



CENTER FOR **SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES**



LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR



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DESIGN:
Marty Somberg/Somberg Design

EDITOR:
Zilka Joseph/CSAS

Our Winter programs at the Center for South Asian Studies here at the University of Michigan spanned continents both intellectually and physically. We had talks on campus on Indian subjects such as the challenges of increased economic inequality, the lives of elite Muslim women in the modern period, and lesbian activism and media. Abroad, CSAS sponsored a major international workshop on Inequalities in India, held in Juhu Beach, Mumbai on March 1-4, 2011. It was attended by seven distinguished Indian colleagues from all over the subcontinent, nine of our U-M faculty, two recent alumni, and two U-M graduate students currently researching Indian topics in the field. The workshop format allowed for wide-ranging and vigorous discussions and we received many warm comments on the event from participants. We are grateful to Drs. Ranvir and Adarsh Trehan and the Trehan Foundation Fund for making this conference possible.

CSAS showed the flag at the annual Association for Asian Studies conference in Honolulu, where I attended, as a trustee, the board meeting of the American Institute for Indian Studies.

Also, the Center fellowships committee selected six undergraduate researchers for our annual summer research program in India, based on the projects submitted. We continue to be deeply grateful to an anonymous donor who is making this invaluable program possible.

In addition, we joined with the International Institute and with other area studies centers at U-M in an Afghanistan theme semester (the State Department and the Department of Education categorize Afghanistan as being in South Asia, so this initiative was up our alley). We sponsored a talk by Alam Payind, director of the Center for Middle East Studies at Ohio State; co-sponsored ones by award-winning photojournalist Iason Athanasiadis; a Friday afternoon mini-conference on Afghanistan at the International Institute; and an Afghanistan Panel where, Patrick Kelley, LTC., South Asia Foreign Officer and Lead Operations Planner for Pakistan, and U.S. Central Command Officer, was our speaker.

Many thanks are owed to Professor Carla Sinopoli, of anthropology for her service on the Center Executive Committee, from which she is now cycling off. Thanks

also to continuing members Aswin Punathambekar, Meilu Ho, and associate director Christi Merrill.

Our Center faculty associates saw some changes this year. Professor Thomas Trautmann of the History Department, a mainstay of the Center for decades, retired. This move to the status of emeritus professor appears, however, to have been primarily a clever ploy to increase his productivity, and we look forward to the books on which he is working.

I invite you to our events in the Fall semester, and continue to be grateful to you all for your active involvement in the Center and its activities.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Juan Cole". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Juan" being larger and more prominent than the last name "Cole".

Juan Cole, Director
Center for South Asian Studies
Professor of Middle East and
South Asia History

FACULTY NEWS

Arun Agarwal, professor and associate dean for research, School of Natural Resources and Environment was awarded the Guggenheim Fellowship for Research.

Tom Weisskopf delivered the 11th annual M.N. Srinivas Memorial Lecture at the National Institute for Advanced Studies, Bangalore, on March 15, 2011. The title of his talk was “Reflections on Globalization, Discrimination and Affirmative Action.”



Stephen Rush, U-M professor of music, received a grant from the International Institute for the Summer in India program. He takes students to India every year for this program but this year he says he’s “adding a new curve.” In addition to his seven students from the School of Music, he’s taking students from MHEAL, the Engineering school’s outreach program. The MHEAL students will work with rural farmers to do biomedical research and develop a bicycle powered centrifuge that could be used in rural clinics. As done in previous years, the SMD students will be studying yoga,

dance, and instrumental and vocal music.

Dr. Howard Hu, South Asia Center faculty member in the U-M Schools of Public Health and Medicine, continues several lines of on-going and new research with colleagues in India. Most recently, his team and collaborators at Sri Ramanchandra University (Chennai, India) published a study on genetic susceptibility of children to lead toxicity (Roy et al., 2011). Dr. Hu and a large team of researchers from the US and India assessed research needs for understanding the impacts of climate change on health (Bush et al., in press). Finally, Dr. Hu participated in a February 2011 Workshop at the Mazumdar-Shaw Cancer Center in Bangalore, India, on Translational Cancer Prevention and Biomarkers organized by fellow U-M School of Medicine faculty

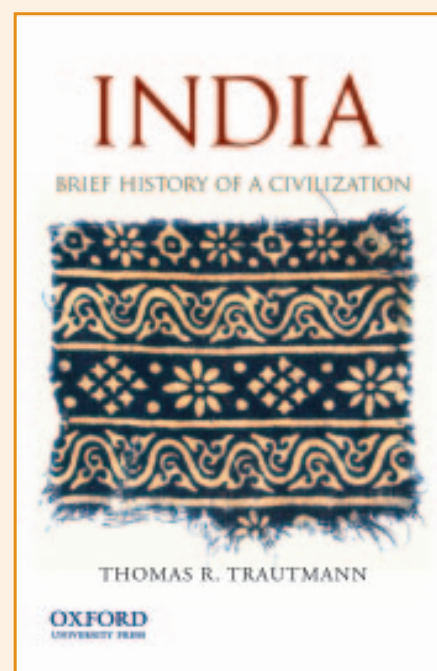
Dr. Dean Brenner and **Dr. Madhuri Kakarala**.

Bush KF, Luber G, Kotha SR, Dhaliwal RS, Kapil V, Pascual M, Brown DG, Frumkin H, Dhiman RC, Hess J, Wilson ML, Balakrishnan K, Eisenberg J, Kaur T, Rood R, Batterman S, Joseph A, Gronlund CJ, Agrawal A, Hu H. Impacts of Climate Change on Public Health in India: Future Research Directions. *Environ Health Persp* (in press; doi: 10.1289/ehp.1003000; available at <http://dx.doi.org/>; Online 27 January 2011; ehponline.org)

Roy A, Hu H, Bellinger DC, Mukherjee B, Modali R, Nasaruddin K, Schwartz J, Wright RO, Ettinger AS, Palaniapan K, Balakrishnan K. Hemoglobin, Lead Exposure, and Intelligence Quotient: Effect Modification by the DRD2 Taq IA Polymorphism. *Environ Health Perspect*. 2011Jan;119(1):144-9 PubMed PMID: 21205584.

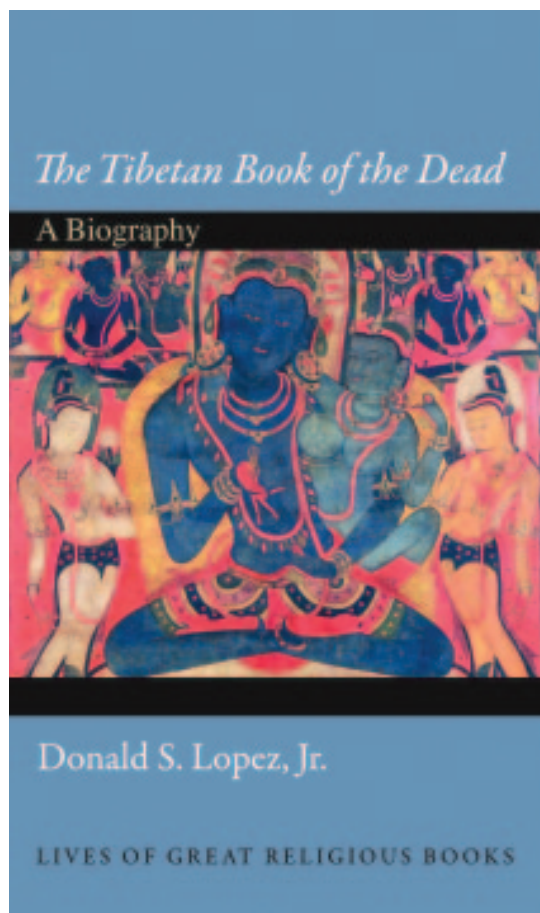
Meilu Ho published “A Self in the True: Singing in Pushti Marg Liturgical Service: in *The World of Music*, vol. 51, no. 2 (2010). She presented papers at the Annual Conference on South Asia, Madison, the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (U-M), The Society for Ethnomusicology, LA, and the CSAS (U-M), in Fall 2010.

Tom Trautmann’s book published by Oxford University Press is called “India: brief history of a civilization”. It was written for students in the Indian Civilization course offered through the History Department and the Asian Studies program.



FACULTY PUBLICATIONS

THE BIOGRAPHY OF A BOOK



...it has offered some degree of comfort to those who wonder what lies beyond death.

The Tibetan Book of the Dead is one of the three inaugural books of a series Princeton University Press calls “Lives of Great Religious Books.”

The volume traces the “life” of the book, tells of its origins, its “reception history”, and its fate and fortunes over time and space. In an article called [The Life, Death and Rebirth of The Tibetan Book of the Dead](#) (www.rorotoko.com) Professor Lopez writes “I was invited to write about *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*. It is a particularly apt work for the series, because in addition to its great fame, it raises a number of questions about how religious books come to life, how they gain—or claim—canonical status, and how they die and are reborn, often at unexpected times and places.”

In the same article Professor Lopez also writes:

The Tibetan Book of the Dead... seems to entail multiple layers of dissimulation, beginning with the photograph of its translator and editor, and extending back to the ancient Tibetan text—how ancient remains a question—that lies buried under the prefaces, notes, and appendices of the American Theosophist Walter Evans-Wentz. And yet, it has been reprinted many times since 1927 and has sold hundreds of thousands of

copies. The Tibetan text itself has been retranslated repeatedly, most recently in 2005 in “the first complete translation”, with various Tibetan lamas, including the Dalai Lama himself, offering their commentary.

It has been reprinted, of course, because it has been read, and because it has offered some degree of comfort to those who wonder what lies beyond death. It has often been the first book read by those who go on to develop a serious interest, even an academic interest, in Buddhism or in Tibet; and this from a book that, from almost every perspective, is not what it purports to be. *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, a work more recent than it claims, offers a particularly compelling opportunity to ponder that old question of the relation between what we call “religion” and what we call “truth.”

Donald S. Lopez Jr. is the Arthur E. Link Distinguished University Professor of Buddhist and Tibetan Studies in the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of Michigan. He is the author, editor, or translator of a number of books, including *The Madman’s Middle Way*, *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, and *“The Tibetan Book of the Dead”: A Biography (Lives of Great Religious Books)*

SAAN 2011: Illuminating Identity Through Introspection

A Report by **Melissa Allan** / *Summer in South Asia Fellow, 2010*

If you haven't been to the SAAN conference, well... leave a weekend in January free for next year! U-M South Asian Awareness Network (SAAN) organizes the largest annual South Asian undergraduate conference in the nation. The 2011 conference took place January 21-22 at the Michigan League and Rackham Auditorium. The conference is an annual event, entirely student organized, that aims to provide an interactive and engaging opportunity for participants to connect with each other as well as many prominent individuals in the South Asian community. During registration participants pick their top three workshop choices, before being placed in a small group of students with similar interests. This small group—led by a facilitator—attends workshops, speeches and meals together, and is an excellent way for participants to engage with each other and discuss the material.

This year there was something for everyone. From culture to entertainment to education policy, the conference featured inspiring individuals across the board. Speakers ranged from Shikha Bhatnagar, executive director for Teach For India, Brownstar Revolution; a South Asian spoken word performance group; Anna John, co-founder of Sepia Mutiny blog, and Vinoda Bsnayake, Attorney and founder of The Nightlife Agency, a top entertainment agency which promotes artists such as Jay Sean.

The SAAN conference provides a unique opportunity for students interested in South Asian issues and awareness to come together and connect with leaders in the community, for a weekend of stimulating discussion and sharing of ideas.

For more information, please visit www.umsaan.org

Summer in South Asia FELLOWSHIPS 2011

We congratulate the winners of the Summer in South Asia fellowships Nader Hakim, Martha Johnson, Sonya Usman, Alexandra Passarelli and Julia Field. They will travel to India to do research work with NGOs during the summer of 2011, and will present their papers at a colloquium on October 14, 2011. We invite everyone to attend these presentations and support our wonderful students.

Many thanks to our generous and anonymous donor who sponsors these fellowships each year!

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In front: Nimish Thakur and Neha Kandurgaonkar. **Front row standing:** Suresh Tendulkar, D. Parthasarathy, Ashwini Deshpande, Farina Mir, Carla Sinopoli, Vandana Baweja, Zilka Joseph, A. R. Vasavi, Mary E. John, Meilu Ho **Back row:** Vikram Khanna, Ram Mahalingam, Rohini Somanathan, Ravinder Kaur, Juan Cole, Andrea Wright, Jennifer Wenzel, Will Glover, Tom Weisskopf, Jane Menon, Amit Ahuja.

Inequalities in India Conference, Mumbai

A Report by
Ram Mahalingam
and Juan Cole

CSAS ORGANIZED an intellectually stimulating interdisciplinary conference on *Inequalities in India* in Mumbai (March 1-4, 2011) sponsored by the Trehan India Initiative. Eminent scholars from U-M and from India presented their research on the subject. Several papers focused on caste and inequality. Suresh Tendulkar, University of Delhi, focused on the need to revisit the reservation policy from a historical perspective. Tom Weisskopf, U-M Economics department, spoke about reservation policy and the alleviation of inequality. Ashwini Deshpande, University of Delhi, spoke about the impact of globalization on the social mobility of marginalized caste groups.

Vikramaditya Khanna of the U-M Law School spoke on the need for reform in the legal system to address the inequalities in accessing the judicial system. D. Parthasarathy, IIT, Mumbai, spoke on the need to look into caste in relation to spatial inequalities. Rohini Somanathan, University of Delhi, addressed the need to examine inequalities among various caste groups that are categorized as SC/ST.

A.R. Vasavi, NIAS, Bangalore, addressed the various institutional barriers faced by the Dalits in getting quality education and government jobs at various stages of their lives. Ravinder Kaur, IIT, Delhi, spoke of gender inequalities with a focus on

Trehan India Initiative

imbalance in gender. Mary E. John, CWDS, New Delhi, focused on gender inequality among the non-poor. Ram Mahalingam, U-M Psychology department, addressed the need to study gender inequalities at the intersections of caste and class and the impact of gender discrimination on psychological well-being. Amit Ahuja, U-C, Santa Barbara, spoke on the relationship between marginalized caste identity, social class and voting behavior. Jane Menon, doctoral candidate in U-M Political Science, spoke on support for democracy among Muslims at various social locations in India. Andrea Wright, doctoral candidate in Anthropology and History, U-M, spoke on the migration of Muslim migration to Gulf countries.

Other papers discussed dealt with the issue of inequality in the humanities or human sciences. Carla Sinopoli, U-M Anthropology department, spoke on forms of inequality in prehistoric settlements in south India. Vandana Baweja, University of Florida, spoke on the film *Slumdog Millionaire*, focusing on its cinematic depictions of the old, colonial, communally tolerant Bombay and the nouveau riche, fundamentalist, globalizing Mumbai of today. Meilu Ho, U-M department of Music, addressed the interplay of temple musical traditions with classical Indian songs. Jennifer Wenzel, U-M English department, gave

a searching paper on the novel *Animal's People* by Arun Sinha.

As part of the conference, the delegates were taken on a tour of Dharavi, and a visit to *Shree Mukti Sanghatana*, an NGO which works toward the empowerment of the women who collect recyclable household waste from garbage dumps. Ms. Jyoti Mhapsekar, the charming seventy year-old founder and president of the organization gave a video presentation on various aspects of job training, microfinance, and health education programs using street theater and other forms of community based programs offered to these women by them. Juan Cole, CSAS director presided

over the conference, Will Glover, associate director International Institute, and Farina Mir, U-M History department, were moderators and discussants, Zilka Joseph, CSAS program manager, organized and coordinated the conference and was assisted in Mumbai by Neha Kandalgaokar and Nimish Thakur.

Overall, the *Trehan Inequalities in India conference* was successful and memorable. It provided a vital forum to share and critique important research, strengthened ongoing collaborations and created opportunities for future projects between scholars from U-M and from India.



RESEARCH REPORT *By Tom Weiskopf*

Does Affirmative Action Affect Productivity In The Indian Railways?

IN A RECENT working paper with the above title, Ashwini Deshpande (of the Delhi School of Economics) and I report on the results of the first systematic quantitative study of the effect of India's job reservation policies on enterprise efficiency. We undertook an empirical study of productivity in the Indian Railways over a 23-year period to examine, in a rigorous manner, the effect of these reservation policies on the productive efficiency of the Indian Railways.

In India 22.5 percent of all public sector jobs are reserved for Dalits (officially the "Scheduled Castes" or "SCs") and Advasis (officially the "Scheduled Tribes" or STs). The quotas for the most responsible positions, however, are usually only partially filled because of an insufficient number of eligible candidates who meet the minimum qualifications set for such positions.

The most frequent complaint about job reservation policies is that they conflict with considerations of merit because quotas entail the selection of less qualified candidates in place of more qualified candidates. Critics argue that a poorer quality of government service is to be expected from the SC & ST beneficiaries of reservations. Some critics even suggest that

the failure to allocate key jobs strictly on the basis of conventional qualification criteria has resulted in serious harm as well as gross inefficiency. We chose to study the effect of reservations in India's single largest public sector enterprise – the Indian Railways (IR) – not only because of its economic importance but also because the IR systematically collects a great deal of data on all aspects of its operations, and because the debate about affirmative action in India has prominently featured claims that job reservations have adversely affected the performance of the Indian Railways.

The data base for our study consists of a pooled set of data on productive inputs and outputs for eight regional IR zones over a time span of 23 years – from 1980 through 2002, producing a total of 184 zone-years of observations. Our empirical analysis, using both production function and data-envelope techniques, provides no evidence in support of the claim by critics that increasing the proportion of all jobs filled by SC & ST candidates by means of reservation policies has an adverse effect on total factor productivity or its growth over time. Furthermore, some of the results of our analyses suggest that the proportion of professional & administrative jobs filled through reservation policies is positively associated with productivity and productivity growth.

Our finding of a positive association between productivity and the proportion of SC & ST in professional & administrative jobs is especially relevant to debates about the effects of affirmative action on behalf of members of SC & ST communities, for two reasons. First, the efficacy with which high-level managerial and decision-making jobs are carried out is likely to have a considerably bigger impact on overall productivity than the efficacy with which lower-level semi-skilled and unskilled jobs are fulfilled. Thus critics of reservations are likely to be much more concerned about the potentially adverse effects of favoring SC & ST candidates for professional & administrative jobs than for lower-level jobs. Second, it is precisely in the higher-level jobs – far more than in the lower-level jobs – that reservations have been indispensable for raising the proportion of SC & ST employees. Even without reservations, one would expect substantial numbers of SC & ST applicants to be hired into lower-level jobs; but without reservations very few SC & ST applicants would have been able to attain professional and administrative jobs.

The data available to us do not allow us to empirically establish just how and why affirmative action in the Indian labor market may have had such a favorable effect. We believe, however,

that the answer may be found in one or more of the following suggestions that others have advanced to explain such a finding. Individuals from marginalized groups may well display especially high levels of work motivation when they succeed in attaining decision-making and managerial positions, because of the fact that they have reached these positions in the face of claims that they are not sufficiently capable – in consequence of which they may have a strong desire to prove their detractors wrong. Or individuals from marginalized groups may simply believe that they have to work doubly hard to prove that they are just as good as their peers. Having greater numbers of SC & ST managers and professionals working in high-level positions in the Indian Railways might also serve to increase productivity because their community backgrounds make them more effective in supervising and motivating SC & ST workers in lower-level jobs. Finally, improvements in organizational productivity may well result from the greater diversity of perspectives and talents made possible by the integration of members of previously marginalized groups into high-level decision-making teams.

A Photojournalist Capturing War without End

by Iason Athanasiadis

AFGHANISTAN 2014:



ATHANASIADIS IS a photo-journalist, documentary filmmaker and international lecturer working on the intersection of the Eastern Mediterranean with the Arab, Persian and Turkic Middle East and Central Asia. He has covered some of the contemporary region's signature crises, including the 2011 Arab revolts, the 2010 Afghan surge, the Greek economic crisis, the 2009 Iranian pro-democracy movement, the 2006 Lebanese war, the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq and the passing of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad in 2000. Iason has lived in Cairo, Damascus, Sanaa and Tehran. He is currently based between Istanbul and Kabul.

Descended from a family of Ottoman Greeks from Cappadocia, Iason grew up in Greece and studied Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies at Oxford University. He attended the School of International Relations in Tehran where he studied for a Masters in Persian and Contemporary Iranian Studies and was a Nieman fellow at Harvard.

His work is inspired by art found in the middle of conflict. Iason believes that beauty can be found amid the harshness of war and pursues this aesthetic across the Middle East, from Afghanistan to Iraq, Lebanon to Yemen and – most recently – Cairo's Tahrir Square and the Libyan frontline.

His articles and op-eds have been published in the International Herald Tribune, the Guardian,

the Independent, the Times, the Washington Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the Sunday Telegraph, the Spectator and others. He speaks English, Arabic, Greek and Persian and has reported from Afghanistan, Cuba, Libya, North Korea, Iran, Iraq and Yemen.

The Center was very proud to have Iason Athanasiadis give a talk and present his work on February 18, 2011. The audience found his photographs not only visceral and stunning but deeply engaging and human. We thank him for the stories he shared with us and for contributing one of his most recent photographs to our newsletter.

The event was cosponsored by CMENAS and CSAS.



Reflections on My Affiliation with the U-M Center for South Asian Studies



I JOINED the U-M faculty in 1972, accepting an appointment as associate professor of economics after a 4-year stint as assistant professor of economics at Harvard University. At that time my academic interests were focused on economic development and underdevelopment in the “third world,” and I was particularly interested in India, where I had spent four years in the 1960s teaching and doing research on Indian economic planning at the Indian Statistical Institute – first in Calcutta and then in New Delhi. Although my initial research affiliation at U-M was with the Center for Research on Economic Development, I also became a faculty associate of the Center for South Asian Studies (CSAS) and participated in a variety of its activities during the 1970s.

From the late 1970s to the late 1990s my professional interests shifted away from India and

the “third world,” first to the macroeconomic problems of industrialized capitalist economies and then to the transition away from “actually-existing socialism” in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Starting in the year 2000, however, my research focus returned again to India. I therefore renewed my affiliation with CSAS, and I became much more actively involved in its activities than ever before.

In the late 1990s I had become increasingly interested in the topic of affirmative action, while serving as Director of the U-M’s Residential College. This was a time when two lawsuits against the affirmative action admissions policies of the University focused national debate over affirmative action on the Michigan campus. From my earlier experience in India I was well aware of the fact that India had been practicing a form of affirmative action for a considerably longer time than the United States; but I had never previously studied issues of race, caste, ethnicity, and discrimination in the Indian context. During a year of sabbatical leave in 2001–02, I took the opportunity to visit India again and to gather information on India’s reservation policies on behalf of “backward classes;” and I read widely in the burgeoning literature on affirmative action in each country. This research culminated in my book, [Affirmative Action in the United States and India: A Comparative Perspective](#),

published in 2004. In subsequent years I continued my work on affirmative action, participating in several conferences in India and publishing articles both in India and in the United States. More recently, I prepared and presented a paper entitled “Why Worry about Inequality in the Booming Indian Economy?” to a CSAS-organized Trehan-Initiative conference in Mumbai in early March 2011 and then to a CSAS audience in Ann Arbor in late March 2011.

Looking back over the last dozen years, I am immensely grateful to the CSAS – on many counts. Thanks to CSAS colleagues, I was able to find an outstanding young Indian research assistant to work with me in developing my book project. The Center’s lecture series and seminars have enabled me to become acquainted with many outstanding scholars – both South Asian and Western – who have greatly increased my understanding of South Asia. My occasional presentations to CSAS audiences, as well as my participation in South Asian Studies courses as a guest lecturer, have provided me with very useful feedback on my own work. Last, but not least, the Center has frequently and generously helped to fund my research and related travel to India. Although I retired from the U-M faculty in June 2010, I have remained actively involved with the CSAS – and I look forward to continuing to do so well into the future.

TOM TRAUTMANN *Goodbye Hello*

Professor Emeritus of History

I HAVE RECENTLY come to feel that work was interfering with my education, and it was time to retire. I have now done so and entered into the next stage of life, that of emeritus professor, to give myself time for writing projects I have in mind. I am leaving—but not really, as I find that I need to live within one mile of a major university research library with a strong South Asia collection. I will continue to come to campus frequently. You may even see me more often at CSAS events.



It seems just yesterday, but it was actually 1968, that I joined the University of Michigan, the Department of History and the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, as it then was. Gayl Ness was director, and John Broomfield, my colleague in History, the associate director if I remember correctly. The Center had seed money from the Ford Foundation to encourage the University to create permanent positions in South and Southeast Asia, and the University was eager to do so. My position was created for me in that way, so naturally I feel very fondly toward the Center, or rather, to the two centers created by what I think of as a shotgun divorce imposed by Washington (which I deeply regret). We all are beneficiaries of the willing partnership between the Centers and the University that has created a solid array of positions and a lively intellectual community around the study of South and Southeast Asia.

Because the Center supported me and I believe in its mission I tried to give back in service, including a stint as director. I asked Pete Gosling, a previous director, to lend me a stack of his memos and letters to the dean for me to study. He was an absolute master of the art, and I learned a great deal from him. What skills I gained at the Center were useful to me when I became Chair of the Department of History and Director of the Institute for the Humanities. At the same time, I think the qualities that made for what success I had was that I had absolutely no taste for administration and zero ambition to make a life of it.

A cousin of mine, who was a physician at the Mayo Clinic till his retirement, told me, with cheerful realism, to stick my hand in a bucket of water, and then pull it out, and see how long the impression of my hand remained.

That is how long you are remembered after retirement, he said. It is probably true. What has struck me about administration is how quickly the work one does disappears, and how replaceable we all are. People come and go but the institution moves on, of its own momentum. At the same time, it only performs its function well if people who love it give it their best. I think the Center has been blessed with good leadership and a committed membership that gives it their best, in their day. The memory fades, but the effects of our actions, we somehow feel, continue.

All best wishes, goodbye and hello again, to my colleagues and students, as I leave the Center (but not really).

Tom Trautmann

LECTURE SERIES

Fall 2011

September 23 | 4pm | 1636 SSWB
Gyanendra Pandey
Emory University

September 30 | 4pm | 1636 SSWB
Sharika Thiranagama
The New School

October 14 | 4pm | 1636 SSWB
Summer in South Asia Undergraduate Fellowship Colloquium Featuring presentations by the 2011 CSAS Summer in South Asia fellows: Nader Hakim, Martha Johnson, Sonya Usman, Alexandra Passarelli and Julia Field

October 28 | 4pm | 1636 SSWB
Kirin Narayan
University of Wisconsin

November 4 | 4pm
3222 Angel Hall
II New Media Seminar
Co-sponsored by CSAS

November 18 | 2pm – 6pm
1636 SSWB
Moinak Biswas
Jadavpur University, Calcutta
Screening of film *Spring in the Colony* (Sthaniya Sambad)
Lecture and Q & A

December 2 | TBD | 1636 SSWB
Tribute to Tagore



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