International Tourism." *Social Research* 39 (1): 164–182.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. 1993. "Why We Need Things." *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*: 20–29.
- Csordas, T. J. 2000. *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Cutler, Norman. 1983. "The Fish-Eyed Goddess Meets the Movie Star - An Eyewitness Account of the 5Th International Tamil Conference." *Pacific Affairs* 56 (2): 270–287.
- Davis, Richard H. 2007. *Picturing the Nation Iconographies of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Debord, Guy. 1994. *The Society of the Spectacle*. New York, N.Y.: Zone Books.
- Derné, Steve. 2000. *Movies, Masculinities, and Modernity: An Ethnography of Men's Filmgoing in India*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Deshpande, Satish. 1993. "Imagined Economies: Styles of Nation-Building in Twentieth Century India." *Journal of Arts and Ideas* 25 (26): 5–35.
- . 1998. "Hegemonic Spatial Strategies: The Nation-Space and Hindu Communalism in Twentieth-Century India." *Public Culture* 10 (2) (January): 249–283.
- Dhareshwar, Vivek, and R. Srivatsan. 2010. "'Rowdy-sheeters': An Essay on Subalternity and Politics." In *Subaltern Studies IX: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Shadid Amin and Dipesh Chakravarty, 201–231. Subaltern Studies IX. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dickey, Sara. 1993a. *Cinema and the Urban Poor in South India*. Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1993b. "The Politics of Adulation: Cinema and the Production of Politicians in South-India." *Journal of Asian Studies* 52 (2) (May): 340–372.
- . 1995. "Consuming Utopia: Film Watching in Tamil Nadu." In *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge, 131–156. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

- . 2001. "Opposing Faces: Film Star Fan Clubs and the Construction of Class Identities in South India." In *Pleasure and the Nation: The History, Politics and Consumption of Public Culture in India*, 2006:212–246. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 2005. "Still 'One Man in a Thousand'." In *Living Pictures: Perspectives on the Film Poster in India*, 69–78. London: Open Editions.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. 1993. *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*. Michigan, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Doss, Erika. 1999. *Elvis Culture: Fans, Faith, & Image*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Dumont, Louis. 2004. *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dwyer, Rachel. 2004. "De Natte Sari-sutra: Vestimentaire Eotiek in De Moderne Hindi-film." *AS Mediatijdschrift* (170): 26–43.
- . 2006. *Filming the Gods: Religion and Indian Cinema*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Dwyer, Rachel, and Divia Patel. 2002. *Cinema India: The Visual Culture of Hindi Film*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Dyer, Richard. 2004. *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society*. London and New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Eck, Diana L. 1981. *Darsan: Seeing the Divine Image in India*. Focus on Hinduism and Buddhism. Chambersburg, PA: Anima Books.
- Eco, Umberto. 1990. *Travels in Hyperreality*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Ferguson, James. 1999. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Fernandes, Leela. 2006. *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform*. Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press.
- Fiske, J. 1992. "The Cultural Economy of Fandom." In *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. L. Lewis, 30–. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Flood, Gavin D. 1996. *An Introduction to Hinduism*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.
- Forrester, D.B. 1976. "Factions and Filmstars - Tamil Nadu Politics since 1971." *Asian Survey* 16 (3): 283–296.
- Freitag, Sandria B. 2002. "The Realm of the Visual: Agency and Modern Civil Society." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 36 (1-2): 365–397.
- . 2003. "The Realm of the Visual: Agency and Modern Civil Society." In *Beyond Appearances? Visual Practices and Ideologies in Modern India*, ed. Sumathi Ramaswamy, 365–397. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Fuller, Christopher, and Véronique Bénéï. 2001. *The Everyday State and Society in Modern India*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Fuller, Christopher, and HariPriya Narasimhan. 2006. "Information Technology Professionals and the New-Rich Middle Class in Chennai (Madras)." *Modern Asian Studies* 41 (01) (December): 121.
- Gamboni, Dario. 1997. *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism Since the French Revolution*. London: Reaktion Books.
- . 2005. "Composing the Body Politic: Composite Images and Political Representation."

- In *Making Things Public*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, 162–195. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Geetha, V., Sirish Rao, and M.P. Dhakshna. 2007. *De 9 Emoties Van De Indiase Filmreclamebor-den*. Rotterdam: Met & Schilt.
- Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gerritsen, Roos. 2006. "Tamil Wedding Souvenirs of Predictive Love: Future Memories in South India." *Etnofoor* 19 (2): 5–22.
- Gillespie, Marie. 1995. "Sacred Serials, Devotional Viewing, and Domestic Worship: A Case Study in the Interpretation of Two TV Versions of The Mahabharata in a Hindu Family in West London." In *To Be Continued: Soap Operas Around the World*, ed. Robert C. Allen, 354–380. London: Routledge.
- Gledhill, Christine. 1991. *Stardom: Industry of Desire*. London and New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Gopalan, Lalitha. 1997. "Coitus Interruptus and Love Story in Indian Cinema." In *Representing the Body: Gender Issues in Indian Art*, 124–139. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Gray, J., C. Sandvoss, and C. L. Harrington, eds. 2007. *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*. 6. New York, N.Y.: New York University Press.
- Guha-Thakurta, Tapati. 1991. "Women as 'Calendar Art' Icons: Emergence of Pictorial Stereotype in Colonial India." *Economic and Political Weekly*.
- . 2003. "The Compulsion of Visual Representation in Colonial India." In *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850-1900*, ed. M. A. Pelizzari, 108–139. Quebec: Canadian Centre for Architecture.
- . 2004. "From Spectacle to 'Art': The Changing Aesthetics of Durga Puja in Contemporary Calcutta." *Art India* 9 (3): 34-56.
- Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich, and Michael Marrinan. 2003. "Authenticity/Replication." In *Mapping Benjamin: The Work of Art in the Digital Age*, ed. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Michael Marrinan. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hall, Stuart. 1973. *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*. Vol. 7. Birmingham: Centre for Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- . 2006. "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular'." In *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: a Reader*, ed. John Storey, 455–466. New York, N.Y.: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Hancock, Mary E. 2008. *The Politics of Heritage from Madras to Chennai*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Hansen, Kathryn. 2002. "Parsi Theatre and the City: Locations, Patrons, Audiences." In *Sarai Reader 02: The Cities of Everyday Life*, ed. Ravi S. Vasudevan, Jeebesh Bagchi, Ravi Sundaram, Monica Narula, Geert Lovink, and Shuddhanrata Sengupta, 40–49. Sarai Reader 2. New Delhi and Amsterdam: Sarai: the New Media Initiative, CSDS.
- Hansen, Miriam Bratu. 1993. "Unstable Mixtures, Dilated Spheres - Negt and Kluge the Public Sphere and Experience, 20 Years Later." *Public Culture* 5 (2): 179–212.
- . 1994. *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1999. "The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism." *Modernism-Modernity* 6 (2) (April): 59–77.
- Hansen, Thomas Blom. 2005. "Sovereigns Beyond the State: On Legality and Public Authority in India." In *Religion, Violence, and Political Mobilisation in South Asia*, ed. Ravinder

- Kaur, 109–144. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Hardgrave, R.L. 1964. "The Dmk and the Politics of Tamil Nationalism." *Pacific Affairs* 37 (4): 396–411.
- . 1973. "Politics and Film in Tamilnadu - Stars and Dmk." *Asian Survey* 13 (3): 288–305.
- Hariman, Robert, and John Louis Lucaites. 2007. *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Harriss-White, Barbara. 2003. *India Working: Essays on Society and Economy*. Vol. 8. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hawkins, Sophie. 1999. "Bordering Realism. The Aesthetics of Sai Baba's Mediated Universe." In *Image Journeys: Audio-visual Media and Cultural Change in India*, ed. Christiane Brosius and Melissa Butcher, 139–163. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Hills, Matt. 2002. *Fan Cultures*. London and New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- . 2003. "'Subcultural Celebrity' and Cult TV Fan Cultures." *Mediactive* (3): 59–73.
- Hirschkind, Charles. 2006. *The Ethical Soundscape: Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.
- Holland, Patricia. 2004. *Picturing Childhood: The Myth of the Child in Popular Imagery*. London and New York, N.Y.: I.B. Tauris.
- Hoskins, Janet. 2006. "Agency, Biography and Objects." In *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Keane Webb, Susanne Kuchler, Michael Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer, 74–84. London: Sage Publications.
- Hughes, Stephen. 1996. "The Pre-Phalke Era in South India: Reflections on the Formation of Film Audiences in Madras." *South Indian Studies* 2: 161–204.
- . 2000. "Policing Silent Film Exhibition in Colonial South India." In *Making Meaning in Indian Cinema*, ed. Ravi S. Vasudevan, 39–64. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 2006. "House Full: Silent Film Genre, Exhibition and Audiences in South India." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 43 (1): 31–62.
- Inglis, Stephen. 1998. "Suitable for Framing: The Work of a Modern Master." In *Media and the Transformation of Religion in South Asia*, ed. Lawrence A. Babb and S.S. Wadley, 51–75. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Irshick, E. F. 1969. *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahman Movements and Tamil Separatism 1916-1929*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Ivy, Marilyn. 1988. "Tradition and Difference in the Japanese Mass Media." *Public Culture* 1 (1): 21.
- Iyengar, Pushpa. 2009. "Chennai Corner." *Outlook India*, March 19. <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?239993>.
- Jackson, Michael. 1983. "Knowledge of the Body." *Man*: 327–345.
- Jacob, Preminda. 1997. "From Co-star to Deity: Popular Representations of Jayalalitha Jayaram." In *Representing the Body: Gender Issues in Indian Art*, 140–165. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- . 1998. "Media Spectacles: The Production and Reception of Tamil Cinema Advertisements." *Visual Anthropology* 11 (4): 287–322.
- . 2009. *Celluloid Deities: The Visual Culture of Cinema and Politics in South India*. New

- Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- Jaffrelot, Christophe, and Peter van der Veer. 2008. *Patterns of Middle Class Consumption in India and China*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Jain, Kajri. 2005. "Figures of Locality and Tradition: Commercial Cinema and the Network of Visual Print Capitalism in Maharashtra." In *Bollyworld: Popular Indian Cinema Through a Transnational Lens*, ed. Raminder Kaur and Ajay J. Sinha, 70–89. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- . 2007. *Gods in the Bazaar: The Economies of Indian Calendar Art*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Jeffrey, C. 2010. *Timepass: Youth, Class, and the Politics of Waiting in India*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Jenson, Joli. 1992. "Fandom as Pathology: The Consequences of Characterization." In *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. Lisa A. Lewis, 9–29. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Kakar, Shalini. 2010. "'Starring' Madhuri as Durga: The Madhuri Dixit Temple and Performative Fan-Bhakti of Pappu Sardar." *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 13 (3) (March): 391–416.
- Kaviraj, Sudipta. 1997. "Filth and the Public Sphere: Concepts and Practices about Space in Calcutta." *Public Culture* 10: 83–114.
- . 2010. *The Imaginary Institution of India: Politics and Ideas*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.
- Kaviraj, Sudipta, and S. Khilnani. 2001. *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Keane, Webb. 1997. *Signs of Recognition: Powers and Hazards of Representation in an Indonesian Society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Kohli, Atul. 1990. *Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kopytoff, Igor. 1988. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, 64–94. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kuhn, Annette. 1988. *Cinema, Censorship, and Sexuality, 1909-1925*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Kusno, Abidin. 2010. *The Appearances of Memory: Mnemonic Practices of Architecture and Urban Form in Indonesia*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Larkin, Brian. 1997. "Indian Films and Nigerian Lovers: Media and the Creation of Parallel Modernities." *Africa* 67 (3).
- . 2008. *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Latour, Bruno. 2002. "What Is Iconoclasm? Or Is There a World Beyond the Image Wars?" In *Iconoclasm*, ed. Peter Weibel and Bruno Latour, 14–37. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- . 2005. "From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik or How to Make Things Public." In *Making Things Public*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, 4–31. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Liang, L. 2005. "Cinematic Citizenship and the Illegal City." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6 (3): 366–385.

- Liang, Lawrence. 2002. "[Commons-law] a Blast from the South." *Sarai*. <https://mail.sarai.net/pipermail/commons-law/2002-August/000050.html>.
- . 2007. "Conceptualizing Law and Culture." *India-seminar*. <http://www.india-seminar.com/2003/525/525%20lawrence%20liang.htm>.
- Lovegrove, Keith, and Andrew Hasson. 2003. *Graphicswallah: Graphics in India*. Laurence King.
- Lutgendorf, P. 1994. "My Hanuman Is Bigger Than Yours + the Divine Monkey of Hindu Mythology and His Growing Cult in India Today." *History of Religions* 33 (3) (February): 211–245.
- MacDougall, David. 1992. *Photo Wallahs*.
- Madheshiya, Amit, and Shirley Abraham. 2008. "Tiled Gods Appear on Mumbai's Streets." <http://tasveerghar.net/2008/shirley-amit/>.
- Mankekar, Purnima. 1993. "National Texts and Gendered Lives - An Ethnography of Television Viewers in A North Indian City." *American Ethnologist* 20 (3): 543–563.
- . 2002. "Epic Contests: Television and Religious Identity in India." In *Media Worlds: Anthropology on a New Terrain*, ed. Faye Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin, 134–151. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Manuel, Peter. 1993. *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India*. Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press.
- Marshall, P. David. 2001. *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- . 2002. "Cinematic Apparatus and the Film Celebrity." In *The Film Cultures Reader*, ed. Graeme Turner, 228–240. London and New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Mazumdar, Ranjani. 2003. "The Bombay Film Poster." *India-Seminar*. <http://www.india-seminar.com/2003/525/525%20ranjani%20mazumdar.htm>.
- . 2007a. "The Bombay Film Poster." In *India's Popular Culture: Iconic Spaces and Fluid Images*, ed. Jyotindra Jain, 90–103. New Delhi: Marg Publications. <http://www.india-seminar.com/2003/525/525%20ranjani%20mazumdar.htm>.
- . 2007b. *Bombay Cinema: An Archive of the City*. Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press.
- Mazzarella, William. 2003. *Shoveling Smoke: Advertising and Globalization in Contemporary India*. Durham, N.C: Duke University Press.
- . 2009. "Affect: What Is It Good For?" In *Enchantments of Modernity: Empire, Nation, Globalization*, ed. Saurabh Dube, 291–309. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Menon, Sadanand. 2010. "Flip That Ciggie." *Outlookindia*. <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?267389>.
- Meyer, Birgit. 2004. "'Praise the Lord': Popular Cinema and Pentecostalite Style in Ghana's New Public Sphere." *American Ethnologist* 31 (1): 92–110.
- . 2010. "Aesthetics of Persuasion: Global Christianity and Pentecostalism's Sensational Forms." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 109 (4): 741–763.
- Meyer, Birgit, and Annelies Moors. 2006. "Introduction." In *Religion, Media, and the Public Sphere*, ed. Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors, 1–25. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Miller, Daniel. 2005. "Introduction." In *Materiality*, ed. Daniel Miller. Durham, N.C: Duke

- University Press.
- Mines, Mattison. 1994. *Public Faces, Private Voices: Community and Individuality in South India*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Mines, Mattison, and V.A. Gourishankar. 1990. "Leadership and Individuality in South-Asia - the Case of the South Indian Big-Man." *Journal of Asian Studies* 49 (4) (November): 761–786.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. 2000. *Diaspora and Visual Culture Representing Africans and Jews*. London: Routledge.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. 2005a. "There Are No Visual Media." *Journal of Visual Culture* 4 (2): 257.
- . 2005b. *What Do Images Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Mitter, Partha. 1994. *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgan, David. 1998. *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images*. Berkeley, CA: University of California press.
- . 2005. *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Mulvey, Laura. 1989. *Visual and Other Pleasures*. Theories of Representation and Difference. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Munn, Nancy D. 1986. *The Fame of Gawa: a Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society*. Vol. 1976. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Munshi, Shoma. 2010. *Prime Time Soap Operas on Indian Television*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Muthiah, S. 2004. *Madras Rediscovered*. Chennai: EastWest Books (Madras) Pvt. Ltd.
- Nandy, Ashis. 1998a. "Introduction: Indian Popular Cinema as a Slum's Eye View of Politics." In *The Secret Politics of Our Desires: Innocence, Culpability, and Indian Popular Cinema*, 1–18. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1998b. "Introduction." In *The Secret Politics of Our Desires Innocence, Culpability, and Indian Popular Cinema*. London: Zed Books.
- Nigam, Aditya. 2001. "Dislocating Delhi: A City in the 1990s." In *Sarai Reader 01: The Public Domain*, 40–46. Sarai Reader 01. New Delhi and Amsterdam: Sarai: the New Media Initiative, CSDS.
- Note, Osamu. 2007. "Imagining the Politics of the Senses in Public Spaces: Billboards and the Construction of Visuality in Chennai City." *South Asian Popular Culture* 5 (2): 129–143.
- Osella, Caroline, and Filippo Osella. 1998. "Friendship and Flirting: Micro-Politics in Kerala, South India." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*: 189–206.
- Panagia, Davide. 2006. *The Poetics of Political Thinking*. Durham, N.C: Duke University Press.
- . 2009. *The Political Life of Sensation*. Durham, N.C: Duke University Press.
- Pandian, M.S.S. 1992. *The Image Trap M.G. Ramachandran in Film and Politics*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- . 1996. "Tamil Cultural Elites and Cinema." *Economic and Political Weekly* (April 13): 950–955.
- . 2005a. "Picture Lives." In *Living Pictures: Perspectives on the Film Poster in India*, ed.

- David Blamey and Robert D'Souza, 55–62. London: Open Editions.
- . 2005b. “Void and Memory: Story of a Statue on Chennai Beachfront.” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6: 428–431.
- . 2007. *Brahmin and non-Brahmin Genealogies of the Tamil Political Present*. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Pandian, M.S.S., A. Srivathsan, and Mahesh Radakrishnan. “Chennai: Museum, Exhibition, Backyard”. INTACH, INPAD.
- Penfold, Ruth. 2004. “The Star’s Image, Victimization and Celebrity Culture.” *Punishment & Society* 6 (3): 289.
- Pietz, William. 1985. “The Problem of the Fetish, I.” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* (9): 5–17.
- . 1987. “The Problem of the Fetish, II: The Origin of the Fetish.” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* (13): 23–45.
- . 1988. “The Problem of the Fetish, IIIa: Bosman’s Guinea and the Enlightenment Theory of Fetishism.” *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* (16): 105–124.
- Pinney, Christopher. 1997. *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2001. “Piercing the Skin of the Idol.” In *Beyond Aesthetics: Art and the Technologies of Enchantment*, ed. Christopher Pinney and Nicholas Thomas, 157–180. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- . 2003. “Notes from the Surface of the Image: Photography, Postcolonialism, and Vernacular Modernism.” In *Photography’s Other Histories*, ed. Christopher Pinney and Nicholas Peterson, 202–220. Durham, N.C: Duke University Press.
- . 2004. *Photos of the Gods the Printed Image and Political Struggle in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 2006. “Four Types of Visual Culture.” In *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuchler, Michael Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer, 131–144. London: Sage Publications.
- . 2008. “What Do Pictures Want Now: Rural Consumers of Images in India.” In *Visual Sense: A Cultural Reader*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Kaushik Bhaumik, 417–426. Sensory Formations. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Poole, Deborah. 1997. *Vision, Race, and Modernity; A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*. New Jersey, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Prasad, Madhava. 1999. “Cine-Politics: On the Political Significance of Cinema in South India.” *Journal of the Moving Image* 1: 37–52.
- Price, Pamela. 1996. “Revolution and Rank in Tamil Nationalism.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (2): 359–383.
- . 2005. “Ideological Integration in Post-colonial (south) India: Aspects of a Political Language.” *Rethinking Indian Political Institutions*: 39–62.
- Punathambekar, Aswin. 2007. “Between Rowdies and Rasikas: Rethinking Fan Activity in Indian Film Culture.” In *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World*, ed. J. Gray, C. Sandvoss, and C. L Harrington, 37:198–209. 6. New York, N.Y.: New York University Press.
- . 2008. “‘We’re Online, Not in the Streets’: Indian Cinema, New Media, and Particip-

- itory Culture.” In *Global Bollywood*, ed. Anandan P. Kavoori and Aswin Punatham-
 bekar, 282–299. New York, N.Y.: New York University Press.
- Rabinow, Paul. 1991. *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought*. New York,
 N.Y.: Penguin.
- Rajadhyaksha, Ashish. 2001. “The ‘Bollywoodization’ of the Indian Cinema: Cultural Nation-
 alism in a Global Arena.” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4 (1) (January): 25–39.
- Rajagopal, Arvind. 2001. *Politics after Television: Religious Nationalism and the Reshaping of the
 Indian Public*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ram, Arun. 2009. “Missing in Action: Spidermen of Chennai”. Times of India. *Chennai
 Talkies*. <http://blogs.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/chennaitalkies/entry/missing-in-action-spidermen-of>.
- Ramaswamy, Sumathi. 1993. “En / Gendering Language: The Poetics of Tamil Identity.” *Com-
 parative Studies in Society and History* 35 (4): 683–725.
- . 1997. *Passions of the Tongue Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970*. Studies on
 the History of Society and Culture. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- . 1998. *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970*. New Del-
 hi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.
- . 2010. *The Goddess and the Nation. Mapping Mother India*. Durham, N.C: Duke Uni-
 versity Press.
- Ramaswamy, Sumathi, ed. 2003. *Beyond Appearances? Visual Practices and Ideologies in Modern
 India*. Contributions to Indian Sociology Occasional Studies. New Delhi: Sage Publi-
 cations.
- Rancière, Jaques. 2006. *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*. Trans. Gabriel
 Rockhill. New York, N.Y.: Continuum.
- Rao, Sirish, V. Geetha, and Gita Wolf. 2001. *An Ideal Boy: Charts from India*. Stockport: Dewi
 Lewis Publishing.
- Raqs Media Collective. 2002. “The Street Is The Carrier And The Sign.” In *Sarai Reader 02:
 The Cities of Everyday Life*, ed. Ravi S. Vasudevan, Jeebesh Bagchi, Ravi Sundaram,
 Monica Narula, Geert Lovink, and Shuddhabrata Sengupta, 93–106. Sarai Reader 02.
 Delhi, Amsterdam: Sarai: the New Media Initiative, CSDS.
- Ravikumar. 2011. “Tamil Film Industry Cheers DMK's Fade-out.” *The Hindu*, May 13,
 Business Line edition, sec. Economy. <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/industry-and-economy/economy/article2016214.ece>.
- Ravikumar, R. 2010. “Rajini Mania Hits Chennai as Endhiran Hits the Screen.” *The Hindu
 Business Line*, October 1, Online Version edition. <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/todays-paper/article1005646.ece?ref=archive>.
- Registrar General & Census Commissioner. 2011. *Census of India 2011: Provisional Population
 Totals Union Territory of Puducherry*. Data sheet. Census of India.
- Rogers, Martyn. 2008. “Modernity, ‘Authenticity’, and Ambivalence: Subaltern Masculinities
 on a South Indian College Campus.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14
 (1): 79–95.
- . 2009. “Between Fantasy and ‘Reality’: Tamil Film Star Fan Club Networks and the
 Political Economy of Film Fandom.” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 32 (1):
 63–85.

- Rojek, Chris. 2001. *Celebrity*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Rowlands, Michael, and Christopher Tilley. 2006. "Monuments and Memorials." In *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuchler, Michael Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer, 500–515. London: Sage Publications.
- Saeed, Yousuf. 2011. *Muslim Devotional Art in India*. 1st ed. Routledge India.
- Sahlins, Marshall D. 1963. "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5 (3): 285–303.
- Sathish, Swapna. Forthcoming. "The Sacred and the Profane: Hybridity and Authenticity in Contemporary Temple Painting." In *Urban Visualities: Sites and Sights of Street Art*, ed. Roos Gerritsen and Stephen Inglis.
- Scott, J. C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Sharma, Miriam. 2009. "Censoring India: Cinema and the Tentacles of Empire in the Early Years." *South Asia Research* 29 (1): 41–73.
- Sivathamby, Karthigesu. 1981. *The Tamil film as a medium of political communication*. Madras: New Century Book House.
- Smith, Daniel H. 1995. "Impact of 'God Posters' on Hindus and Their Devotional Traditions." In *Media and the Transformation of Religion in South Asia*, ed. Lawrence A. Babb and S.S. Wadley, 24–50. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Smith, V.L. 1977. "Introduction." In *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, ed. V.L. Smith, 1–14. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Spitulnik, Debra. 1993. "Anthropology and Mass-Media." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22: 293–315.
- Spyer, Patricia. forthcoming. "Images Without Borders: Violence, Visuality, and Landscape in Postwar Ambon, Indonesia." In *Images That Move*, ed. Mary Steedly and Patricia Spyer. Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press.
- . 1998. "Introduction." In *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*. Zones of Religion. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- . 2002. "Fire Without Smoke and Other Phantoms of Ambon's Violence: Media Effects, Agency, and the Work of Imagination." *Indonesia* 74 (October): 21.
- . 2008a. "Blind Faith: Painting Christianity in Postconflict Ambon." Ed. Charles Hirschkind and Brian Larkin. *Social Text* 96 26 (3): 11–38.
- . 2008b. "Christ at Large: Iconography and Territoriality in Postwar Ambon." In *Religion: Beyond a Concept*, ed. Hent De Vries and Samuel Weber, 524–549. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle, and Ali Mohammadi. 1994. *Small Media, Big Revolution: Communication, Culture and the Iranian Revolution*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Srinivas, Lakshmi. 2005. "Imaging the Audience." *South Asian Popular Culture* 3 (2): 101–116.
- Srinivas, S. V. 1999. "Gandhian Nationalism and Melodrama in the 30's Telugu Cinema." *Journal of the Moving Image* 1 (1): 14–36.
- . 2003. "Hong Kong Action Film in the Indian B Circuit." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4 (1): 40–62.
- . 2005. "Devotion and Deviance in Fan Activity." In *Making Meaning in Indian Cinema*, ed. Ravi S. Vasudevan, 297–317. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- . 2007. “Is There a Public in the Cinema Hall?” <http://www.sarai.net/mediacity/filmcity/essays/srinivas.htm>.
- . 2009. *Megastar: Chiranjeevi and Telugu Cinema After N.T. Rama Rao*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Srivastava, Sanjay. 2009. “Urban Spaces, Disney-Divinity and Moral Middle Classes in Delhi.” *Economic & Political Weekly* 44: 26–27.
- Srivathsan, A. 2000. “Politics, Popular Icons and Urban Space in Tamil Nadu.” In *Twentieth-Century Indian Sculpture: The Last Two Decades*, ed. Shivaji K. Panikkar, 108–117. Mumbai: Marg Publications.
- Stacey, Jackie. 1994. *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship*. London and New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Starrett, Gregory. 1995. “Signposts along the Road: Monumental Public Writing in Egypt.” *Anthropology Today* 11 (4): 8–13.
- Strassler, Karen. 2003. “Refracted Visions: Popular Photography and the Indonesian Culture of Documentation in Postcolonial Java”. Dissertation, Michigan, MI: University of Michigan.
- . 2010. *Refracted Visions: Popular Photography and National Modernity in Java*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Street, John. 1997. *Politics and Popular Culture*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Subramanian, Narendra. 1999. *Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization: Political Parties, Citizens, and Democracy in South India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sundaram, Ravi. 2009. *Pirate Modernity: Delhi's Media Urbanism*. 1st ed. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Swaminathan, Roopa. 2004. *Star Dust: Vignettes from the Fringes of the Film Industry*. New Delhi: Penguin Books India.
- Tarlo, Emma. 1996. *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Tartakov, Gary Michael. 2000. “The Politics of Art: Maharashtra.” In *Twentieth-Century Indian Sculpture: The Last Two Decades*, 100–107. Mumbai: Marg Publications.
- Taussig, Michael. 1993. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. London and New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Taylor, Woodman. 2003. “Penetrating Gazes: The Poetics of Sight and Visual Display in Popular Indian Cinema.” In *Beyond Appearances? Visual Practices and Ideologies in Modern India*, ed. Sumathi Ramaswamy, 297–322. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Thakurta, T.G. 1988. “Artists, Artisans and Mass Picture Production in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Calcutta: The Changing Iconography of Popular Prints.” *South Asia Research* 8 (1): 3–45.
- Thomas, Rosie. 1989. “Sanctity and Scandal: The Mythologization of Mother India.” *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 11: 11–30.
- Thoraval, Yves. 2000. *The Cinemas of India*. Delhi: Macmillan India.
- Uberoi, Patricia. 1990. “Feminine Identity and National Ethos in Indian Calendar Art.” *Economic and Political Weekly*.
- . 1997. “From Goddess to Pin-Up: Images of Women in Indian Calendar Art.” *Art AsiaPacific* (14).

- . 2006. *Freedom and Destiny: Gender, Family, and Popular Culture in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Editor. 2011. "MMM." *Madras Musings*, November 1.
- Vāsanti. 2006. *Cut-outs, Caste, and Cine Stars: The World of Tamil Politics*. New Delhi: Penguin Books India.
- Vasudevan, Ravi. 2003. "Cinema in Urban Space." www.india-seminar.com.
- . 2004. "Disreputable and Illegal Publics: Cinematic Allegories in Times of Crisis." In *Sarai Reader 04: Crisis/Media*, ed. Monica Narula, Shuddhabrata Sengupta, Ravi Sundaram, Ravi S. Vasudevan, Awadhanedra Sharan, Jeebesh Bagchi, and Geert Lovink, 71–79. New Delhi and Amsterdam: Sarai: the New Media Initiative, CSDS.
- Velayutham, Selvaraj. 2008. *Tamil Cinema: The Cultural Politics of India's Other Film Industry*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Waghorne, Joanna. 2004. *Diaspora of the Gods*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.
- Warner, Michael. 2002a. *Publics and Counterpublics*. New York, N.Y.: Zone Books.
- . 2002b. "Publics and Counterpublics." *Public Culture* 14 (1): 49–90.
- Widlund, Ingrid. 1993. *A Vote for MGR: Transaction and Devotion in South Indian Politics*. Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- . 2000. *Paths to Power and Patterns of Influence the Dravidian Parties in South Indian Politics*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Skrifter Utgivna Av Statsvetenskapliga Forenigen i Uppsala. Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala Universitet.
- Williams, Raymond. 1975. *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. Taylor & Francis.
- . 2003. *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Zukin, Sharon. 1995. *The Cultures of Cities*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

FEATURE FILMS

- Balachander, K. 1976. *Moondru Mudichu*.
- Barathiraja. 1977. *16 Vayathinile*.
- Boyle, Danny, and Lovely Tandan. 2008. *Slumdog Millionaire*.
- Cameron, James. 1984. *Terminator*.
- Dharani. 2008. *Kuruvi*.
- Krishna, Suresh. 1992. *Annamalai*.
- . 1995. *Badsha*.
- . 2002. *Baba*.
- Muthuraman, S.P. 1977. *Bhuvana Oru Kelvikkuri*.
- . 1982a. *Sakala Kala Vallavan*.
- . 1982b. *Enkeyo Ketta Kural*.
- Perarasu. 2006. *Dharmapuri*.
- P. Vasu. 2005. *Chandramukhi*.
- Rajasekar. 1985. *Padikkathavan*.
- . 1986. *Maaveeran*.
- S.P. Muthumaran. 1980. *Murattu Kaalai*.
- . 1989. *Raja Chinna Roja*.
- Shankar, S. 2007. *Sivaji: The Boss*.
- . 2010. *Endhiran*.
- Spielberg, Steven. 2002. *Minority Report*.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Roos Gerritsen (Leiderdorp, NL 1979) graduated in 1998 from the *da Vinci* high school in Leiden after which she studied Cultural Anthropology at Leiden University. During her studies, she specialized in the anthropology of media. Her MA research, for example, dealt with the production and consumption of wedding videos and photo albums in the South Indian State Tamil Nadu. Roos was particularly interested in notions of romance in love in cinema, in people's everyday lives and how these intersect in wedding media. This focus on vernacular media and its relation to cinema continued in her PhD research which Roos started in 2006 by working on fan clubs, public culture and images in Tamil Nadu. Since April 2012 Roos is working at the Institute of Anthropology at Heidelberg University teaching courses on media and visual anthropology.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Fanclubs zijn een universeel fenomeen: fans zijn vaak enorm toegewijd of zelfs devoot, maar hun organisaties worden zelden geassocieerd met politiek. In het geval van de Zuid-Indiase deelstaat Tamil Nadu maakt politiek al decennia lang essentieel onderdeel uit van fanclubs en de organisatie en motivaties daaromheen. Via hun individuele toewijding als film fan, vinden Tamil fans toegang tot een sociaal en politiek netwerk dat hun status en invloed vergroot. In dit proefschrift staan deze persoonlijk motivaties en verlangens centraal. Het proefschrift gaat in op de afbeeldingen waarmee deze verlangens publiek worden uitgedragen.

Afbeeldingen staan centraal in de publieke ruimte van Tamil Nadu. Deze kenmerkt zich door levensgrote billboards en talloze posters en muurschilderingen van politieke leiders en filmsterren. Een groot deel van deze afbeeldingen wordt neergezet door fanclubs, waaronder door de fanclubs van de uiterst populaire Tamil acteur Rajinikanth. In dit proefschrift onderzoek ik hoe 'Rajini' fanclubs via geïndividualiseerde afbeeldingen een persoonlijke relatie met hun ster tot stand trachten te brengen, maar ook hoe zij met deze afbeeldingen hun eigen politieke ambities in de publieke ruimte uitdragen. Tegelijkertijd plaats ik deze afbeeldingen in de ruimere context van visuele straatcultuur in Tamil Nadu en de (neoliberale) veranderingen die erin plaatsvinden, en onderzoek ik hoe publieke afbeeldingen circuleren alsmede geproduceerd en consumeerd worden.

Het proefschrift is opgedeeld in drie delen. De eerste twee delen handelen voornamelijk over fanclubs en de productie van afbeeldingen, verbeeldingen en verwachtingen. Het derde deel plaatst deze afbeeldingen in een breder debat over het proces van beeldproductie en stedelijke ruimte als canvas van verschuivende sociaal-politieke ideologieën.

In de introductie die vooraf gaat aan de drie delen geef ik de politieke en visuele achtergrond weer waarin fanclubs gesitueerd moeten worden. De verwevenheid van film en politiek, zoals deze te zien is bij de fanclubs, is kenmerkend voor de geschiedenis van de deelstaat Tamil Nadu. Sinds de opkomst van de filmindustrie stonden filmsterren vaak aan de basis van politieke partijen. Ook omgekeerd verwierven personen en partijen politieke invloed via deze filmindustrie. Deze nauwe banden kwamen en komen nog steeds tot uitdrukking in een bijzondere, visuele straatcultuur. Deze straatcultuur manifesteert zich onder meer in grote billboards, muurschilderingen en posters, waarop filmsterren en politieke leiders vaak in levensgrote afbeeldingen worden afgebeeld.

Fanclubs, die als fenomeen opkwamen in de jaren zestig, steunden hun favoriete acteurs gedurende hun gehele carrière – zowel in de film als in de politiek. Deze inzet heeft geleid tot een wat eenzijdig beeld waarin fanclubs hoofdzakelijk gezien worden als een groep fanatieke aanhangers die zich ten dienste stellen van hun filmheld en daarmee ook van zijn politieke carrière. In dit proefschrift probeer ik aan te tonen dat de toewijding die aan fans wordt toegeschreven, gecompliceerder ligt. Mannen worden dan wel fan van een acteur vanwege zijn kwaliteiten als acteur en zij mogen inderdaad de indruk geven de politieke carrière van een acteur te ondersteunen, maar mijn onderzoek laat zien dat door de jaren heen het vooral de ambities van de fanclubleden zelf zijn die hun toewijding in de fanclub motiveren. Waar het lidmaatschap allereerst een wijze is om mee te doen aan het collectieve vermaak van films bekijken, wordt naarmate iemand ouder wordt de status en de (politieke) ambitie een belangrijke motor achter de inzet in een fanclub.

Deze inzet uit zich vooral in publieke filantropische activiteiten in naam van de acteur. Maar voor deze inzet en toewijding verwachten fans ook iets terug. Wat fans precies terug verwachten varieert echter enorm van persoon tot persoon: van gratis filmtickets, een foto met de filmheld, toegang tot een school voor hun kinderen, tot een functie binnen een politieke partij. Ik wil juist deze nuances en variaties, maar ook de veranderingen in iemands persoonlijk leven laten zien in dit proefschrift. Door deze veranderingen te tonen, wil ik duidelijk maken dat fans geen passieve pionnen zijn in de politieke carrières van hun filmhelden maar zelf bepalen wat zij uit hun lidmaatschap halen.

Dit doe ik in het bijzonder door in de eerste twee delen van het proefschrift te kijken naar de uitgebreide beeldcultuur waarmee fanclubleden hun inzet en toewijding zichtbaar maken. Hierbij tracht ik aan te tonen hoe een verandering in technologie ook een verandering in gebruik teweeg heeft gebracht. Rondom 2000 is vinyl het nieuwe canvas geworden waarop fans hun afbeeldingen van hun filmheld portretteren. Hoewel de meeste fanclubleden de digitale prints eigenlijk niet mooi vinden, is het gebruik van vinyl bijzonder populair geworden. Dit is te verklaren uit de mogelijkheden die vinyl heeft. Op digitale prints kunnen niet, zoals met geschilderde billboards gebruikelijk was, enkel afbeeldingen van filmhelden worden getoond- ook de foto's van de fanclubleden zelf kunnen nu geportretteerd worden. Dit brengt een hogere mate van zichtbaarheid met zich mee. Deze zichtbaarheid via afbeeldingen is cruciaal in het nastreven van politieke netwerkactiviteiten van fanclubleden: het versterkt hun prestige en hun toegang tot sociaal-politieke netwerken.

In het derde en tevens laatste deel van het proefschrift plaats ik de afbeeldingen die fanclubs maken in een breder medialandschap, waarin politieke partijen en filmproducties zichzelf adverteren met levensgrote billboards, posters en muurschilderingen. De laatste jaren echter, zijn grotere steden zoals Chennai (de hoofdstad van de deelstaat Tamil Nadu) zich steeds meer gaan ontwikkelen in de richting van een neoliberale beleidsvisie, waarbij geprobeerd wordt om de stad om te vormen tot een *world class* stad. Politici trachten de stad aantrekkelijk te maken voor investeerders, maar in het bijzonder ook voor de middenklasse die zich in het beeld van een *world class* elite vertegenwoordigd ziet. Daarbij wordt niet alleen de economische infrastructuur van de stad in die richting aangepast, maar ook de publieke ruimte en commerciële plekken van vermaak zoals bioscopen. Ze lijken zich steeds meer te richten naar deze *world class* ideologie. Dit is zichtbaar in een verandering van afbeeldingen en in een veranderde verbeelding van de publieke ruimte zelf. Dezelfde politieke partijen die oorspronkelijk de typische beeldcultuur van Tamil Nadu in het leven hebben geroepen distantieëren zich nu van deze zelfde beeldcultuur die vervolgens als populistisch gezien wordt om zich daarna vooral te gaan richten op de *world class* elite. Fanclubbeelden en de alom aanwezige politieke billboards worden nu geweerd uit de publieke ruimte. Met andere woorden, publieke ruimte en afbeeldingen zijn het canvas waarop sociale projecten worden verbeeld, ze maken zelf ook fysiek deel uit van deze projecten. Visuele cultuur is, met andere woorden, niet enkel een reflectie van de realiteit, het maakt er deel van uit.

Samengevat begint dit proefschrift als een etnografie van visuele praktijken van fanclubleden, en van de productie en consumptie van beelden in de publieke ruimte, en eindigt het als een etnografie van straatbeelden door middel waarvan en waarop conflicten en neoliberale denkbeelden en ideologieën van wereldklasse worden verbeeld. Ik eindig dit proefschrift met een korte epiloog waarmee ik met de bovengenoemde veranderingen voorspel dat fanclubs terrein verliezen in de filmische en politieke sferen waarin ze figureren.