

# CASI 22/23 Annual Report

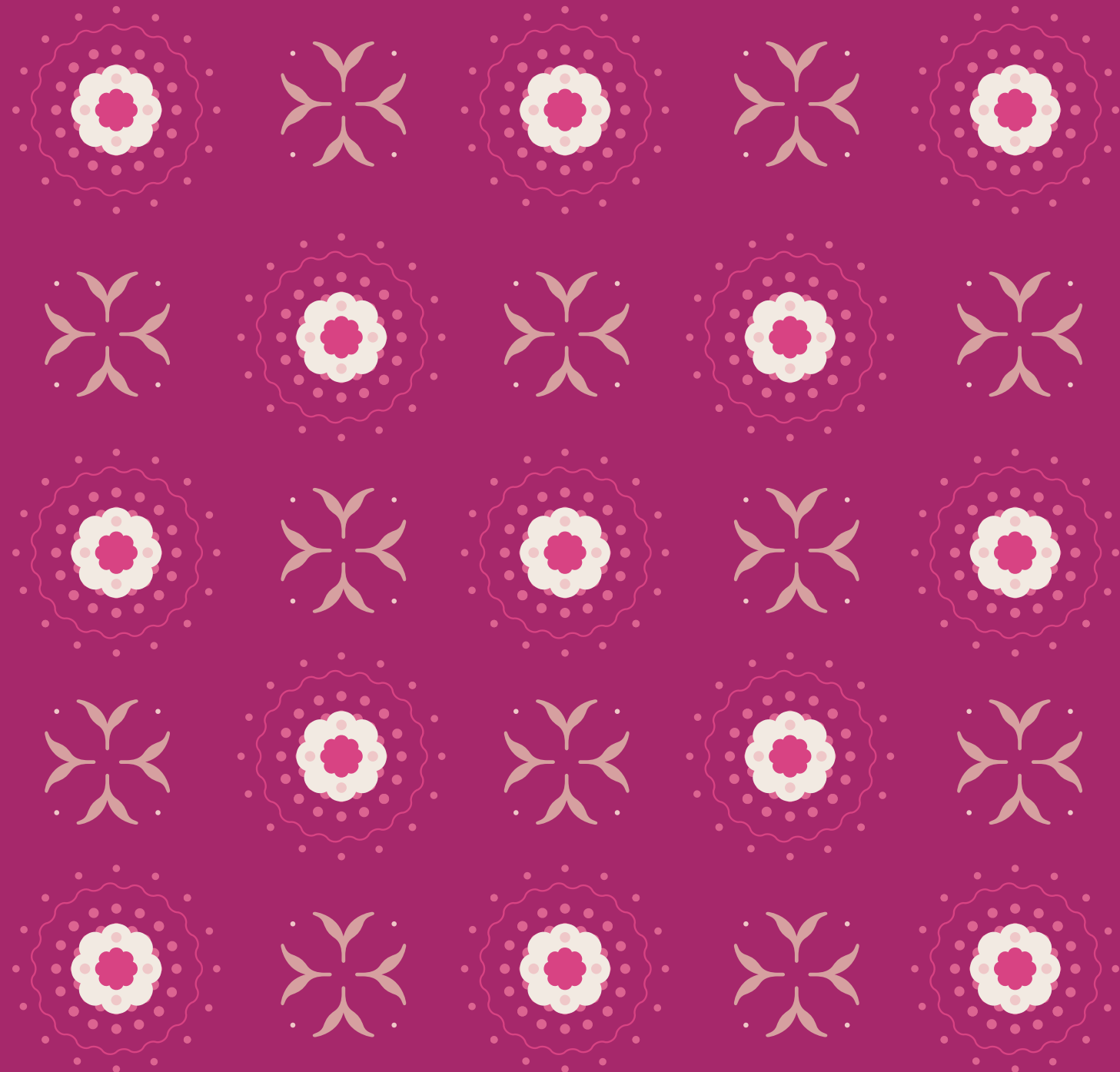


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# About CASI



## Mission Statement

Founded in 1992, the Center for the Advanced Study of India at the University of Pennsylvania is the first research institution in the United States dedicated to the study of contemporary India. A national resource, it fills an urgent need for objective knowledge of India's politics, rapidly changing economy, and social transformations.

**The Center seeks to enrich our understanding of contemporary India by conducting data-driven, policy-oriented research on India's most pressing challenges, convening discussions with scholars, policymakers, and practitioners on key issues, hosting distinguished and new voices from India at Penn, and providing opportunities for new generations of students and scholars to conduct research and hold internships in India.**

## Director's Note

We are delighted to present this Annual Report to you, the second since we restarted this tradition. This past year was an especially momentous one for CASI. Not only did we fully resume in-person activities following the pandemic, but we celebrated the Center's 30th anniversary as the first U.S. university research center focused on contemporary India.

We marked this significant milestone with a rich cornucopia of over three dozen events, including a daylong symposium on campus, 'India at 75, CASI at 30', featuring synoptic panels assessing India's economy, domestic politics, and foreign affairs after 75 years of independence. We also hosted several academic workshops, both in Philadelphia and in New Delhi, on subjects ranging from political economy to climate change to India's bureaucracy. Finally, we launched a new distinguished lecture series, launched an exciting web series on major sources of data on India, and participated in a symposium celebrating the 25th anniversary of our partner organization in India, UPIASI.

The terrific turnout across these events bore testimony to the continuing vitality of our Center.

These events also showcased several features that make CASI unique, including the range of important topics the Center addresses, and the effort it has made to engage with scholars, students, and policymakers in India. Indeed, several of our symposium speakers and workshop participants come from the over 100 scholars and practitioners based in India whom CASI has hosted at Penn. They represent perhaps most valuable evidence of three decades of sustained engagement with India.

In commemorating the past, we also looked to build CASI's future. Most importantly, we have worked hard to considerably expand the Center's research capacity across major social science disciplines. Towards that end, we are delighted to welcome our first ever Associate Faculty Director, Nikhil Anand (Penn Anthropology), who will be involved with a number of Center activities

including developing its research agenda on urbanization and climate change. We are also delighted to welcome Adam Ziegfield, a political scientist from Temple, who will join us as a Senior Visiting Scholar, working on political parties and elections. Last, but far from least, we expanded our postdoctoral program from two to three fellows, each pursuing exciting research in their respective fields of history, anthropology, and political science.

Together, this dynamic group represents by far the largest and most interdisciplinary group of core researchers we have ever enjoyed at CASI. They will continue work on a rich array of topics: from urbanization to air pollution and climate change, and from ideas of Indian federalism to the role of intermediaries in commercial agriculture.

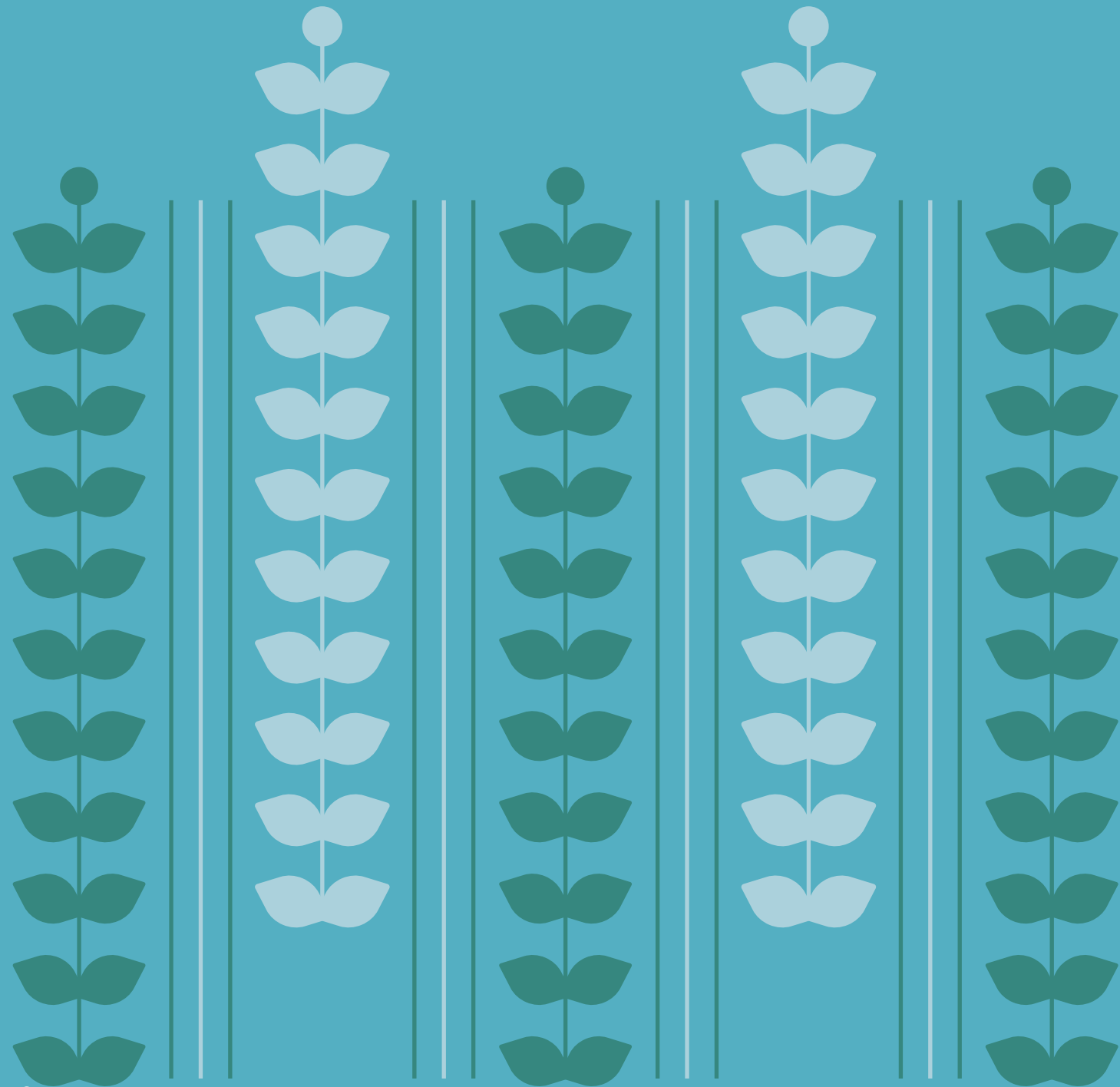
In growing our CASI community, we very much look forward to continuing our ever-widening collaborations with colleagues across the university. In the past year, we partnered with no less than 24 departments, centers, initiatives, and schools. In doing so, we engaged with and supported students from nearly every major Penn school. We also began exciting new collaborations, including a new mentorship program for students from India with DevLab@Penn.

Finally, I must close in noting that CASI's past accomplishments, and exciting new developments are enabled first and foremost by its terrific staff. Staff are usually the unsung heroes of any successful institution, so allow me to sing their praises. Many of our staff have been with the Center far longer than any student, fellow, or even Director! They have moved mountains to host events and speakers from India, facilitate student travel and research in India, and provided peerless support to faculty. We are all very much in their debt.



**Tariq Thachil**  
CASI Director  
Professor of Political Science  
Madan Lal Sobti Professor  
for the Study of Contemporary India  
University of Pennsylvania

# Current Research



CASI is well-recognized for generating high-quality empirical research and analyses, building rigorous and innovative data sets, and creating long-term collaborations with academics, policymakers, and practitioners working close to the ground in both India and the United States. This research has been funded by major grants from private and public sources and focuses on critical and understudied aspects of India's economy, politics, and society. Major current themes include:

- **economic transition**
- **urbanization**
- **agriculture**
- **air pollution**
- **climate change**
- **governance**
- **welfare programs**
- **migration**
- **federalism**

2

MONOGRAPHS PUBLISHED

5

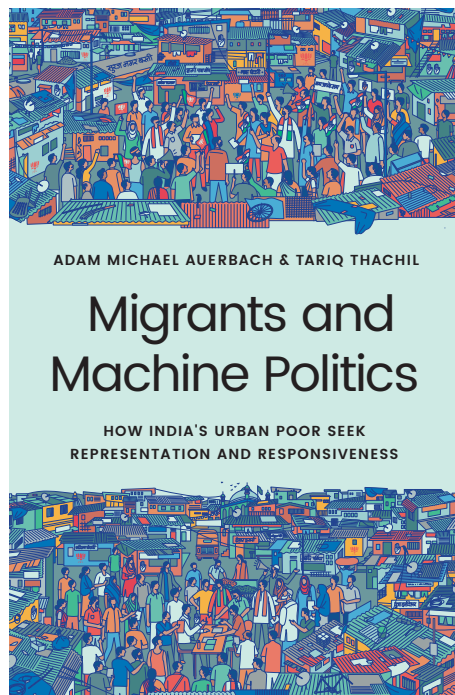
NEW MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECTS

9

ARTICLES PUBLISHED BY CASI  
POSTDOCS, 4 UNDER PEER REVIEW AT  
TOP-TIER JOURNALS

### Migrants and Machine Politics: How are major Indian cities managing growing slum populations?

The project examines what drives development within rapidly proliferating slums across India. CASI has assembled the most systematic evidence to date showing that local infrastructure development within India's slums is driven by self-governing associations set up by slum communities. The manuscript appears in the prestigious *Studies in Political Behavior Series* published by Princeton University Press. The book is the first India-based title to appear in this series. The book was published in India by Penguin/RandomHouse in January 2023.



By documenting how poor migrants actively shape urban politics in counterintuitive ways, *Migrants and Machine Politics* sheds new light on the political consequences of urbanization across India and the Global South.

“This outstanding book is a model of social-science research. Its findings push against the literature on brokers in important and profound ways, highlighting the origins and agency of party machines.”

—Allen Hicken, University of Michigan

“This book is a pioneering, rigorous, and beautifully written contribution to topics ranging from urban politics to representation and accountability in democracies.”

—Pratap B. Mehta, Princeton University

#### AUTHORS



Adam Auerbach

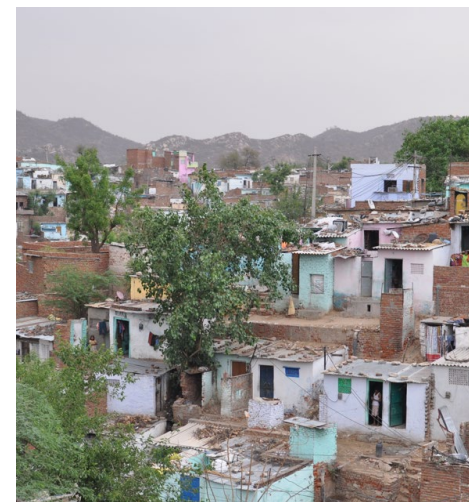


Tariq Thachil

#### About the Book:

### *Migrants and Machine Politics: How India's Urban Poor Seek Representation and Responsiveness*

As the Global South rapidly urbanizes, millions of people have migrated from the countryside to urban slums, which now house one billion people worldwide. The transformative potential of urbanization hinges on whether and how poor migrants are integrated into city politics. Popular and scholarly accounts paint migrant slums as exhausted by dispossession, subdued by local dons, bought off by wily politicians, or polarized by ethnic appeals. *Migrants and Machine Politics* shows how slum residents in India routinely defy such portrayals, actively constructing and wielding political machine networks to demand important, albeit imperfect, representation and responsiveness within the country's expanding cities.



### Delhi Air Pollution

Across India, air pollution offers a stark example of environmental degradation. Several cities, even their adjacent countryside, have hazardous air quality and are consistently ranked as having the most polluted air in the world. This kind of air pollution has been widely shown to have deleterious effects on human health and well-being. Existing scholarship often expects citizen support for environmental protection to be highest in such settings. Despite its adverse consequences for public health, opinion surveys suggest air pollution does not feature significantly as an issue of concern to ordinary Indians, even within highly impacted areas like Delhi. Yet no prior study has examined why this is the case. We propose to conduct a major household survey across Delhi-NCR to examine possible explanations and to provide some of the first rigorous data on how residents of Delhi view the problem of air pollution and how they evaluate potential policy solutions. We hope to provide rigorous evidence on this important public health question.



#### RESEARCH AFFILIATES



Tariq Thachil



Shikhar Singh



**Translation:** I will vote for you only when you reduce air pollution!



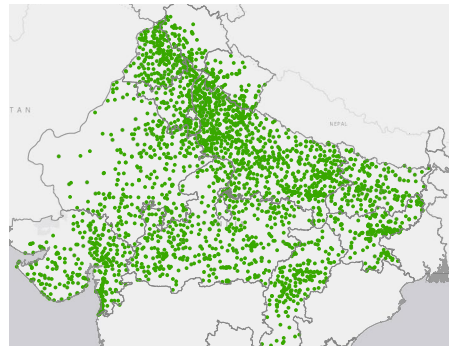
**Translation:** I will vote for you only when you reduce the price of diesel and petrol!

## Small Town Governance: What are the governance challenges facing small cities?

Led by [Tariq Thachil](#), [Adam Michael Auerbach](#) and CASI Postdoctoral Research Fellow [Shikar Singh](#) (Ph.D. in Political Science, 2022, Yale). CASI has launched the first systematic set of studies on the political economy of “small-scale urbanization” in India. A significant percentage of urban residents across the Global South live in small towns. In India, the percentage of citizens living in cities with populations less than 100,000 residents equals those living in million-plus cities. Indeed, 85% of India’s towns have less than 100,000 people. Yet little is known about the political economy of these urban local bodies. What governance challenges do small towns face? Why are small towns so unsuccessful in raising tax revenues? Why do they often fail to spend the funds provided to them by central and state governments?

CASI will conduct the first ever large-scale surveys of small-town bureaucrats and politicians, as well as ordinary citizens. This research will be supported by an [India Research and Engagement Fund](#) (IREF) grant awarded to CASI by Penn Global for 2022-2024. This project will take place in collaboration with the Directorate of Local Bodies in the Indian state of Rajasthan. Project findings will be disseminated to a group of scholars and policymakers at a major workshop hosted by CASI and UPIASI in the summer of 2024 in New Delhi.

An initial working paper from this project is available [here](#).



### AUTHORS



Adam Auerbach



Tariq Thachil



Shikar Singh



## Agrarian Geographies of India

This research agenda is led by CASI Postdoctoral Research Fellow [Amrita Kurian](#) (Ph.D. in Socio-cultural Anthropology, 2020, UC-San Diego). Dr. Amrita Kurian works on expertise and agrarian geographies in rural Andhra Pradesh. Her research provides a humanistic critique of state experts’ technical interventions to address emergent problems that threaten the sustainability of agriculture and agrarian livelihoods. It explains how, faced with such formidable challenges, the experts’ pursuit of quality frequently fails and faces increasing contention from farmers and traders on the ground. Her ethnographic study of the cigarette tobacco sector also exposes the increasing burden placed on rural environments and agrarian producers in the Global South today as they simultaneously cope with the adverse ecological effects of commercial agriculture and the increasing pressure on their incomes from constantly evolving standards imposed by agricultural commodity markets. Dr. Kurian secured a research grant she used to conduct field research toward her project during the summer of 2023. She will also use the opportunity to initiate a new project on climate-induced seasonal migration among agrarian laborers in South India. In 2023-24, she will write her monograph based on her ethnographic research and apply for additional grants to extend work on her migration project. She has peer-reviewed essays under consideration in top-tiered journals (*Cultural Anthropology*, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, and *Science, Technology, and Human Values*).

### RESEARCH AFFILIATE



Amrita Kurian



### India's Federalism: A Legal and Intellectual History

This research agenda is led by CASI Postdoctoral Research Fellow Sarath Pillai (Ph.D. in History, 2022, University of Chicago). Federation is a common term in Indian political discourses today. However, little is known about the history of federalism before 1947 and the ways in which this colonial past impinges on what we understand to be federalism today. Was federalism always a contested idea, and if so, contested between who? When did the idea of federalism become mainstream, and why did it appeal to many sections of Indians before independence? Who were the Indian federalists? Are the federalists of today the same as the federalists of the past? Sarath Pillai's monograph, *Federal Futures: Imagining Federation, Constitution, and World in Late Colonial India*, answers these questions with the help of multilingual archival materials collected from India, the U.K., and the U.S. over 18 months. It recasts the princely states, minorities, and liberals as Indian federalists and recovers their lost federal vision, which drew as much on American and German imaginaries of federalism as India's past and colonial present. We have many books on nationalism, Hindu-Muslim conflicts, and the making of the Indian nation-state, but not on the history of federalism in India. This is all the more striking as no single idea was as influential and widespread as federalism in late colonial India. His book will address this lacuna. A portion of this research, showing the impact of German history and constitutionalism on Indian federal imaginaries, will come out in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* in October 2023. His primary aim in the upcoming year is to work on the book manuscript, submit a book proposal to a top university press in the US, and submit at least one article to a top research journal.

RESEARCH AFFILIATE



Sarath Pillai



### Digital Public Infrastructure and Improvements in Delivery of Welfare Programs

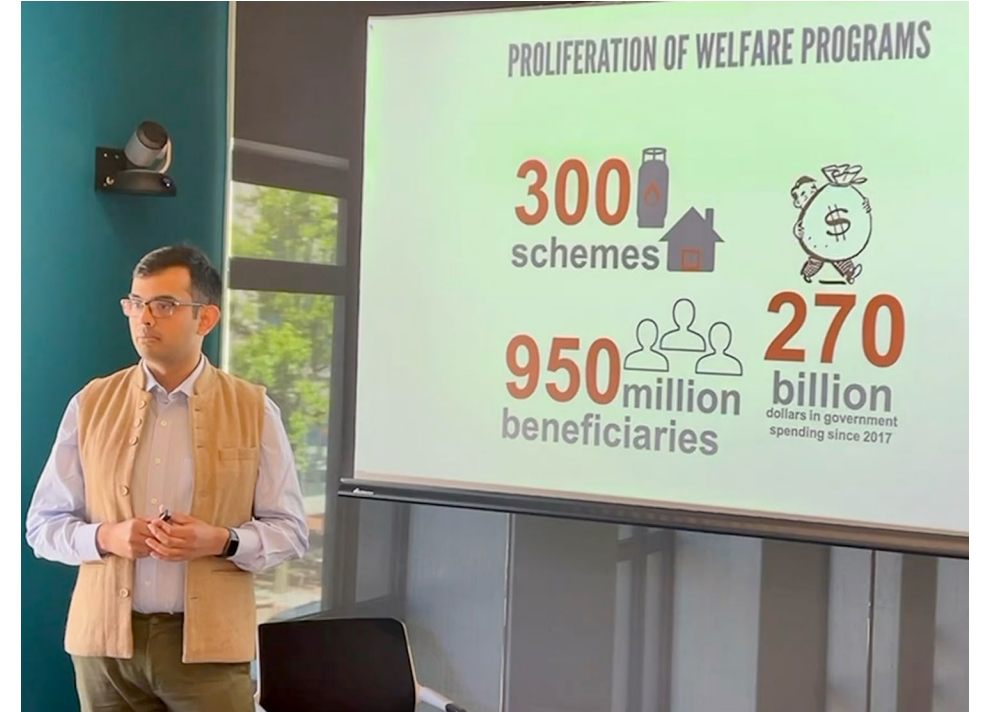
This research agenda is led by CASI Postdoctoral Research Fellow Shikhar Singh (PhD in Political Science, 2022, Yale University). His work focuses on the digital welfare state and the politics of technology-enabled improvements in the delivery of welfare programs. There are over 300 such development programs in India that have benefited over 950 million people and account for \$270 billion in spending since 2017. Understanding the politics of digital public infrastructure and its use in welfare delivery is important for the global fight against poverty, and matters politically because populist politicians rely on this kind of welfarism to gain credibility with voters.

Shikhar's book project, based on his dissertation, develops a theory in which politicians' electoral considerations shape their decision to use big data and objective rules to identify beneficiaries, and directly transfer benefits to intended recipients, cutting out party intermediaries. He compares the implementation and political impact of two large-scale development programs in India—a rule-based direct transfer (money to build a house) and broker-mediated distribution of cooking gas cylinders—to explain why politicians engage party intermediaries to distribute some benefits, while directly transferring other benefits using objective rules.

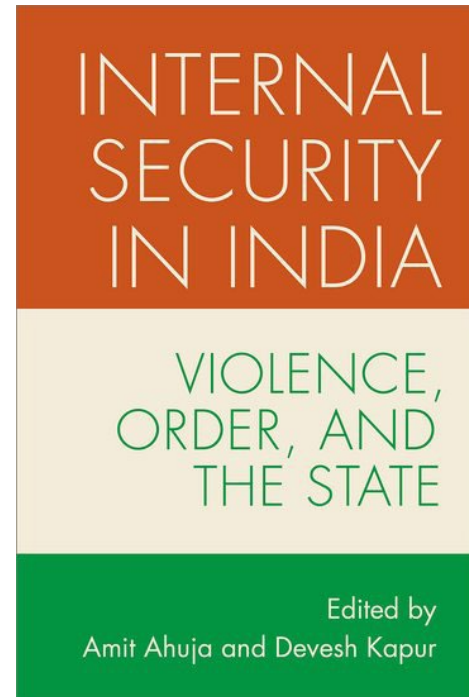
RESEARCH AFFILIATE



Shikhar Singh







**CASI Senior Fellow & former Director Devesh Kapur (SAIS, Johns Hopkins) and Amit Ahuja (UC, Santa Barbara) co-edited:**

***Internal Security in India: Violence, Order, and the State***  
(Oxford University Press, 2022)

**An overarching exploration of the Indian state's approaches, laws, and organizations that maintain order and contain violence.**

Maintaining order and containing violence—the core constituents of internal security—are fundamental responsibilities of any government. Yet, developing countries find this task especially challenging. In *Internal Security in India*, Amit Ahuja, Devesh Kapur, and a cast of leading scholars on the subject focus on India's security and the threats it faces. Since Independence, the Indian state has grappled with a variety of internal security challenges, including insurgencies, terrorist attacks, caste and communal violence, riots, and electoral violence. Their toll has claimed more lives than all of India's five external wars put together. As the contributors in this volume analyze how the Indian State has managed the core concern of internal security over time, they address three broad questions: How well has India contained violence and preserved order? How have the approaches and capacity of the State evolved to attain these twin objectives? And what implications do the State's approach towards internal security have for civil liberties and the quality of democracy? A major reinterpretation of order and internal security in India, this book sheds light on an underanalyzed issue of global import given the changing nature of threats that states face.

**EDITORS**



Devesh Kapur



Amit Ahuja

## Some Highlights from CASI Research: Recognitions in the Press

### Books & Their Coverage –

#### *Migrants & Machine Politics*

CASI Director Tariq Thachil and CASI Non-Resident Visiting Scholar Adam Auerbach were interviewed by Milan Vaishnav (CEIP; CASI Non-Resident Visiting Scholar) on his podcast *Grand Tamasha* on May 30, 2023 to discuss “The Democratic Dynamism of India’s Slums” in reference to their new book, *Migrants and Machine Politics: How India’s Urban Poor Seek Representation and Responsiveness* (Princeton University Press, 2023). The podcast was featured the June 5, 2023 *Hindustan Times* article “Politics in Slums Highly Active and Competitive.”

CASI was featured in “University of Pennsylvania Pledges to Bolster Relations with India at Penn India Engagement Forum” in the January 27, 2023 issue of *Asian News International*. The article also appeared in the February 8, 2023 issue of *Penn Today*.

#### Books by IAB members, Senior Fellows, Visiting Scholars, Former Postdocs

Former CASI Postdoctoral Research Fellow and current Non-Resident Visiting Scholar Nafis Aziz Hasan co-authored *Overload, Creep, Excess: An Internet from India* (Institute of Network Cultures, Amsterdam, 2022).

CASI International Advisory Board member Ashley J. Tellis co-edited *Grasping Greatness: Making India a Leading Power* (Penguin India, 2022) along with Bibek Debroy and C. Raja Mohan (Spring 2013 CASI-Penn Distinguished International Scholar). The book “explores the various economic, state-building, and international tasks necessary to obtain eminence in world affairs. Eminent thinkers...reflect upon the tasks at hand and how to achieve them.”

CASI Senior Fellow & former Director Devesh Kapur along with Lily Kong, Florence Lo, and David M. Malone, co-edited *The Oxford Handbook of Higher Education in the Asia-Pacific Region* (Oxford University Press, 2023). The book is available for pre-order and will ship March 15, 2023.

### Grants and Fellowships

CASI Postdoctoral Research Fellow Sarath Pillai recently completed a major archival research project with the Philadelphia-based Historical Society of Pennsylvania by writing the first-ever *South Asia Subject Guide*, an overarching view of all the South Asia-related collections in the Society, starting from the 16th century to the present.

### Reports & Articles

Eswaran Sridharan (Academic Director & Chief Executive, UPIASI, and CASI Non-Resident Visiting Scholar) published “A New Phase of One-Party Dominance,” in the August 15, 2022 issue of *The Hindu*.

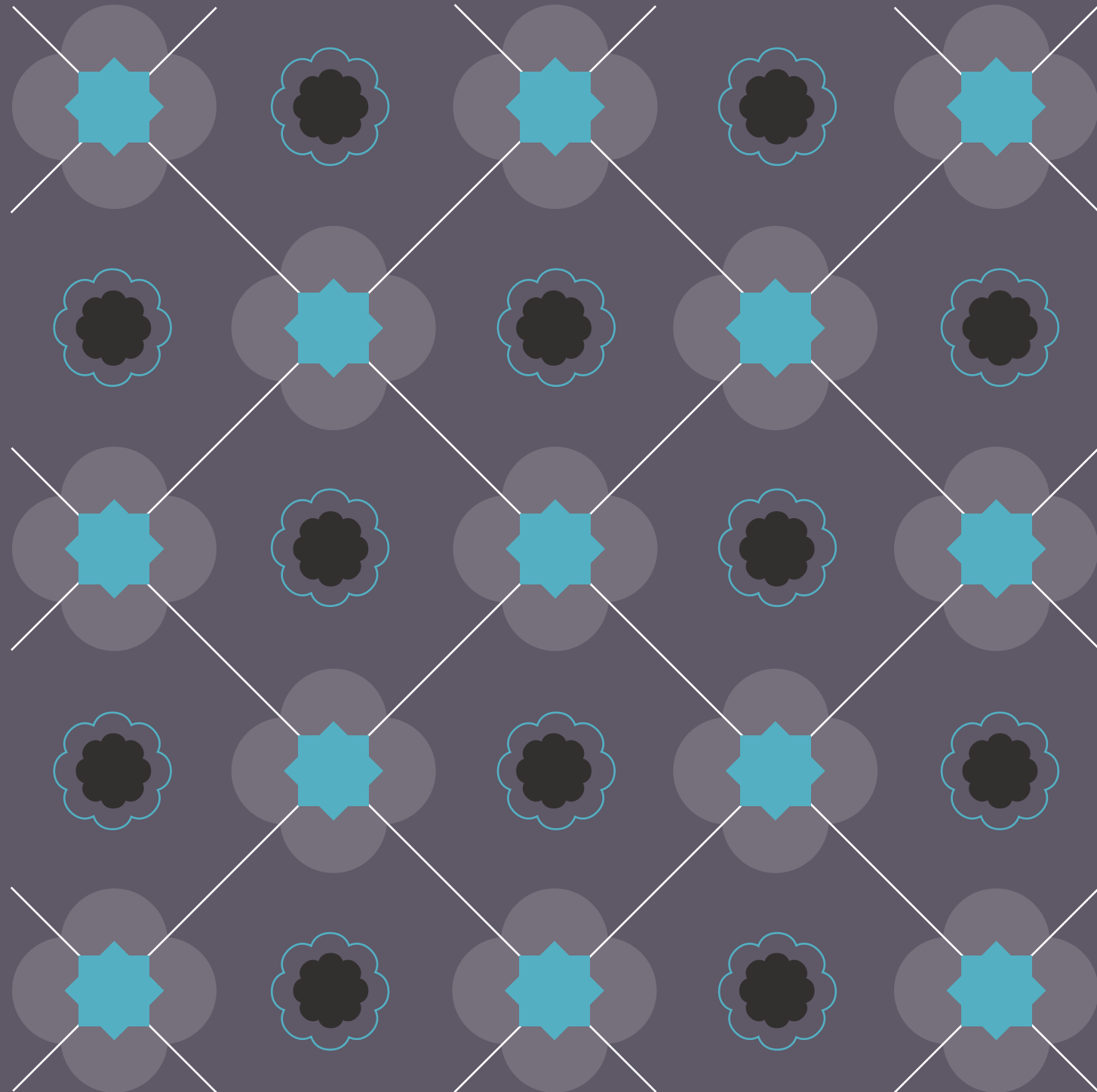
CASI Postdoctoral Research Fellow Sarath Pillai published “How the Princely States, Used by Britain to Consolidate its Empire, Faded into Obscurity” in the November 24, 2022 issue of *Scroll.in* and “Amar Farooqui: A Historian’s Indelible Legacy and Lessons to Last a Lifetime” in the December 19, 2022 issue of *Scroll.in*.

CASI Non-Resident Visiting Scholar Radhika Khosla co-authored “Sustainable Cooling in a Warming World: Technologies, Cultures, and Circularity” in the December 2022 issue of *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*.

CASI Non-Resident Visiting Scholar Milan Vaishnav co-authored, along with Paul Staniland, “The State of Opposition in South Asia,” published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on January 24, 2023.

CASI Spring 2023 Visiting Fellow Monika Arora (Vice President of Research, Public Health Foundation of India) co-authored “Tobacco Imagery in On-Demand Streaming Content Popular Among Adolescents and Young Adults in India: Implications for Global Tobacco Control” in the 2021 issue of *Tobacco Control*, “The Global Impact of Tobacco Control Policies on Smokeless Tobacco Use: A Systematic Review” in the May 2023 issue of *Lancet Global Health*, and “The 20th Anniversary of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control: Hard Won Progress Amid Evolving Challenges” in the May 29, 2023 issue of *The Lancet*.

# Building Research Networks & Capacity



## Visiting Scholars and Fellows

In keeping with CASI's commitment to supporting research on contemporary India across the social sciences, these scholars hail from a variety of disciplines including history, anthropology, economics, and political science. Their work showcases research excellence across a wide range of methodological orientations and subject areas. From the workings of agricultural markets to the unfolding of India's urban transition, from the nature of environmental transformations to the politics of national security, these innovative scholars will continue to shape our understanding of many of India's most pressing concerns. We are delighted to have them enrich our Center.

## Visiting Scholars/Fellows Program Summary:

106

SCHOLARS/FELLOWS SINCE FORMALIZING THE PROGRAM IN 2007

THIS YEAR, NON-RESIDENT VISITING SCHOLARS AND FELLOWS REPRESENT:

22

INSTITUTIONS

7

COUNTRIES

9

ARE CO-PIs ON CASI MAJOR RESEARCH GRANTS AND OTHER SPONSORED FUNDING

CASI is fortunate to have these 26 distinguished researchers, in residence and non-resident, serve as Visiting Scholars & Senior Fellows and Sobti Family Doctoral Fellows for the academic year.



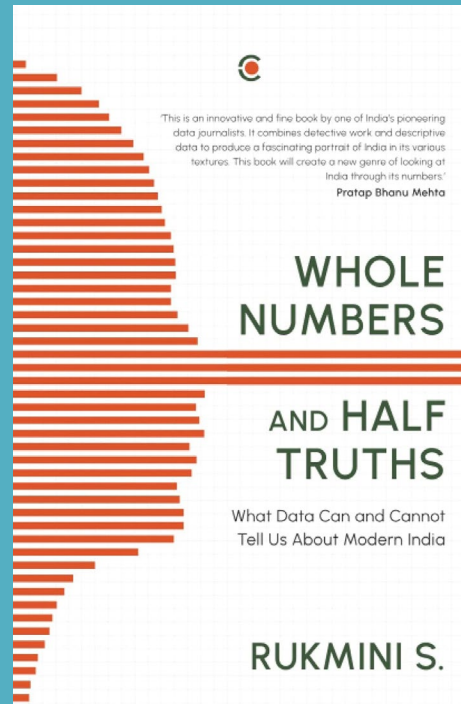
**Featured Fellow**

Rukmini S.

Rukmini S. was a CASI Fall 2022 Visiting Fellow and is an independent data journalist based in Chennai, India. Her work focuses on inequality, gender, caste, and politics. Rukmini was previously National Data Editor of *The Hindu* and now writes independently for Indian and international publications. She also hosted a pandemic podcast, *The Moving Curve*, which won an Emergent Ventures COVID-19 India Prize in 2020.

Rukmini's work on the true toll of COVID in India won the global data journalism awards (the Sigma Awards 2022). Her work also won a Jury's Special Mention for Investigative Reporting at the ACJ Awards 2022. Rukmini's bestselling book, *Whole Numbers & Half Truths: What Data Can and Cannot Tell Us About Modern India*, was published by Westland in December 2021 and was longlisted for Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay Book Prize by the New India Foundation. Her second book will be published in 2023.

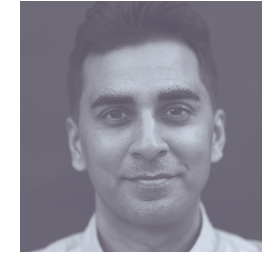
Rukmini has a Post-Graduate Diploma in Social Communications Media and an MSc in Development Studies.



Visiting Fellow Rukmini S. spoke about her book *Whole Numbers and Half Truths: What Data Can and Cannot Tell Us About Modern India* (Context, 2021) during her time in-residence at CASI. Her time at CASI sparked the launch of her moderated CASI Data Seminar Series. The virtual series features a leading practitioner who presents a relatively novel or underutilized dataset as a guide for other researchers, students, journalists, and practitioners who use data in their work.



**Adam Auerbach**  
American University



**Bilal Baloch**  
Enquire, FY17-18 CASI  
Postdoctoral Research Fellow



**Ranjini Basu**  
UPIASI



**Naveen Bharathi**  
IIT, Bombay FY20-22  
Postdoctoral Research Fellow



**Debjani Bhattacharyya**  
University of Zürich



**Sanjoy Chakravorty**  
Temple University



**Shoumitro Chatterjee**  
SAIS, Johns Hopkins University (2022-)  
Penn State (previously)



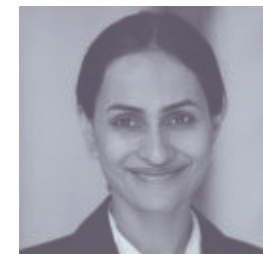
**Swagato Ganguly**  
*The Times of India* (2009-21)  
Spring 2022 Visiting Fellow



**Tanushree Goyal**  
Princeton University



**Nafis Aziz Hasan**  
University of Amsterdam  
FY21-22 Postdoctoral Research Fellow



**Radhika Khosla**  
University of Oxford



**Mekhala Krishnamurthy**  
Ashoka University, FY10-12 CASI  
Postdoctoral Research Fellow



**Walter C. Ladwig III**  
King's College London



**Aprajit Mahajan**  
UC, Berkeley



**Anit Mukherjee**  
Nanyang Tech. University, (FY13)  
Postdoctoral Research Fellow



**Neelanjan Srirca**  
Centre for Policy Research,  
Fall 2021 Visiting Scholar, FY13-15  
CASI Postdoctoral Research Fellow



**Milan Vaishnav**  
Carnegie Endowment  
for International Peace



**Gilles Verniers**  
Ashoka University



**Kim Fernandes**  
2022-3 Sobti Family  
Doctoral Fellow



**Monika Aurora**  
Vice President of Research, Public  
Health Foundation of India (PHFI)



**Eswaran Sridharan**  
UPIASI



**Marshall M. Brown**  
Chicago Council on Global Affairs  
CASI Acting Director 2018-20



**Devesh Kapur**  
SAIS, Johns Hopkins University  
CASI Director 2006-18

### Postdoctoral Research Fellowship Program

The CASI Postdoctoral Research Fellowship Program provides dynamic early career researchers with a one- to two-year opportunity to establish their profile as scholars of contemporary India. The fellowship has no teaching obligation, providing young scholars with valuable time to advance their own research agenda. The Center also provides support in connecting Fellows to its considerable networks among scholars and policymakers both in the U.S. and in India.



**Amrita A. Kurian**  
2022–23 Postdoctoral Research Fellow

Amrita A. Kurian is an anthropologist by training. Her work investigates the role of intermediaries in commercial agriculture in India. Using historical and ethnographic lenses, she studies how key intermediaries and their practices have shaped the contours of agrarian social relations and geographies in postcolonial India. Her research finds that intermediaries—including scientific experts, state administrators, affluent farmers, and labor contractors (or *maistrees*)—are not only foundational but inevitable to the rise of capitalist markets in erstwhile colonies. Her research is based on twenty months of ethnographic field research and archival research conducted with the support of the Wenner-Gren Dissertation Fieldwork Grant in the Flue-Cured Virginia (FCV)/cigarette tobacco sector in the southern Indian state of Andhra Pradesh.



**Sarath Pillai**  
2022–23 Postdoctoral Research Fellow

Sarath Pillai received his PhD in History with distinction from the University of Chicago. His research interests lie in Modern South Asian history, global, legal, and intellectual history, and postcolonial studies. His Ph.D. dissertation cum book manuscript, *Federal Futures: Imagining Federation, Constitution, and World in Late Colonial India*, studies the rise of federalist ideas in interwar India and their growing influence among various groups—nationalists, princes, liberals, and minorities—in the late 1920s through the 1940s. His work has appeared or will appear in both peer-reviewed and public forums like *Law and History Review*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *Scroll.in*, and *Los Angeles Review of Books*, among others. He is an archival intern at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the postdoctoral representative on the University Council at Penn.



**Shikhar Singh**  
2022–23 Postdoctoral Research Fellow

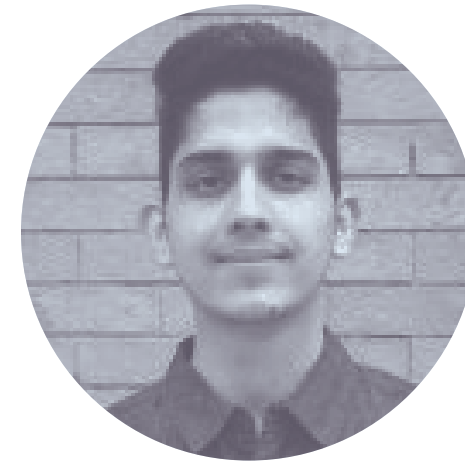
Shikhar Singh's research focuses on the political economy of development, with a regional specialization in South Asia. His dissertation explains why clientelism and identities continue to matter in the distributive politics of multiethnic developing democracies and the consequences of this for democratic accountability, representation, and policymaking. A second strand of his work focuses on partisanship and democratic accountability. He does multi-method research, relying on experiments, regression discontinuity designs, observational analyses, and fieldwork in six Indian districts. His research has been supported by the MacMillan Center's South Asian Studies Council and the Leitner Program in International and Comparative Political Economy, and the Institution for Social and Policy Studies. He has taught graduate level quantitative methods courses, and undergraduate level comparative politics courses. In 2020, he received a university award, the Prize Teaching Fellowship. He has served as a research assistant for the Metaketa II project. Prior to earning his Ph.D., he worked for an Indian political party, fielding and analyzing their surveys in five state elections and a national election.

Fellows are also expected to play a key role in the Center's thriving intellectual community. Fellows organize the [academic year seminar series](#), plan workshops, and contribute to the Center's [working paper series](#). They also serve as mentors to the incoming CASI-affiliated graduate students and on selection committees for [CASI Student Programs' annual competitions](#).



**Ranjini Basu**  
UPIASI Postdoctoral Research Fellow

For the first time, UPIASI, CASI's partner institution in New Delhi, has an India-based postdoctoral research fellow. Ranjini Basu is the new Garware Post-Doctoral Fellow at UPIASI and a CASI Non-Resident Visiting Scholar. Her research interests include agrarian studies, peasant movements, rural transformations, and food governance. As part of the fellowship, she will be studying contemporary agrarian politics and ecological concerns in rural North India.



**Jitender Swami**  
Research Coordinator

For the first time, CASI has partnered across campus to create a predoctoral research fellowship to mentor first-generation students from India. In 2023, the first predoctoral fellow, Jitender Swami was hired in collaboration with DevLab@Penn. Before coming to Penn, Jitender Swami worked as an Academic (Research & Teaching) Associate at the Indian Institute of Management Amritsar in the Department of Economics. Previously, he was a Writing Urban India Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, India, and a Research Intern at Hyderabad Urban Lab. Jitender has a Masters in Development Studies from the Indian Institute of Technology Hyderabad and a Bachelors in Economics from the Central University of Karnataka. His interests lie in engaging with and contributing to academic research, especially the kind that strongly influences development policy and improves individual and collective human experiences.

### Postdoctoral Research Fellowship Program Summary::

CASI HAS SUPPORTED

11

YOUNG SCHOLARS SINCE 2010

5

HOLD ACADEMIC POSITIONS, TENURE TRACK AND TENURED, IN INDIA, SINGAPORE, AND THE U.S.

MOST HAVE CONTINUED THEIR CASI AFFILIATIONS AS KEY RESEARCH COLLABORATORS

# CASI Student Programs



The Center for the Advanced Study of India encourages and supports Penn student engagement with modern India. CASI provides grants for undergraduate and graduate students conducting research on India's politics, economy, and society and provides fully-funded summer internship opportunities with internationally renowned partners in India. CASI also offers the Sobti Family Doctoral Fellowship, a year-long doctoral fellowship designed to support Penn Ph.D. students whose research interests align closely with CASI.

244

STUDENTS SUPPORTED SINCE 2007,  
REPRESENTING 21 COUNTRIES,  
6 CONTINENTS, AND 11/12 SCHOOLS  
AT PENN

17

INTERNSHIP ORGANIZATIONS HAVE  
HOSTED PENN STUDENTS THROUGH CASI  
SINCE 2007

1000+

BLOG ENTRIES DETAILING SUMMER  
FIELDWORK AND DAILY LIFE AT  
INTERNSHIP SITE



## Sobti Family Doctoral Fellowship

The Center for the Advanced Study of India aims to nurture a new generation of scholars in the study of modern India. In line with CASI's vision, Penn Parents Rajiv Sobti, GR'84, and Slomi Sobti, have created the Sobti Family Doctoral Fellowship to support University of Pennsylvania graduate students in developing independent research interests broadly related to CASI's agenda. The award includes an unrestricted \$10,000 grant with the addition of up to \$2,500 in travel expenses, conference attendance fees, and research materials. Sobti Fellows are in residence at CASI for their fellowship year and are invited to partake in seminars, events, and CASI activities throughout the year.



**Kim Fernandez**  
2022–23 Sobti Fellow

Kim joined CASI as a joint degree Ph.D. candidate in the departments of Anthropology and Education. Their research is at the intersections of citizenship, data, and the body. Their dissertation examines the politics, practices, and processes of quantifying and certifying disability in India over the last three decades.

Kim described the Sobti Fellowship as allowing them:

*“to complete a first full dissertation draft within my first year of returning from fieldwork, while also enabling me to meet with a plethora of seminar speakers and visiting fellows, all of whom were instrumental in shaping my own thinking and work with regards to India.”*

### Two former Sobti Family Fellows have advanced their academic careers this year:



**Sumitra Badrinathan**, GR'21, (Sobti Fellow 2020-21) began a tenure track assistant professorship in the School of International Service at American University in Fall 2022.



**Sneha Mani**, GR'23, (Sobti Fellow 2021-22) will begin a postdoctoral fellowship this summer at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

## Student Engagement

CASI supports graduate and undergraduate students with Research Assistant opportunities throughout the year. This allows Penn students an intimate, hands-on experience in the world of academic research and broadens their perspectives on contemporary India. Many students use this experience as a launching point to begin conducting their own research in India.



Manya Gupta

### Research Assistants

**Mathew Chemplayil**, C'23, majoring in International Relations, South Asia Studies, and World History, has been an undergraduate research assistant at CASI since Fall 2021. In his time at CASI, Mathew has assisted Professor Thachil in geolocating Indian towns, developing a historical index of scholarly articles on South Asia. Mathew's senior thesis, "A Conundrum of Compliance: Why States Lift Sanctions on Their Adversaries," won the South Asia Studies Department's Holden Furber Prize, awarded annually for the best undergraduate essay on a topic related to South Asia. His thesis analyzes why nuclear noncompliance related sanctions cases vary in their outcomes. This is accomplished, in part, through a comparative case study analysis of American sanctions against India, Pakistan, and China.

**Sachit Gali**, C'22, Economics was a part-time undergraduate Research Assistant for the IREF Small Towns Governance Project. Sachit coded a dataset on public procurement ("tenders"). This dataset will be used to analyze spending patterns at the municipal level.

**Manya Gupta**, C'25, majoring in Political Science and Economics was a part-time undergraduate Research and Administrative Assistant at CASI from January 2023 through May 2023. Manya was selected for the CASI Summer Internship at Aravind Eye Care in Summer 2022.

### Graduate Research Assistant

**Deepaboli Chatterjee**, first year doctoral student in Political Science, conducted research as an incoming Penn graduate student during Summer 2022 on Professor Thachil's Penn Global IREF Small Towns Governance project.

### Undergraduate Research Assistant through CASI's Visiting Fellow's Collaboration with PORES

**Insha Lakhani**, C'25, ENG'25, majoring in Political Science and Engineering, is a part-time undergraduate Research Assistant to CASI non-resident Visiting Fellow, Rukmini S. CASI has collaborated with PORES to identify Insha to work on a data project with Rukmini and PORES during the spring and summer.



### Summer Research Funds

CASI supports Penn students with their independent research related to contemporary India with grants of up to \$5,000. Applications are encouraged from undergraduate students working on senior theses and graduate students conducting and analyzing fieldwork for their capstone projects or dissertations.

#### 2022 CASI Summer Research Grant Recipients

**Adwaita Banerjee**  
School of Arts & Sciences, Ph.D. Candidate in Anthropology  
*Plastics in the Wild*

**Rabani Garg**  
Graduate School of Education, Ph.D. Candidate in Education  
*Understanding the Impact of Closing Libraries on Children's Literacy and Learning Outcomes*

**Anahita Kumar**  
Graduate School of Education, Ph.D. Candidate in Education  
*Nudging Parent-Child Engagement: A Technology-based Intervention to Promote Child Development during COVID-19 School Closures in India*

**Advait Rajagopal**  
Wharton, Ph.D. Candidate in Business Economics and Public Policy  
*Examining the Determinants of Higher Education Quality and Tuition Rates in India*



### Summer Internship Program

CASI offers fully-funded summer internship opportunities to Penn students eager to explore India. CASI partners with nonprofit organizations and socially responsible companies who work on a range of challenging contemporary issues, including public health, rural development, environmental sustainability, education, gender, and social enterprise.



#### 2022 CASI Summer Interns

**Public Health Foundation of India (PHFI): Gurgaon, Haryana**

**Nikita Patel**  
Nursing'24, Global Health

**Himanshi Verma**  
College'24, Neuroscience

**Aravind Eye Care System: Madurai, Tamil Nadu**

**Manya Gupta**  
C'25, Political Science and Economics

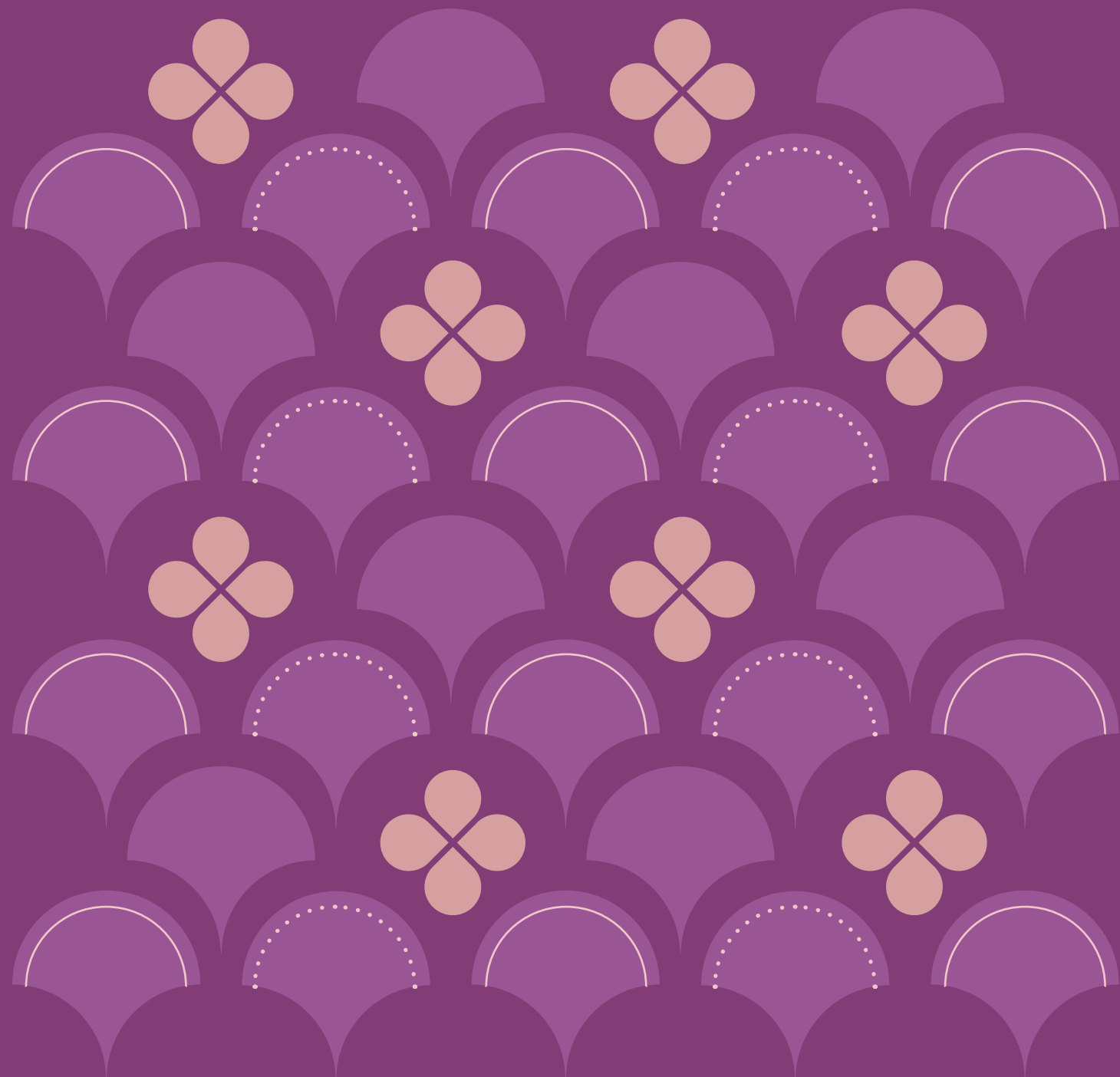
**Aravind Krishnan**  
C W'25, Vagelos Program in Life Science and Management, Healthcare Management and Policy

**Suhaas Narayanan**  
C W'24, Vagelos Program in Life Science and Management, Economics and Neuroscience

**Celeste Xu**  
C W'24, Vagelos Program in Life Science and Management, Economics and Neuroscience



# Outreach: Events and *iiT*



This past year was an especially momentous one for CASI. Not only did we fully resume in-person activities following the pandemic, but we celebrated the Center’s 30th anniversary as the first U.S. university research center focused on contemporary India. We marked this significant milestone with over three dozen events, including a daylong symposium on campus, ‘India at 75, CASI at 30’, featuring panels assessing India’s economy, domestic politics, and foreign affairs after 75 years of independence. We also hosted several academic workshops, both in Philadelphia and in New Delhi, on subjects ranging from political economy to climate change to India’s bureaucracy. Finally, we launched a new distinguished lecture series, launched an exciting web series on major sources of data on India, and participated in a symposium celebrating the 25th anniversary of our partner organization in India, UPIASI. The terrific turnout across these events bore testimony to the continuing vitality of our Center.

37

TALKS

24

CROSS-CAMPUS COLLABORATORS

10+

COUNTRIES VIEWED  
2022-23 CASI VIRTUAL EVENTS

26

INDIA IN TRANSITION ARTICLES  
PUBLISHED IN 4 LANGUAGES





CASI celebrated its 30th anniversary on October 13, 2022: “India at 75, CASI at 30,” a symposium held on campus, featured panels examining India’s economy, domestic politics, and influence on the world by a wide range of key thinkers. Coverage of the event was featured in Penn Today’s October 20th Issue.



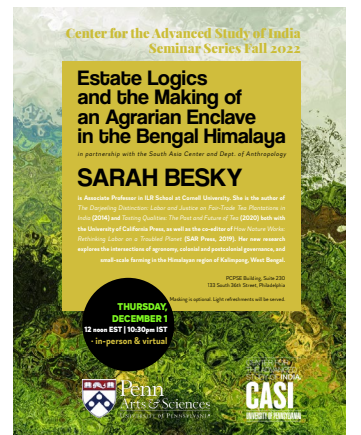
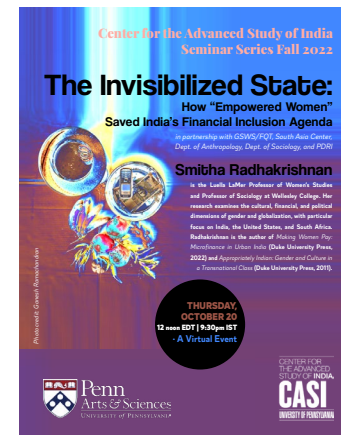
**Penn President, Liz Magill congratulates CASI on 30 years.**

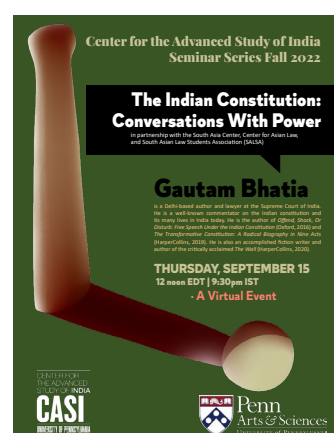
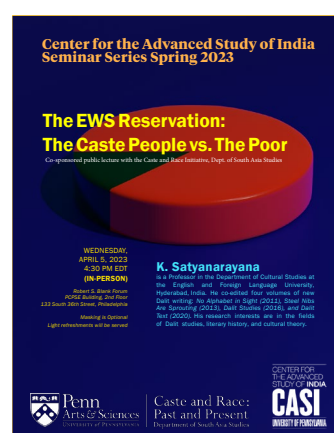
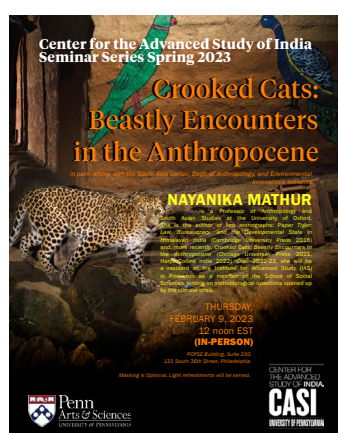
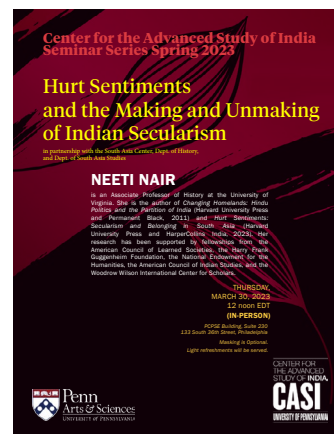
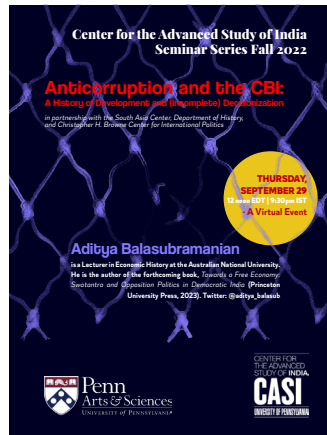
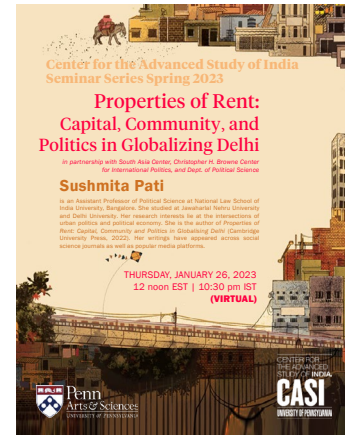
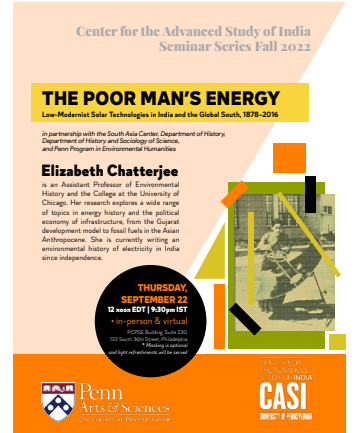
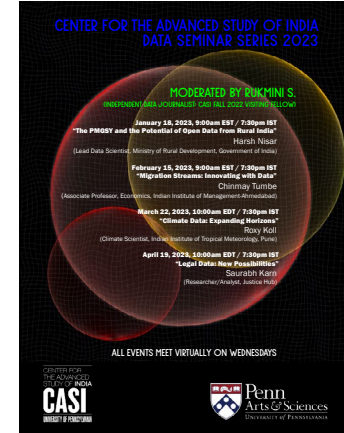
Watch the address on YouTube by visiting <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bKvI82cMLHk>.

WORKSHOPS	COLLABORATOR(S)
“City-Drafting: Property-Making and Bureaucratic Urbanism in South Asia”	<b>Nafis Aziz Hasan</b> CASI FY22 Postdoc <b>Indivar Jonnalagadda</b> Ph.D. Candidate, UPenn SAS
“Digital India and State Making”	<b>Nafis Aziz Hasan</b> CASI FY22 Postdoc
“Environmental Challenges Facing India’s Cities”	<b>Oxford India Centre for Sustainable Development</b>
“CASI Political Economy Annual Workshop”	<b>Milan Vaishnav</b> Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
“India’s Future in a Changing World: Possible Trajectories”	<b>Celebrating UPIASI’s 25th &amp; CASI’s 30th Anniversary</b>

## Events & Outreach

Our robust schedule of interdisciplinary events has included 37 talks by scholars from 11 different disciplines. Each event had at least one co-sponsor, leading to increased collaborative outreach with 24 departments, centers, and schools at Penn.





### 2022-23 Co-Sponsorships Across Campus

## India in Transition (liT)

*India in Transition (liT)* presents brief, analytical perspectives on the ongoing transformations in contemporary India. *liT* allows scholars from all over the world the opportunity to exchange analyses and innovative ideas about India's status and growth. In 2022–23, we published 26 articles in English, Hindi, Bangla, and Tamil covering diverse topics such as India in the Quad, gender inequity, women and work in India, and Muslim political representation. We also published three special series on topical issues, each comprised of 3–5 articles and organized by *liT* guest editors, [Shoumitro Chatterjee](#), [Hilal Ahmed](#), and [Rohan Venkat](#).



**Rohan Venkat**  
Consulting Editor  
for *India in Transition*

In 2023, we welcomed Rohan Venkat as the Consulting Editor at CASI, working on [India in Transition](#), a bi-weekly scholarly publication with a wide international readership. He writes [India Inside Out](#), a newsletter on Indian politics, foreign policy, history, and more. He is also an Editorial Consultant at the Centre for Policy Research, one of India's premier think tanks.

Previously, Rohan spent 8 years at [Scroll.in](#), an award-winning independent digital news organization, where, as Deputy Editor, he ran news operations and [wrote regularly](#) about Indian politics, foreign policy, economic affairs, and history. While at [Scroll.in](#), Rohan wrote a twice-weekly newsletter called the [Political Fix](#).

Rohan is an alumnus of the University of Southern California.



## Saluja Global Fellows

This year also saw the launch of a new distinguished visitor program, the [Saluja Global Fellows Program](#). The Program allows CASI to invite eminent leaders and rising experts on contemporary India preferably from the fields of media, culture, law, and contemporary history to be in residence for one to two weeks at CASI and engage with the Penn community.

**The inaugural cohort of Saluja Global Fellows included Barkha Dutt, India's leading female news journalist and TV anchor, and Ramachandra Guha, India's leading public historian.**



CASI presents  
THE INAUGURAL SALUJA GLOBAL FELLOW LECTURE  
with **Barkha Dutt**  
Fall 2022 CASI Saluja Global Fellow

### India's Changing Media Landscape

Thursday, November 3, 2022  
4p.m.  
Reception immediately following the lecture

Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts  
Sixth Floor, Penn Van Pelt Library  
3420 Walnut Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Register

About the SALUJA GLOBAL FELLOWS PROGRAM  
CASI's new Saluja Global Fellows Program has been made possible by the generous gift from Vishal Saluja ENCI '89 W'88. CASI is excited to launch the program during the 2022–2023 academic year, coinciding with the Center's 30th Anniversary. This program enables CASI to invite eminent leaders and rising experts on contemporary India preferably from the fields of media, culture, law, and contemporary history to be in residence for one to two weeks at CASI.

casi.sas.upenn.edu

CASI Presents  
Spring 2023 Saluja Global Fellows Lecture

### Lineages of Indian Environmentalism

**Ramachandra Guha**  
Distinguished University Professor at Krea University

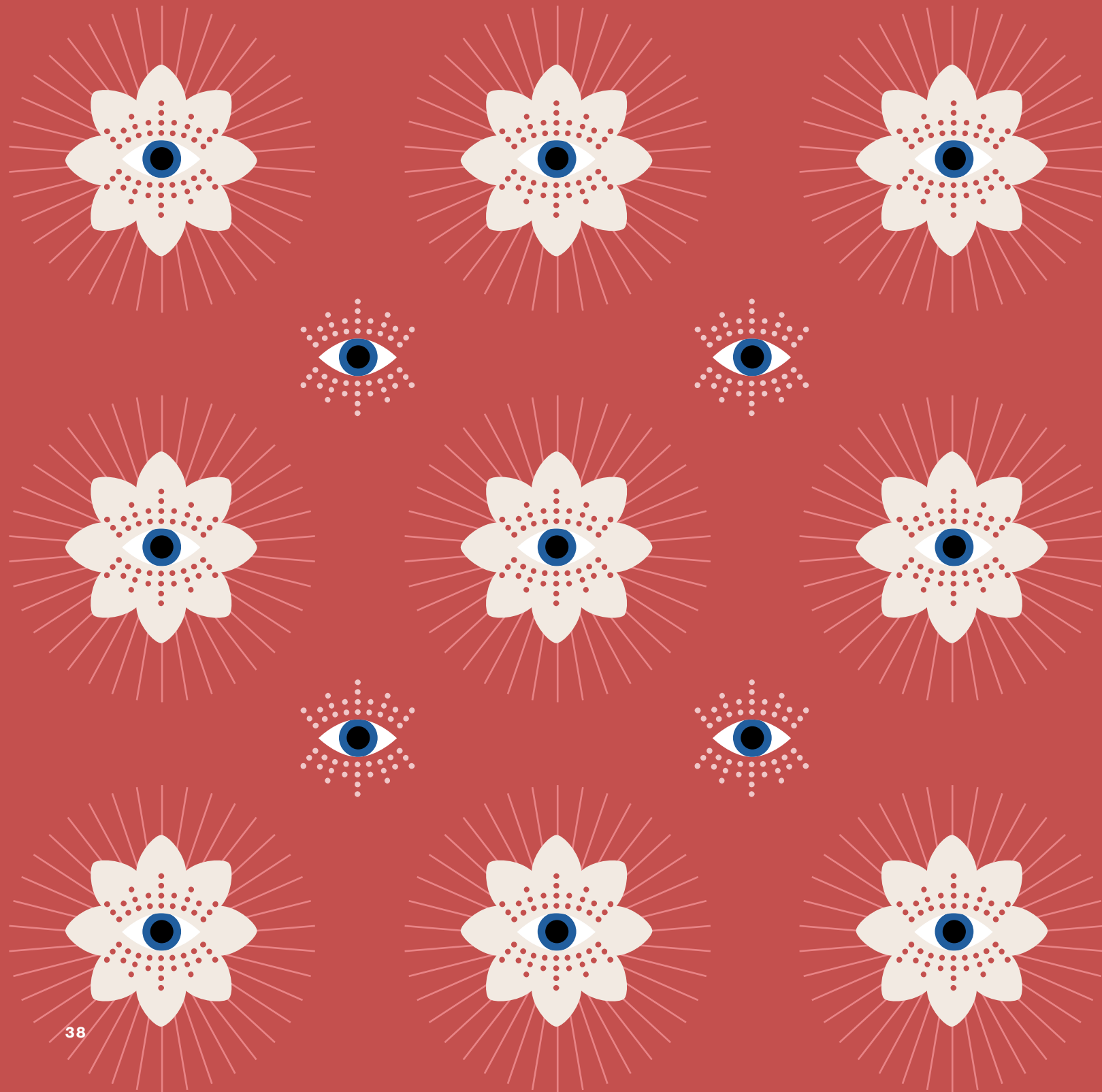
Tuesday, April 25, 2023 | 4:30 to 6 pm  
followed by Reception, 6 pm to 7 pm  
At Perry World House World Forum  
At Perry World House World Forum  
Advanced Registration Required

with Discussants  
Michael Mann  
Mark Lycett

In Partnership with  
Perry World House  
Environmental Humanities Initiative  
University of Pennsylvania  
south asia center



# Looking Ahead



This coming year, CASI will have two Penn standing faculty formally appointed to advance the Center’s research mission through the newly created Associate Faculty Director. Nikhil Anand (Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology), will be the first to hold this title. He will facilitate including Penn faculty into CASI’s formal organization by providing support to faculty affiliates. Doing so will broaden the Center’s intellectual mission and also deepen its reach into the wider university. This process will integrate faculty research and grants into the Center’s portfolio, enable faculty to assist CASI in key personnel selection decisions, and foster faculty mentoring of students participating in CASI Student Programs.

### CASI's First Associate Faculty Director!



**Nikhil Anand**  
Associate Professor  
of Anthropology

Professor Anand’s research focuses on the social life of infrastructure projects in urban India. In particular, he focuses on how people, particularly those with little access to economic or political power, live in uncertain urban environments. In so doing, this research proposes to shed new light on how urban residents might dwell in urban environments of the future.

He is currently completing his second monograph, *Urban Seas: The Infrastructures of Climate and Futures Foreclosed*. Through deep ethnographic fieldwork with fishers and scientists in Mumbai, this research shows how the climate crisis is engineered into being through ongoing technologies of post/colonial dispossession and separation generated by urban infrastructures and land-making staged in the sea.

Focused on environmental change in cities, CASI is supporting two related projects for which Dr. Anand is the PI. In *Mumbai Climate Stories*, Dr. Anand is working with Rohit Mujumdar (School of Environment and Architecture) and Lalitha Kamath (Tata Institute of Social Sciences) to document the nuanced ways in which indigenous populations living in Mumbai understand and narrate the changing environments of the city. By drawing these knowledges into conversation with formal environmental planning processes, this work seeks to democratize what constitutes climate ‘expertise’ while being responsive to distributional justice in plans and practices of urban governance.

Dr. Anand is also co-editing a book project with Lalitha Kamath. Titled *Climate Action in Urban Asia*, this project puts social research on climate action across different cities of South and South East Asia in conversation. Towards this, CASI will co-host a conference in April 2024, inviting scholars doing some of the most exciting work on the topic. Papers presented at this conference will be key to the production of the book, op-eds and policy journals. Because such research is frequently sequestered in peer reviewed journals that that can be hard to access, the book will be an open access publication that different experts and publics can freely download.

### Special Events



**Mira Nair**  
2023 Fall Saluja  
Global Fellow

#### Seeing India Through My Lens: East, West and Coming Full Circle featuring Mira Nair

Wednesday, September 13, 2023  
Lecture 4:30 PM  
Reception 6:00–7:00 PM  
at the Penn Museum

Academy Award-nominated film director Mira Nair’s debut *Salaam Bombay!* (1988) won the Caméra d’Or at Cannes. Other works include *Monsoon Wedding* (2001, Golden Lion at Venice), *The Namesake* (2006), *Mississippi Masala* (1991), *Queen of Katwe* (2016), and *A Suitable Boy* (2020). Her next film will be *AMRI*, an experimental portrait of Amrita Sher-Gil. She returned to the theater for her most recent endeavor, directing *Monsoon Wedding the Musical*, which opened in New York City at St Ann’s Warehouse in May 2023 and is bound for Broadway. An activist by nature, Nair founded Salaam Balak Trust for Indian street children in 1988 and the Maisha Film Lab in 2004, a free school to train filmmakers in Africa. In 2012, she was awarded the Padma Bhushan, India’s third-highest civilian honour.



**Amb. Vijay Gokhale**  
Fall 2023 Nand & Jeet Khemka  
Distinguished Lecture Speaker

#### The US, China, and India: The Future of the Indo Pacific An Nand & Jeet Khemka Distinguished Lecture featuring Amb. Vijay Gokhale

Thursday, October 19, 2023  
Reception 5:00 PM  
Lecture: 6:00–7:30 PM at Warburg Pincus LLC in New York City

In this lecture, Ambassador Gokhale will outline the convergences and divergences that India has with both the major global powers, and how the dynamics between the three will shape the Indo-Pacific in the coming decades.



### FY24 Visiting Scholars



**Adam Ziegfeld**  
Political Science, Temple  
University, CASI Senior  
Visiting Scholar



**Suraj Jacob**  
Azim Premji University,  
CASI Fall 2023 Visiting  
Scholar

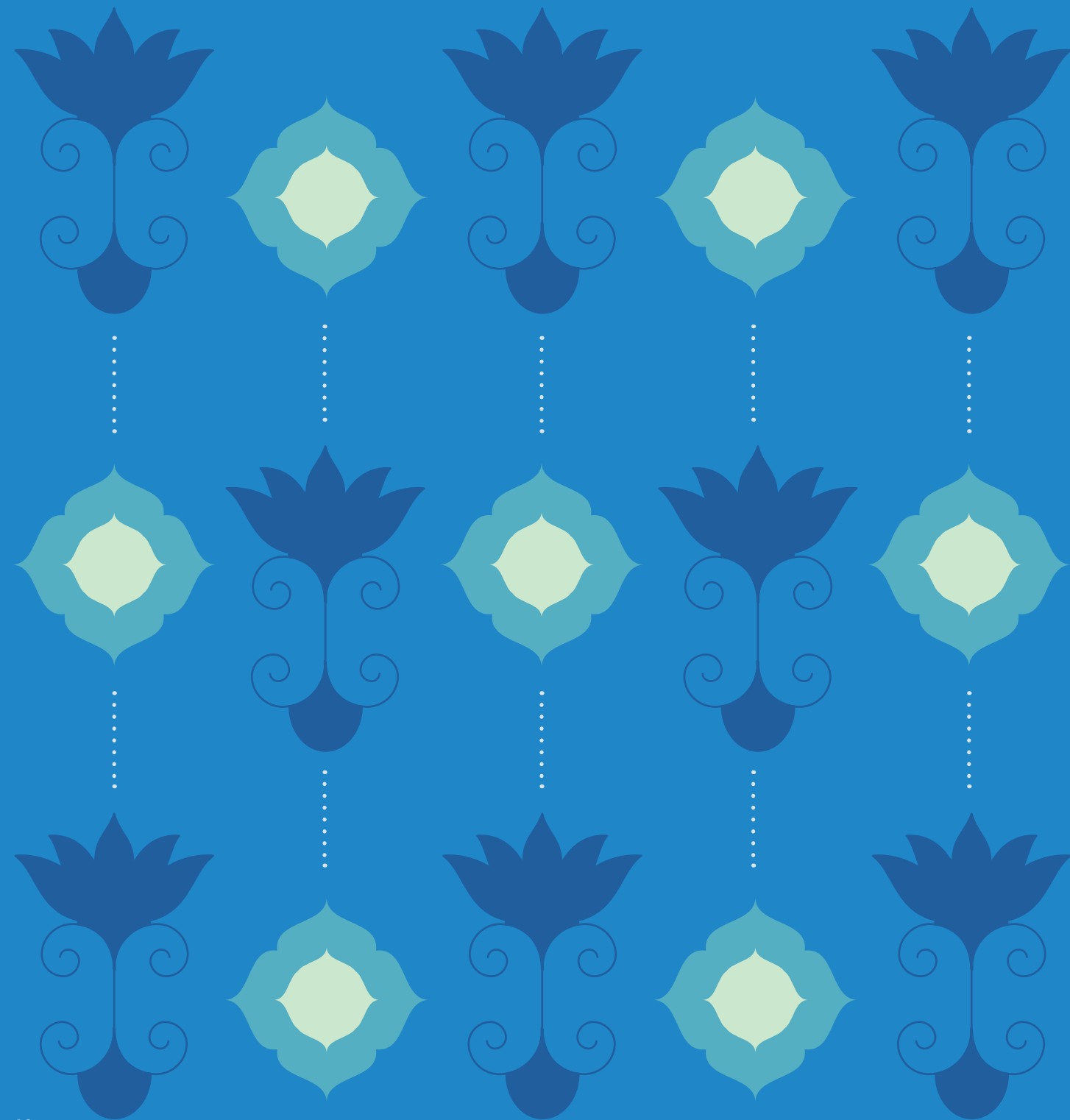


**Ranjini Basu**  
UPIASI Postdoctoral Fellow  
and CASI Spring 2024  
Visiting Scholar



**Rohan Venkat**  
IIT Consulting Editor and  
CASI Spring 2024 Visiting  
Fellow

# UPIASI



The University of Pennsylvania Institute for the Advanced Study of India (UPIASI) was established in 1997 as CASI's counterpart institution in India to ensure a stronger network for collaborative research and scholarship. Under the leadership of Dr. Eswaran Sridharan, UPIASI has developed a strong research program and academic presence of its own, and is increasingly playing a nodal role for a number of Penn-related initiatives in India such as global immersion programs, student internships and exchanges, and orientations for newly admitted students from India.

**We aim to facilitate research that fosters a greater understanding of problems facing contemporary India especially in areas of Politics & Governance, International relations, National Security, Economic Development, Energy and Environment amongst others. UPIASI thus acts as a catalyst to stimulate exchange of knowledge and best practices for the mutual benefit of American and Indian scholars.**

**UPIASI partners with various Penn entities on a range of activities, including, The School of Arts and Sciences, CASI, Penn Global, College of Liberal and Professional Studies, South Asia Center, The Lauder Institute, Penn Alumni Relations, and Penn's Alumni Interview Program. UPIASI also works closely with alumni groups in India, including the five Penn Clubs and the four Alumni Interview Committees.**



**Eswaran Sridharan,**  
Academic Director and  
Chief Executive, UPIASI

**2023 UPIASI Events**

**India's Future in a Changing World: Possible Trajectories**

UPIASI 25th Anniversary Symposium in Delhi on March 11, 2023 featuring G20 Sherpa Amitabh Kant as the keynote speaker

**Launch of Garware Post-Doctoral Fellowship**

The first postdoctoral program started in 2022 with Ranjini Basu undertaking a scoping study on "Contemporary Agrarian Politics and Ecological Concerns in Rural North India."

**Penn India Engagement Forum**

UPIASI hosted the inaugural Penn India Engagement Forum this year in collaboration with CASI and Penn Global. This year's symposium focused on addressing the issues of India's recovery and onward in three panels.



## CASI International Advisory Board (IAB)

### Tania Ahuja

Founder and CEO  
Nobias

### Mukulika Banerjee

Associate Professor, Social Anthropology  
The London School of Economics and Political Science

### Marshall M. Bouton

Former IAB Chairman (2004-12)  
CASI Senior Fellow  
CASI Acting Director & Visiting Scholar (2018-20)  
President Emeritus,  
The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

### Patricia Dhar

Head of Social Transformation,  
Holy Trinity Brompton

### Vayu Garware

Chairman and Managing Director,  
Garware Technical Fibres, Ltd.

### Seth M. Ginns

Managing Partner and  
Head of Liquid Investments  
CoinFund

### David Gross-Loh

Managing Director and Co-Head,  
Asia Private Equity  
Bain Capital, LLC

### Shiv Vikram Khemka

Chairman, The Global Education  
& Leadership Foundation  
Vice Chairman, SUN Group

### Srihari Kumar

Founder and CEO, LionRock Capital

### Vishal Mahadevia

Managing Director and Head of India  
Warburg Pincus

### Zia Mody\*

Co-Founder & Managing Partner  
AZB & Partners

### Sandeep Murthy

Partner, Lightbox Ventures

### Dhananjay M. Pai

IAB Co-Chair (2020-present)  
President & Chief Operating Officer  
P. Schoenfeld Asset Management LP

### Ramanan Raghavendran

Managing Partner  
Amasia

### Varsha Rao

CEO, Nurx  
Former Head of Global Operations,  
Airbnb

### H.E. Taranjit Singh Sandhu

(ex officio)  
Ambassador of India to the United States

### Parag Saxena\*

Founding Partner & CEO  
New Silk Route Partners; and  
Founding Partner & CEO  
Vedanta Capital

### Gagan Singh\*\*

Chief Investment Officer,  
PNC Financial Services Group

### Rajiv Sobti

Managing Partner  
Karya Capital LP

### Sanjiv Sobti

IAB Co-Chair (2012-present)  
Senior Advisor  
Credit Suisse

### Eswaran Sridharan

(ex officio)  
Academic Director and Chief Executive  
University of Pennsylvania Institute  
for the Advanced Study of India

### Ashley J. Tellis

Tata Chair for Strategic Affairs  
& Senior Fellow  
Carnegie Endowment for International  
Peace

### Tariq Thachil

(ex officio)  
CASI Director  
Professor of Political Science  
Madan Lal Sobti Professor  
for the Study of Contemporary India  
University of Pennsylvania

\* Member(s) with terms ending December 31, 2022

\*\*Incoming Member(s) with terms  
starting January 1, 2024

## CASI Faculty and Staff

### Tariq Thachil

(ex officio, IAB)  
CASI Director  
Professor of Political Science  
Madan Lal Sobti Professor  
for the Study of Contemporary India  
University of Pennsylvania

### Juliana Di Giustini

Deputy Director

### Georgette Rochlin

Senior Associate Director

### Alan Atchison

Senior Publications Editor

### Laura Iwanyk

Assistant Director, CASI Student  
Programs and Outreach (through  
October 2022)

### Juni Bahuguna

Assistant Director, Student and  
Visitor Programs (as of January 2023;  
Administrative Coordinator through  
December 2022)

### Megan Cuadrado

Administrative Coordinator  
(as of February 2023)

### Amrita A. Kurian

Postdoctoral Research Fellow

### Sarath Pillai

Postdoctoral Research Fellow

### Shikhar Singh

Postdoctoral Research Fellow





# Giving

## **Friends of CASI**

The Friends of CASI are individuals who, by their annual unrestricted financial support, demonstrate their dedication to the mission of the Center. As an integral part of the Center's community, many members also contribute their time as advocates of CASI's work. In appreciation, we encourage our Friends of CASI to take special advantage of the programs that their support sustains, including unique opportunities to engage with each other and special access to the work of the Center.

## **Make a Gift Online**

**For more information about making a gift to CASI please contact Michael Baker, Senior Director of Global Operations, School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania.**

**Photo Credit:** Photos in this report were taken by Ben Asen, Kait Privitera, as well as CASI faculty, staff, and students.

**Design:** Morgan Cichewicz





CASI

Center for the Advanced Study of India

UNIVERSITY *of* PENNSYLVANIA