

Introduction: Cognitive Work, Cognitive Bodies

1. For discussions of each of these terms, see Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*; Hardt, “The Global Society of Control”; Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*; Berardi, *The Soul at Work*; Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*; and Terranova, *Network Culture*.
2. It may also obscure the relationship of cognitive economies to actually existing factory work. Although such an analysis does not fall within the parameters of this book, it would include both a treatment of how factory work is changed by the valuation of cognitive work and an analysis of the relationship of factory work to office work. The poetry of Foxconn worker Xu Lizhi might be a place to start such a project: <https://libcom.org/blog/xulizhi-foxconn-suicide-poetry>.
3. This idea that capital can create workers according to its own needs is called the real subsumption of labor to capital. It is often glossed as one of the defining characteristics of post-Fordist capitalism. But this analysis usually does not ask what capital is creating this worker out of—what are the forms of embodiment that serve as both raw material for and as a stubborn impediment to real subsumption? On real subsumption, see Marx, *Capital*, 1019–38; Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination*; Negri, *Marx beyond Marx*; Hardt, “The Withering of Civil Society”; and End Notes, “The History of Subsumption.”
4. See Adorno, “The Fetish Character in Music and Regression in Listening,” 272.
5. Memmi, *Racism*, gives a reasoned account of the different ways race operates in Europe; see also Ameeriar, “The Sanitized Sensorium.”
6. See Cooper, *Life as Surplus*, 24.

7. This changed landscape of work includes increased flexibilization of capital and the accompanying demand that workers be flexible; the development of an “entrepreneurial subject” of work who is always bettering herself and looking for new opportunities; the extension of the working day past the boundaries of the office; and the decrease of social safety nets provided by the state in much of Europe and the United States. These shifts, often analyzed through the rubric of globalization and neoliberalism, are admirably discussed in Weeks, *The Problem with Work*; Berardi, *The Soul at Work*; Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*; Hardt and Negri, *Empire*; Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*; and Brown, *Regulating Aversion*.
8. Nadeem, *Dead Ringers*.
9. Radhakrishnan, *Appropriately Indian*.
10. I explicitly address these two positions in the conclusion. See Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, and Weeks, *The Problem with Work*.
11. For studies of racialization in factories, see, for example, Ong, *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline*; Salzinger, *Genders in Production*; and Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*. For resistance to the same, see, for example, Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*.
12. Even more generally, middle classes have tended to be studied for the way they uphold and benefit from capitalist organizations of labor, not for the ways they at the same time trouble some of these forms of organization. The essays collected in Heiman, Freeman, and Liechty, *The Global Middle Classes*, try to counteract this unfortunate tendency.
13. Berardi takes the notion of eros from Marcuse, who in *Eros and Civilization* argued that “instrumental reason had so saturated all of civilized culture—not just work but also leisure, not just production but also consumption—that a nonrepression of primal sexuality . . . is an indispensable precondition of human liberation.” Floyd, “Rethinking Reification,” 104. While, for Marcuse, eros is life-affirming sexuality, Berardi reworks this notion away from the idea that primal sexuality is being repressed. He suggests that in the current economic climate, hyperexpressivity rather than repression is a mode of domination. Yet, this expressivity is directed toward particular ends. Accounts of the relationship of Marcuse’s and Foucault’s approaches to sexuality begin with Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*; Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1; Berardi, *The Soul at Work*; and Renaud, “Rethinking the Repressive Hypothesis.”
14. I choose to use eros rather than desire to emphasize that this relationship to the world is not motivated by a Lacanian lack—which then must be bridged—but rather to connect the uses of pleasure to the elaboration of different modes of being in the world. Likewise, although the concept of eros connects to Foucault’s readings of pleasure, sexuality, and morality discussed in the second volume of *The History of Sexuality*, I am interested in eros as a way to understand how hyperexpressivity as a demand of contemporary neoliberalism.

eral regimes can be resisted and rechanneled through the elaboration of a good life.

15. I am thinking here of Trouillot, “Anthropology and the Savage Slot.”
16. See chapter 3 for a fuller treatment of this point.
17. The definition of the Indian *middle class* is much debated. Some scholars suggest differentiating the Indian middle class into layers (dominant, subordinate, etc.). Others suggest pluralizing the term. As Baviskar and Ray point out, the sociological definition of middle class, which estimates its numbers (taking income, education, and purchasing power together) as, at most, 26 percent of the Indian population, must also be supplemented with studies that investigate its symbolic power (*Elite and Everyman*, 2). In this text, I stress the processual qualities of middle classness, asking what it means to feel and become middle class.
18. It is ironic that this temporary visa program was called a “green card,” since the U.S. green card is for permanent residency.
19. Kolb, “Pragmatische Routine und Symbolische Inszenierung”; Kolb, “The German ‘Green Card’”; Oberkircher, “Die deutsche Greencard aus der Sicht Indischer IT-Experten.” A comparison of U.S. and German visa programs for high-tech labor can be found in Hutzschenreuter, Lewin, and Ressler, “The Growth of White-Collar Offshoring.”
20. Marx wrote in the first lines of the *Communist Manifesto*, “A specter is haunting Europe—the specter of communism.” If there is a “new” specter haunting Europe, then it may be the specter of late liberal, “immaterial” capitalism, which is accompanied by nostalgia for Fordist labor organization (see Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*). If so, then the ethical opening Marx makes to class as an analytic needs to be carefully reopened. As I will argue in this book, attempts to do so to date—the precariat (Standing, *The Precariat*), the cognitariat (Berardi, *The Soul at Work*)—move in this direction but so far cannot ground their analyses in relation to existing social and historical relations. They therefore unintentionally subsume within them the critical differences that are the subject of this book. Starting instead with social and historical process may yield a more adequate account of how new kinds of work and working bodings emerge from the lived practices of contemporary capitalism. For more on class as an ethical category, see Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 77. I use the term *third world* to indicate the long history of its usage, and to make clear the way it “lay[s] . . . claim on us prior to our full knowing” (Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, 229). The way such terms are deployed here is, following Butler, part of their necessary “work[ing] and rework[ing] in political discourse” (229).
21. The immigrant population of Germany is about 8.8 percent of the total population, and 6 percent (1.55 million) of those immigrants are from Turkey. By contrast, estimates show that there are approximately 50,000 Indian citizens and people of Indian descent living in Germany, less than 1 percent of the

total population. See Gottschlich, *Developing a Knowledge Base for Policymaking on India-EU Migration*, 3.

22. The German green card program expired in 2004 and was not renewed. Today, a German firm wanting to hire programmers from abroad must agree to pay a salary of 66,000 euros—about 30 percent higher than what programming jobs pay on average in Europe—while a foreign resident wanting to set up a business in Germany must invest 250,000 euros and hire five people to gain residence rights. As of this writing, the German parliament has passed an EU directive authorizing a “blue card” for professional migrant workers which is set to lower the salary requirements to as low as 35,000 euros and remove investment requirements for business owners. See “German ‘Blue Card’ to Simplify Immigration,” <http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,15915424,00.html>, accessed June 9, 2012. These vacillations suggest that migration law too is following the same trend that describes reconstitution of work, with a kind of “just in time” migration law proposed that will be responsive to the needs of the moment. These practices dovetail with the outsourcing of work to India and elsewhere to create a flexible and global technoeconomy around software and software services.
23. Collier, *Post-Soviet Social*, 3. Lisa Rofel’s account of Chinese cosmopolitanism in *Desiring China* as exhibiting varied textures of neoliberalism is kindred with the kind of desires I explore for Indian IT workers in this book.
24. For an excellent account of research methods—and barriers to ethnography—in corporate coding, see Upadhyia, “Ethnographies of the Global Information Economy,” where she argues that access to corporate IT culture for ethnographers is often highly restrictive, as are the things that programmers are willing to discuss in the office. Hannerz, “Other Transnationals,” provides insights on how to “study sideways,” while Nader, “Up the Anthropologist,” remains the seminal text on studying “up.”
25. These practices are perhaps grounded in the notions of timepass and *adda*, the first connoting the practice of spending time in deliberately doing nothing, the latter connoting spending time in leisurely, meandering conversation. For timepass, see Jeffrey, *Timepass*. For *adda*, see Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.
26. Fabian, “Presence and Representation,” 762.
27. Marx, *Capital*, chap. 6.
28. I take as my inspiration here Keith Hart’s meditation on cosmopolitan anthropology, “‘Anthropology’ and the New Human Universal.”
29. Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*, 11.
30. Their strategies here are heir to the late-colonial middle-class manipulations of time and narrative that Partha Chatterjee traces in *The Nation and Its Fragments*, where middle-class Bengalis operated with both the grid of linear time and the returning narration of time outside these confines (54–55).

31. On the relationship between Indian nation and diaspora, see Amrute, “Living and Praying in the Code”; Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*; Shukla, *India Abroad*; Shankar, *Desi Land*; and Mankekar, *Unsettling India*.
32. There are many moments in fieldwork when an anthropologist is recognized and named as a particular kind of person. Some of these become emblematic of the discipline’s relationship to the field, for instance, Geertz’s narration of his presence in Bali as discussed by Clifford in “On Ethnographic Allegory.” In retrospect, these moments help set the tone for the kind of person the ethnographer is taken to be—though, of course, this is affirmed, overturned, undone, and questioned in interaction.
33. The title of this self-published humorous poem with twenty-odd verses plays on homophones: *Internet* and *Inder nett* (nice Indian), which sound the same in German. Wallace, “Germany’s New Recruits,” presents a rosy picture of the welcome Indian IT workers receive in Germany.
34. For a discussion of the differences between ethnicity and race, see Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*.
35. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, xv.
36. Postracial formations deny the salience of race—arguing that racism has been transcended through affirmative action and through the deconstruction of the biological grounds of race—even while they use race as a marker of internal qualities and characteristics. See Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists*. I bring this insight together with post-genomic understandings of race, which argue that race describes probabilities that are likely to inhere in populations, such as when it is argued that South Asians are genetically predisposed to heart disease because of a tendency to store belly fat. This latter, probabilistic idea of race is woven into racial exclusion in complex ways, one of which is to give renewed energy to racial thinking because it seems to map onto the new flexibility of formerly distinct categories demanded by a similarly flexible capitalist system.
37. “Qualities and capacities inherent in vitality have become a potential source for the production of value,” remarks Nikolas Rose, a process that he calls the production of “biovalue.” Rose suggests that the commodification of research in population genetics such that biopolitics (power over life itself) becomes bioeconomics (capitalization of life). This idea may be properly applied more broadly, outside of the strict domain of the biotech industries. Rose, “The Value of Life,” 42.
38. Cooper, *Life as Surplus*.
39. To take the position that virtual labor has eclipsed manual labor is to take the dream of corporate capital for reality. But it is equally problematic to insist that real workers and real labor only take place in the factory. To do this is in a certain way to sequester manual workers within their work, ignoring the connections that link them to the circulation of capital in its most esoteric forms. It also turns a blind eye to the very real forms of expropriation and

- control that take place *within* the office buildings where symbols for consumption are produced. Curiously, like the position of universal virtual labor that it critiques, the valorization of a working underclass assumes that there is an identifiable real laborer; it simply locates this laborer on the other side of the divide between intellectual and manual work. And it valorizes labor as the source of all value without recognizing the particularly capitalist historical context of the development of the idea of labor as context-free. See Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination*, for a useful critique of this position.
40. Gilman, “Thilo Sarrazin and the Politics of Race in the Twenty-First Century.” A wide-ranging discussion of race and the Nazi legacy in Germany can be found in Linke, *German Bodies*.
 41. For recent accounts of this shift, see LiPuma and Lee, *Financial Derivatives and the Liquidation of Risk*; Ho, *Liquidated*; Hardt and Negri, *Empire*; Lazarato, “From Capital-Labour to Capital-Life” and “Immaterial Labor”; and Deleuze, “Postscript on the Societies of Control.”
 42. Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*, 61.
 43. Berardi, *The Soul at Work*, 90.
 44. Berardi, *The Soul at Work*, 105.
 45. This path unseats divisions between mental and physical, brain and body, matter and thought, all in a thoroughly “modern” environment. For debates within anthropology on this issue, see Bond and Bessire, “The Ontological Spin.”
 46. I follow here Karen Barad’s elaboration of embodiment, which begins with action and then shows how bodies and objects are precipitated out of moments of repeated actions. Barad, “Posthumanist Performativity.”
 47. Recent literature on the new South Asian middle class includes Fernandes, *India’s New Middle Class*; Deshpande, *Contemporary India*; Heller and Fernandes, “Hegemonic Aspirations”; Varma, *The Great Indian Middle Class*; Baviskar and Ray, *Elite and Everyman*; Liechty, *Suitably Modern*; and Nisbett, “Friendship, Consumption, Morality”; for a historical overview and the relationship to colonialism, see Joshi, *The Middle Class in Colonial India*.
 48. Fernandes, “The Politics of Forgetting,” 2415.
 49. Satish Deshpande points out the antinomies in defining a middle class in his *Contemporary India*. One way to address this problem is to further divide the middle class into “layers” that are more or less elite or hegemonic. While this has great sociological value, it is not the route I follow here, because it does not yield much in the way of how classes of whatever layer are formed and how individuals come to see themselves as members of a class.
 50. Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 14.
 51. Marx, *Capital*, 547.
 52. Marx, *Capital*, 532.
 53. As literary critic Katherine Hayles writes, “Computers are no longer merely tools (if they ever were) but are complex systems that increasingly produce the conditions, ideologies, assumptions, and practices that help constitute what

we call reality” (*My Mother Was a Computer*, 60). The literature on the social meaning of technology is large and growing. Work that has been seminal to the ideas presented here includes Fuller, *Behind the Blip* and *Software Studies*; Chun, *Programmed Visions*; Marino, “Critical Code Studies”; Mackenzie, *Cutting Code and Transductions*; and Raley, “Code.surface || Code.depth.”

54. Berardi, *The Soul at Work*, 13.
55. See Amrute, “Where the World Ceases to Be Flat,” for a review of some of these works. The sociological study of corporate software work was pioneered by Kunda, *Engineering Culture*, and Kunda and Barley, *Gurus, Hired Guns and Warm Bodies*.
56. Winner, “Technology Today,” 1010–11.
57. Though the term is Agamben’s, it has of late come into much more widespread circulation to connote a life that is valued only as living substance and not as political substance. See Agamben, *Homo Sacer*. Important elaborations on this theme are found in Mbembe, “Necropolitan,” and Puar, “The Right to Maim.”

Part I: Encoding Race

1. Ahearn, “Commentary,” 11.
2. There is an ongoing literature that tries to bring race back into the study of technology to which I am indebted, including Chun, *Programmed Visions*; Nelson, Tu, and Hines, *Technicolor*; Nakamura, *Digitizing Race*; Kolko, Nakamura, and Rodman, *Race in Cyberspace*; and Eglash, *African Fractals*. My approach tries to think through the question of embodiment in terms of how it fits in post-Fordist capitalism.
3. Haraway, *Primate Visions*, 3.
4. I am using *milieu* in the sense implied by Foucault in his *Security, Territory, Population*, as an ensemble of givens, both natural and social, through which the given characteristics of a population are managed.

Chapter 1: Imagining the Indian IT Body

1. The title of this section is a play on Benjamin’s essay “Paris—Capital of the Nineteenth Century.” Borneman, *Belonging in the Two Berlins*, gives an excellent account of the different temporalities, ways of life, and cityscapes of East and West Berlin before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall.
2. Though page views are unavailable for this website, it currently has 1,031 “likes” on Facebook, which may provide some indication of its circulation.
3. Tina Campt’s discussion of kinetic images and race in Germany and Kajri Jain’s treatment of images as socially dense have been seminal to the evolution of my thought here. See Campt, *Image Matters*, and Jain, *Gods in the Bazaar*.
4. For an engaging discussion of metaphor in computing, see Chun, *Programmed Visions*, 55–95.
5. For an excellent discussion of the transparency of state in Berlin, see Sperling, *Reasons of Conscience*.

6. Sperling, *Reasons of Conscience*, 10–11.
7. Ewing, *Stolen Honor*. El-Tayeb's, “‘Blood Is a Very Special Juice’” and “‘The Birth of a European Public’” provide a compelling analysis of race and citizenship in contemporary Europe.
8. Partridge, *Hypersexuality and Headscarves*.
9. A perspective on Turkish German youth can be found in Otyakmaz, *Auf allen Stühlen*. The history of some extraordinary Afrodeutsch subjects is told in Camp, *Image Matters*.
10. Thinking through the multiple ways images of the Indian IT worker circulate can offer a striated and complex understanding of how race is taken up and pinned down in technoeconomies—by using marks on bodies. Reading these images in terms of their qualities of abduction and in terms of a visual language that points not toward underlying structures of meaning but toward other sign structures (which Peirce developed as a tripartite relationship among objects, signs, and interpretants) uncovers multiple futures and histories of associations between race and technology. See Peirce, “A Syllabus of Certain Topics of Logic”; Helmreich, “An Anthropologist Underwater”; and Gell, *Art and Agency*.
11. Huyssen, “Voids of Berlin,” and Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, discuss the visual practices in newly unified Berlin.
12. Trouillot, “Anthropology and the Savage Slot.”
13. See Herder, *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [Ideas for the philosophy of the history of humanity], 1784–91. Schlegel, who studied Sanskrit in Paris beginning in 1802, formed his interest in India through a rejection of Paris and French culture, which he understood as thoroughly capitalist, materialist, modern, and hegemonic in Europe. See his *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder* [On the language and wisdom of the Indians]. Schlegel sought to posit a German protonational identity based on its difference from the rest of Europe. Dusche, “Friedrich Schlegel’s Writings on India,” 45.
14. Kontje, “Germany’s Local Orientalisms,” 67; Barua, Gerhard, and Kossler, *Understanding Schopenhauer through the Prism of Indian Culture*, discusses the influence of Indian philosophy in German intellectual traditions.
15. Zöllner, “Philosophizing under the Influence—Schopenhauer’s Indian Thought,” 15.
16. For a discussion of Germany’s colonial ambitions and their grounding in ideas of the East, see Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*.
17. Mazumdar, “The Jew, the Turk, and the Indian.”
18. Marx, “The British Rule in India.”
19. See Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* and *The Religion of India*. For the case against Weber’s evaluation of anticapitalist India, see Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, and Lockwood, *The Indian Bourgeoisie*.
20. Cho, Kurlander, and McGetchin, *Transcultural Encounters between Germany and India*, 139–85.

21. Scholarship on colonialism and postcolonialism in South Asia has shown how the tropes of stability in South Asia have rested on the twin pillars of community (often thought of as religious community) and caste, with the floating signifier of the Indian woman serving to produce both as convincing models of Indian difference (see Appadurai, "Is Homo Hierarchicus?"; Dirks, *Castes of Mind*; Rao, *The Caste Question*; Sinha, *Specters of Mother India*; and Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"). For accounts of the general shape of European Orientalism vis-à-vis India, see Inden, *Imagining India*; Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*; Figueira, *Aryans, Jews, Brahmins*; Hodgkinson and Walker, *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History*; and Murti, *India*.
22. See Kapur, *Diaspora, Development, and Democracy*, and Saxenian, *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs*.
23. Called the *Anwerbestoppverordnung*, this measure had the unintended consequence of increasing migration as children and spouses of workers who previously traveled between Germany and Turkey rushed to join their working fathers and husbands in Germany before passage between the two countries was effectively closed for them. Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, analyzes these measures.
24. See Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*; and Linke, *Blood and Nation*.
25. Although German law and popular culture continually treat migrants as foreigners, Afro-German and Turkish-German populations develop ways of belonging to and pushing at the exclusionary practices of the nation-state. For a detailed analysis of the relationship of the German green card program and migration law reform in Germany, see Amrute, "Producing Mobility." See also Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular*, and Joppke, "Multiculturalism and Immigration."
26. As the name suggests, the idea behind the *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) program was for workers to come to work in Germany and then return home. Many guest workers engaged in circular forms of migration, working seasonally in Germany, with migrant families doing the same. Few provisions were provided Turkish guest workers living in Germany, even as it became apparent that workers had begun to live where they worked and to raise families in Germany. In 1977, the German government responded to the existence of a Turkish minority population in the country by calling a halt to the recruitment of foreign guest workers. Currently, the population of Germany is about 3 percent Turkish and Turkish German.
27. See, for instance, [https://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de/cross-search/search/_1452212928/?search\[view\]=detail&search\[focus\]=1](https://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de/cross-search/search/_1452212928/?search[view]=detail&search[focus]=1), accessed September 14, 2013.
28. Sebaly, "The Assistance of Four Nations in the Establishment of the Indian Institutes of Technology, 1945–1970."

29. For more on these incidents, see Eckert, “Xenophobia and Violence in Germany 1990 to 2000,” and Koopmans, “Rechtsextremismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit in Deutschland: Probleme von heute—Diagnosen von gestern.” The current uptake of Syrian refugees in Germany develops against the background of this earlier history.
30. Greser and Lenz were the subject of an exhibition in 2012 at the German Historical Institute London called “Germans and Fun?” In an interview with journalist Daniel Zylbersztajn, Lenz described their work as “caricature” rather than “cartoon,” concerned with socially and politically relevant events in addition to comedy, which he described as a dying art due to the lack of adequate training in drawing and to the twenty-four-hour news cycle, through which important events were promptly forgotten. See http://www.ghil.ac.uk/events_and_conferences/special_events/special_events_2012/exhibition_germans_and_fun.html.
31. Berardi, *The Soul at Work*; LiPuma and Lee, *Financial Derivatives and the Globalization of Risk*; and Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*.
32. Rose, “The Value of Life,” 39.
33. Trouillot, “Anthropology and the Savage Slot.”
34. Abu El-Haj, “The Genetic Reinscription of Race.”
35. Comaroff and Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc.*, 51.
36. Abu El-Haj, “The Genetic Reinscription of Race”; Nelson, “Bio Science”; Rabinow, “Artificiality and Enlightenment”; Reardon, “The Human Genome Diversity Project.”
37. Weinbaum, “Racial Aura,” 217; Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*.
38. Deleuze, “Postscript on the Societies of Control.”
39. A fascinating discussion of Indian sexuality as enhancement of European sexuality is found in Arondekar, *For the Record*.
40. bell hooks rather appropriately calls this process “eating the other.” See hooks, “Eating the Other.”
41. hooks, “Eating the Other,” 368–69.
42. For the general contours of European thought on India, see Inden, *Imagining India*. For a detailed analysis of German Orientalism as a scholarly discipline, see Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire*; Cowan, *The Indo-German Identification*; and McGetchin, Park, and SarDesai, *Sanskrit and “Orientalism.”* Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement*, provides an account of scholarly rapprochement between Indian and German intellectuals.
43. hooks, “Eating the Other,” 367.
44. For a similar colonial case, see Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.
45. Haraway, “A Cyborg Manifesto.” I use the term here to indicate ways that the flesh of the Indian programmer is enmeshed with the technology of the computer.
46. See, for comparison, Lilia Moritz Schwarcz’s penetrating analysis of Brazilian imperial cartoon culture, where she notes that “caricature reworked

and revolutionized hitherto consensual and naturalized public positions and images” and gave form to “major impasses and contradictions” (“The Banana Emperor,” 316–17).

47. As Achille Mbembe writes in his discussion of Cameroonian political cartoons, “What is special about an image is its likeness—that is, its ability to annex and mime what it represents, while, in the very act of representation, masking the power of its own arbitrariness, its own potential for opacity, simulacrum, and distortion” (*On the Postcolony*, 142).
48. Beth Coleman, “Race as Technology,” 184. For an allied reading of race and human potentiality, see Cooper, *Life as Surplus*.

Chapter 2: The Postracial Office

1. In the office setting, she spoke standard German (*Hochdeutsch*). I many times witnessed colleagues who spoke standard German within the office and then switched to East German, and especially Berliner, dialects when on smoke breaks. Boyer, “The Corporeality of Expertise,” provides a useful discussion of the evaluation of expertise across the East-West German divide.
2. Chun, *Programmed Visions*, 139.
3. The literature on the blurring of work and leisure is vast. Some of the key works include Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*; Berardi, *The Soul at Work*; and Stephens and Weston, “Free Time.” The genealogy of this literature owes a debt to the work of the Frankfurt School, whose writers took on the task of examining processes of power and subjugation under late capitalism. White-collar office work was especially fruitfully discussed in Kracauer, *The Salaried Masses*.
4. There have been many names coined for this kind of economy. Among them are *post-Fordist* (see the work of David Harvey); *finance capital* (see LiPuma and Lee, *Financial Derivatives and the Globalization of Risk*); *the attention economy* (see Beller, *The Cinematic Mode of Production*); *the immaterial economy* (Hardt and Negri, *Empire*) and *promissory finance* (see Appadurai, *Banking on Words*). Each term focuses on different aspects of this shift away from factory-based production. I use *cognitive labor* here to emphasize a particular relationship to work in IT offices.
5. Manual labor has not disappeared in this scenario, but the conditions under which it takes place have, changing also its relationship to the production of surplus value. A useful attempt to rethink the worker in contemporary capitalism is found in Dyer-Witherford, “Empire, Immaterial Labor, the New Combinations, and the Global Worker.” Pang, “The Labor Factor in the Creative Economy,” investigates factory-style labor in cognitive economies but stops short of analyzing how an understanding of such work contributes to a more complex picture of cognitive economies as such.
6. Berardi, *The Soul at Work*, 90.
7. Rana, *Terrifying Muslims*, 117.

8. Vora, *Life Support*, 67.
9. On posttrace theories, see Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists*; Joseph, *Transcending Blackness*; Ibrahim, *Troubling the Family*; and Nishime, *Undercover Asian*. Foundational texts on the relationship between race and computing include Eglash, *African Fractals*, and Nelson and Tu, *Technicolor*; Nakamura, *Digitizing Race*; and Kolko, Nakamura, and Rodman, *Race in Cyberspace*.
10. See, for instance, Janis, "Obama, Africa, and the Post-Racial."
11. Manz, "Constructing a Normative National Identity," 481–82. A starting point for a discussion of the postwar German reaction to the Holocaust is in Santner, *Stranded Objects*, and Postone, "Anti-Semitism and National Socialism."
12. Partridge, *Hypersexuality and Headscarves*, 152.
13. Bunzl, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia*.
14. I like the way "inhere" in its Latin root suggests a kind of stickiness or the way that social process yields some substance that appears to stick to the racially marked worker (*inhaerere*, "stick to," OED).
15. See, for instance, Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto"; Latour, *Science in Action*; Downey and Dumit, *Cyborgs and Citadels*; Gray, *The Cyborg Handbook*; and Smith and Morra, *The Prosthetic Impulse*.
16. This chapter's approach to human-nonhuman infra-action is inspired in particular by Barad, "Posthumanist Performativity," and Ingold, "Toward an Ecology of Materials." Ingold who writes of things and bodies as "a gathering together of materials in movement" and of materials as "matter considered in respect of its occurrence in processes of flow and transformation" (438).
17. Muehlebach, *The Moral Neoliberal*.
18. For critiques of liberal tolerance, see Markell, *Bound by Recognition*, and Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition*.
19. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 86.
20. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 87.
21. Marx, *Capital*, chap. 7, sec. 1.
22. Marx, *Capital*, chap. 7, sec. 1.
23. Adam Smith discusses divisions of labor in pin factories and the lack of the same among greyhounds in *The Wealth of Nations*.
24. Schaffer, "Babbage's Dancer."
25. The political history of the split between Hindi and Urdu and their ties to religion and the nation-states of Pakistan and India is told in Faruqi, *Early Urdu Literary Culture and History*, and King, *One Language, Two Scripts*.
26. On the framing abilities of such uses of language, see Goffman, *Frame Analysis*. On the relationship of metapragmatic functions—codes about how the unspoken aspects of language-use should be interpreted—see Silverstein, "Metapragmatic Discourse and Metapragmatic Function."
27. Povinelli, *Economies of Abandonment*.

28. On the framing of Turkish and Muslim immigrants in Germany, see Ewing, *Stolen Honor*; Bunzl, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia*; and Partridge, *Hypersexuality and Headscarves*.
29. I paraphrase this conversation from fieldwork notes that I took down during the meeting and include some direct quotations I was able to note down.
30. The connection between being Turkish, male, and prone to violence is a key trope in what Katherine Ewing calls the “stigmatization” of Muslim men in Germany. Ewing, *Stolen Honor*.
31. <http://www.xing.com/net/beraternet/woran-arbeite-ich-gerade-46444/arbeiten-mit-offshore-programmierern-indien-3904670>, accessed December 7, 2015.
32. Partridge, *Hypersexuality and Headscarves*, 151.
33. This aspiration is one of the anchors for a transnational, neoliberal ideology of individual self-development and responsibility that suppresses and sidelines the material and social entanglements that allow such an individual to be produced. A useful attempt to revisit the materiality of race as such an entanglement is found in Weinbaum, *Wayward Reproductions*.
34. Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*, 103.
35. Average annual salary, not including benefits, for project managers in Berlin is about 50,000 euros (\$69,000); for software developers it is about 40,000 (\$55,000); and for technical support it is about 30,000 (\$41,000). See <http://www.salaryexplorer.com/salary-survey.php?loc=81&loctype=1&jobtype=2&job=1>, accessed December 7, 2015.
36. The language ideology of international office English is a fascinating topic of its own that deserves separate treatment. For sense-reference predication, see Silverstein, “Metapragmatic Discourse and Metapragmatic Function.”
37. Berardi, *The Soul at Work*, 74.
38. Berardi, *The Soul at Work*, 86.
39. Deleuze, “Postscript on the Societies of Control.”
40. On the effects of night work in the Indian IT industry, see Poster, “Saying ‘Good Morning’ in the Night,” and Aneesh, *Neutral Accent*.
41. Office titles varied from site to site, but in general, the term *developer* was used for those who were writing source code. *Engineer* (including the titles “head engineer” and “engineer”) usually referred to those doing advanced technical support work.
42. Miller and Rose, “Production, Identity, and Democracy,” 430.
43. Radhakrishnan, *Appropriately Indian*. See also Ameeriar, “The Sanitized Sensorium.”
44. Usha Amrit, “Indian Workforce in Cross Cultural Environment,” December 17, 2011, <http://theindernet.blogspot.com/2011/12/indian-workforce-in-cross-cultural.html>, accessed June 21, 2013.
45. LiPuma and Lee, *Financial Derivatives and the Globalization of Risk*.
46. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire*.

47. Aihwa Ong cites a similar instance of what she calls “self-orientalism” in *Flexible Citizenship*. What is happening here is a little different, since it is not self-orientalism as a kind of strategic essentialism that is at play. Rather, this essentialism represents an attempt to smooth over, harmonize, and blend sets of seemingly opposed practices. The Art of Living Foundation has come under fire in India due to environmental destruction in the Yamuna floodplain after one of its large-scale gatherings.
48. Latour, *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence*; Barad, “Posthumanist Performativity.”

Chapter 3: Proprietary Freedoms in an IT Office

1. Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*, 106.
2. Critical code studies, inaugurated by Mark Marino in 2006, asks what it means to analyze source code as a semiotic system—in terms of its own logic, languages, and representations. See Marino, “Critical Code Studies.” While my project does not “read” code in the way Marino suggests, it is in sympathy with digital humanities scholars who want to contextualize coding practices. While critical code studies (CCS) begins with snippets of code, I begin from the other side, with the practices of coders both in and outside the office. A very instructive instance of CCS work is Stephen Ramsay’s “Algorithms Are Thoughts, Chainsaws Are Tools,” March 2010, <http://vimeo.com/9790850>, accessed June 20, 2014. For a useful description of the significance of CCS, see <https://www.hastac.org/initiatives/hastac-scholars/scholars-forums/critical-code-studies>, accessed June 20, 2014.
3. Aneesh, “Global Labor.”
4. Kelty, *Two Bits*.
5. Coleman, *Coding Freedom*.
6. For a discussion of deontics in anthropology, see Kockelman, “From Status to Contract Revisited.”
7. Røyrvik and Brodersen, “Real Virtuality,” 647.
8. Ross, *No Collar*.
9. Deleuze, “Postscripts on the Societies of Control,” 4.
10. Eros is found in and inflected through sites of work, while the sites of pleasure can become training grounds for the office. I differ from Berardi’s account of eros in *The Soul at Work* in seeing eros in the everyday practices of coders, rather than an impulse that would have to be brought in from the outside, or after the veil of ideology was lifted. See also Postone’s critique of the singular and totalizing capitalism proposed by Marcuse and others in his *Time, Labor, and Social Domination*.
11. Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, xiv.
12. Berardi, *Precarious Rhapsody*, 108.
13. Berardi follows Foucault’s critique of Marcuse when he writes that Marcuse “give[s] the notion of repression an exaggerated role” because

- power is productive rather than simply repressive. Foucault, “Body/Power,” 59.
14. Ramello, “Access to vs. Exclusion from Knowledge,” 78.
 15. Boyle, “The Second Enclosure Movement and the Construction of the Public Domain”; Gosseries, “How (Un)fair Is Intellectual Property?,” 3; Woodmansee and Jaszi, *The Construction of Authorship*, 29–56.
 16. Ramello, “Access to vs. Exclusion from Knowledge”; see also Gosseries, Marciano, and Strowel, *Intellectual Property and Theories of Justice*.
 17. Quotation is from Jaszi, “On the Author Effect,” 55; See also: Ghosh, *CODE*; Kelty, *Two Bits*; Galloway, *Protocol*, 170.
 18. Graeber, *Debt*, 101.
 19. Galloway, *Protocol*, 166.
 20. Kant, “Perpetual Peace,” 99; Hart, “‘Anthropology’ and the New Human Universal.”
 21. A function, or method, is a piece of code that is chunked together because it does something in particular by means of an algorithm.
 22. Knorr Cetina, “Sociality with Objects,” 12.
 23. Knorr Cetina, “Sociality with Objects,” 10, 18.
 24. Terranova, *Network Culture*, 118.
 25. Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*, 68, 76.
 26. Jackson, “Gentrification, Globalization, and Georaciality,” 204.
 27. Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 355.
 28. Thank you to Timothy Emmanuel Brown for pointing out this connection to me.
 29. Coleman, *Coding Freedom*, 97.
 30. The “scrum” is a regular meeting designed to keep track of smaller segments of a large project. It is part of what is called an “agile” software development process, where regular check-ins with teams on their progress should lead to meeting more deadlines and heading off problems earlier in a development process. The term *scrum* is adapted from rugby, where players lock arms at the beginning of play.
 31. O’Carroll, “Fuzzy Holes and Intangible Time,” 188.
 32. O’Carroll, “Fuzzy Holes and Intangible Time,” 180.
 33. Coleman, *Coding Freedom*, 106. Berry, *The Philosophy of Software*, provides an overview of multiple theories of code and its social extensions.
 34. Radhakrishnan, *Appropriately Indian*, 90.
 35. Lessig, *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace*, 4–5. An insightful ethnographic treatment of legal norms around code as speech is found in Coleman, “Code Is Speech.”
 36. Weeks, *The Problem with Work*, 210–13.
 37. Lawrence Liang as quoted in Philip, “What Is a Technological Author?,” 213.
 38. Philip, “What Is a Technological Author?,” 213.

39. The “standing reserve” enunciated by Heidegger is thus simultaneously turned inward and opened up to social action. Rather than human potential becoming a resource to be consumed by technological production—pace Heidegger—the body in reserve here is an ability to make code stand still and be diverted to new deployments. Heidegger, “Questioning concerning Technology.”
40. Philip, “What Is a Technological Author?” 216.
41. Alleyne, “Challenging Code”; Söderberg, *Hacking Capitalism*.

Chapter 4: The Stroke of Midnight and the Spirit of Entrepreneurship

Epigraph: Chanana, *Computers in Asia*, 34.

1. Nehru, “Tryst with Destiny.”
2. The title of this chapter is a play on Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Had Weber witnessed the rise of postcolonial nationalism, he would not have been surprised at the particular welding of patriotism and entrepreneurial spirit at work here.
3. These narrative maneuvers speak to the affect of capital projects, how they depend not only on evaluations of utilitarian interest but also on the persuasiveness of rhetoric. For a good discussion of capitalist affect, see Mazzarella, *Shoveling Smoke* and “Affect: What Is It Good For?” “Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation,” by Michael Callon, uses the notions of enrollment, representatives, and mobilizations to show how various (human and nonhuman) actors use intermediaries to work together in a particular set of circumstances.
4. By income and family background definitions, Adi is certainly an upper-class Indian. Yet, because the definition of middle class is so capacious, on the one hand, and is laminated on the IT industries, on the other, he considers himself to be a middle-class Indian, at least during this period of his life. For the capaciousness of the middle class, see Heller and Fernandes, “Hegemonic Aspirations”; for the middle-class position as tied to IT, see Upadhyaya, “Employment, Exclusion and ‘Merit’ in the Indian IT Industry.”
5. The modernization and development discourses that marked the period after India’s independence through the 1990s often compared developed and underdeveloped countries as if they were individuals. Countries were said to mature, to be in a role relative to one another, to be behind or ahead on the road to modernity. The measures of development varied significantly over time, with India’s progress sometimes measured in literacy, sometimes in modernist architecture and large infrastructural building projects, at times in poverty reduction, and at others in weapons technology. See Gupta, *Postcolonial Developments*; Sinha, *Specters of Mother India*; and Abraham, *The Making of the Indian Atomic Bomb*.
6. Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, is a thoughtful primer on liberalization in India.

7. Romila Thapar's essay, "Cyclic and Linear Time in Early India," provides a useful starting point for a discussion of time in South Asia.
8. Hardt, "The Whithering of Civil Society," 36.
9. Aziz Premji is the chairman of the IT firm Wipro. Nandan Nilekani is the cofounder of Infosys, another large Indian IT firm, and is now chairman of the UIDAI (Unique Identification Authority of India) program.
10. Radhakrishnan, *Appropriately Indian*.
11. See Pal, "The Machine to Aspire To."
12. Knorr Cetina, "Sociality with Objects," 13.
13. Programmers are thus working in the hyphenated space between the "nation" and the "state." Khilnani, *The Idea of India*, and Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, analyze the way the Indian nation is both served by and divorced from the Indian state.
14. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 20.
15. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 27.
16. The power of globalization as an analytic derives from the meaning and practices it takes on as it moves across locations. Anna Tsing supports this view, writing "the key is to situate" powerful global perspectives "in relation to the political economies that make them possible and the struggles over meaning in which they participate" ("The Global Situation"). Lowe, "Metaphors of Globalization," provides another useful approach to teasing out histories of the global North and South.
17. See Patibandla, Kapur, and Petersen, "Import Substitution with Free Trade."
18. Prakash, *Another Reason*, 100, 102.
19. Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, narrates the relationship between Indian elites and nationalist discourse in the late colonial period. Sartori, "The Categorical Logic of a Colonial Nationalism," gives an alternative account of Indian nationalism and British colonial categories.
20. Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 178.
21. Roy, *Beyond Belief*, 111.
22. Roy, *Beyond Belief*, 123–25.
23. Roy, *Beyond Belief*.
24. Sharma, *The Long Revolution*, 5.
25. This was done in the National Sample Survey, begun in 1950.
26. Sharma, *The Long Revolution*, 30–31.
27. Sundaram, *Pirate Modernity*.
28. Kapur, *Diaspora, Development, and Democracy*, 186.
29. See Chakravarty, "Weak Winners of Globalization."
30. Sebalý, "The Assistance of Four Nations in the Establishment of the Indian Institutes of Technology, 1945–1970," 132.
31. Leslie and Kargon, *Exporting MIT*, 112.
32. Sebalý, "The Assistance of Four Nations in the Establishment of the Indian Institutes of Technology, 1945–1970," 135.

33. Bassett, "Aligning India in the Cold War Era," 790.
34. Sarkar Committee, "Development of Higher Technical Institutions in India," 1.
35. Leslie and Kargon, *Exporting MIT*, discusses the relationship between MIT and the IITs. The "four directions" for the IITs maps onto a religious topography of India, where there are the four primary directions or *disa*, in Vedic cosmology.
36. Sarkar Committee, "Development of Higher Technical Institutions in India," 2.
37. Sarkar Committee, "Development of Higher Technical Institutions in India," 13.
38. Sarkar Committee, "Development of Higher Technical Institutions in India," 15.
39. Sarkar Committee, "Development of Higher Technical Institutions in India."
40. See Abraham, *The Making of the Indian Atomic Bomb*.
41. See Gupta, *Postcolonial Developments*, and Roy, *Beyond Belief*.
42. Prakash, *Another Reason*.
43. In his review of Nehruvian science, "Nehruvian Science and Postcolonial India," David Arnold argues that Nehru's approach exemplifies the dilemma in postcolonial science more broadly of how to reconcile universal ambitions and local needs.
44. Nehru, "Speech at the Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad," 170.
45. Nehru, "Scientists and an Integrated View of Life," 211, 216.
46. Mehta, "Indian Constitutionalism," 26.
47. Sebaly, "The Assistance of Four Nations in the Establishment of the Indian Institutes of Technology, 1945–1970."
48. The IBM 1401 was first bought by Esso to be used for accounting and inventory. It was soon followed by IBM's manufacture of other models, including the 1620, used for scientific calculations at Delhi University, Rookee Engineering College, Bombay University, the Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmedabad Textile Industry Research Association, and IIT Kanpur. Sharma, *The Long Revolution*, 77–78.
49. Sharma, *The Long Revolution*, 81.
50. Sharma, *The Long Revolution*, 81.
51. For a popular account of protectionism and its aftermath as it impacts the computer industry, see Nilekani, *Imagining India*. For a scholarly treatment, see Grieco, *Between Dependency and Autonomy*.
52. Amrute, "Living and Praying in the Code."
53. Sharma, *The Long Revolution*, 96. In the face of the FERA provisions, IBM offered to split the company into a low-tech Indian sector and a high-tech 100 percent IBM-owned export-oriented manufacturing sector. Finally

unable to come to an agreement with the government on these terms, IBM pulled out of the Indian market in 1977.

54. Nilekani, *Imagining India*.
55. Gupta, *Postcolonial Developments*; Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*.
56. Sharma, *The Long Revolution*, 310–11.
57. Chanana, *Computers in Asia*, 3.
58. Panti Computer Systems, started by MIT graduate Narendra Patni with Poonam Patni as Data Conversion Inc., for example, began as a data conversion company that had accounts with LexisNexis and the American Film Institute to digitize large quantities of information at much lower prices than could happen in the United States. Sharma, *The Long Revolution*, 258–59.
59. I am thinking here of the way Foucault linked conduct with self-discipline and governance. See Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*.
60. Guha, *India after Gandhi*, 687.
61. Patibandla, Kapur, and Petersen, “Import Substitution with Free Trade.”
62. Fuller and Narasimhan, “Information Technology Professionals and the New-Rich Middle Class in Chennai (Madras),” 144.
63. Weiner, “Inalienable Wealth.”
64. Srivastava, *Entangled Urbanism*.
65. Karin Knorr Cetina uses the idea of epistemic cultures to highlight “the content of the different knowledge-oriented lifeworlds, the different meanings of the empirical, specific constructions of the referent (the objects of knowledge), particular ontologies of instruments, specific models of epistemic subjects.” Following on her analysis of the specificity of epistemes, we can ask a related question: how do those who are the subjects of such epistemes understand, evaluate, and move between “knowledge-oriented lifeworlds”? Knorr Cetina, “Culture in Global Knowledge Societies,” 364.
66. See, for instance, Tharoor, *India*.
67. Nandan Nilekani’s *aadhaar* program—providing a unique identification number for Indian citizens—is an example of this.

Chapter 5: Computers Are Very Stupid Cooks

1. Barad, “Posthumanist Performativity.” Meenakshi’s relationship to the computer as stupid cook might be a kind of materialist ontology that creates a specific, oppositional reality. Though much work on materiality stresses the ways technologies and human bodies work together to produce realities, sometimes it is the opposition between a human and a machine that is productive of a particular ontology. On materialist ontologies, see in particular the work of Anne Marie Mol, Tim Ingold, Bruno Latour, John Law, and Donna Haraway. For debates on the ontological turn, see David Graeber, “Radical Alterity Is Just Another Way of Saying ‘Reality.’”
2. Knorr Cetina, “Sociality with Objects,” 16.

3. For an account of how leisure-time activities now produce laboring subjects, which are called “entrepreneurial” or self-managing, see, in particular, Brown, *Regulating Aversion*. Ulrich Bröckling usefully defines this subjecthood as a “parallelization of individual and enterprise” requiring the “invocation of autonomy, creativity and self-initiative, the . . . exhortation to continuous improvement and the . . . virtually unbounded belief in the power of believing in oneself” (“Gendering the Enterprising Self,” 14–16). Michel de Certeau’s distinction between strategies and tactics, which he particularly develops in an analysis of conditions of living where work and leisure are blurred, is apposite here.
4. Bröckling, “Gendering the Enterprising Self,” 12.
5. Ramamurthy, “Material Consumers, Fabricating Subjects,” 541.
6. Thus, leisure emerges as a problem in a particular way in the current moment, making it available for social action. I follow here Foucault’s concept of problematizations in “Polemics, Politics and Problematizations.”
7. Though I take issue with the idea that tactics were ever formally bonded to (and therefore might reference the possibility of pure) communities, the kinds of activities I describe can also be described as Certeauian “tactics,” that “select fragments taken from the vast ensembles of production in order to compose new stories with them” (*The Practice of Everyday Life*, 35). Thanks to Christian Novetzke for pointing me toward this passage in Michel de Certeau’s work.
8. Amrute, “Where the World Ceases to Be Flat.”
9. Nadeem, *Dead Ringers*, 46.
10. See, in particular, the work of Leela Fernandes, especially *India’s New Middle Class*.
11. For a discussion of the right to pleasure and the politics of class and violence in urban India, see Amrute, “Moving Rape.”
12. Guyer, “Prophecy and the Near Future.”
13. Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*, 84–85.
14. Virno writes, “Now, these requirements are not the fruit of industrial discipline, rather, they are the result of a socialization that has its center of gravity outside the workplace” (*Grammar of the Multitude*, 84).
15. Rojek, *Decentering Leisure* and *The Labor of Leisure*.
16. Kracauer, *The Salaried Masses*.
17. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.
18. I play here on Dipesh Chakrabarty’s term for the way Indian colonial middle-class subjects inhabited colonial categories. See Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity*.
19. Berardi, *The Soul at Work*, 83.
20. Deleuze, “Postscript on the Societies of Control,” 4.
21. Besnier and Brownell, “Sport, Modernity, and the Body,” 450.
22. Berardi, *The Soul at Work*, 105.

23. Kracauer, *The Salaried Masses*, 77.
24. Farquhar and Zang, "Biopolitical Beijing," 303.
25. Berardi, *Precarious Rhapsody*, 108–9.
26. Green, "Breathing in India, c. 1890."
27. Alter, "Somatic Nationalism."
28. Alter, "The Body of One Color," 64.
29. Amrute, "Living and Praying in the Code."
30. Alter, "The Body of One Color," 66.
31. Ramamurthy, "Material Consumers, Fabricating Subjects," 525.
32. Kaviraj, "Filth and the Public Sphere," 110.
33. Kaviraj, "Filth and the Public Sphere," 102.
34. Kaviraj, "Filth and the Public Sphere," 101.
35. Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed*.
36. Kaviraj, "Filth and the Public Sphere," 110.
37. Amrute, "Proprietary Freedoms in an IT Office."
38. See, for instance, Ramamurthy's discussion of consumption practices among cotton pickers in "Material Consumers, Fabricating Subjects."
39. See Amrute, "Living and Praying in the Code," for a more thorough treatment of these trips.
40. Farquhar and Zang, "Biopolitical Beijing," 321.
41. A classic and highly nuanced account of the relationship between time-discipline, work, and dissent is Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism." Crary, 24/7, attempts to chart a similar territory for the more current moment.
42. Thanks go to Amita Baviskar for encouraging me to think more about these homes as hostels. Meijering and van Hoven, "Imagining Difference," similarly reports frequent socializing among Indian IT workers in Germany, yet they frame this tendency purely within the question of assimilation to a "host" society, thereby missing the creative and processural aspects of these spaces.
43. Lukose, *Liberalization's Children*, 114. Ray and Qayum, *Cultures of Servitude*, tracks the way the house is being reimaged through relations of caste, class, and domestic labor. Safri and Graham, "The Global Household," investigates how households respond to transnational labor movements. Here, and in the case Lukose discusses, an early moment of reimagining domestic space is unfolding as a precursor to establishing a fixed household.
44. Lukose, *Liberalization's Children*, 96–131.
45. Carol Upadhyia, for instance, argues that "unlike in the colonial context where the inner world of tradition and spirituality was shielded (largely through the medium of the patriarchal family) from corruption and westernization . . . [in] the contemporary era the private sphere of the family (and even the self) is increasingly being penetrated by public discourses and external interests, such that the boundary between public and private life is becoming fuzzy" ("Rewriting the Code," 69–70). Rather than posit an increasing

penetration, I would argue that the line was always fuzzy and has been subject to acts of policing and renegotiation over time.

46. The way that houses are used by programmers points toward a different kind of relationship between work and home, labor and leisure, that is not covered by the idea of a disciplinary society. If Deleuze and others who have been elaborating this idea are correct, rather than being worlds neatly divided by person, material form, and function, our worlds increasingly overlap. I understand jogging here as a sign of these overlapping worlds, where leisure time becomes a training ground for what might be required of the programmer at work. What interests me is the fluidity with which programmers move across these shared spaces, treating them at once as a household, a hostel, and a home and thinking of their residents at once as friends, colleagues, and family. Of course, these categories only ever existed separately in the imagination of researchers who dreamed they could find households that were distinct from families and homes that were distinct from houses in their case studies. What I am pointing out is that from the point of view of the people in them, the relationship between home and household, for instance, is no longer congruent, nested, or even supporting. That is, previously the relationship of family to household and home was often thought of as mutually reinforcing if not containing one another. Now, however, no such simple symmetry exists at the level of what people think about the homes to which they belong.
47. Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance*, 54.
48. Collier, Rosaldo, and Yanagisako, "Is There a Family?" See also the essays collected in Gary and Hansen, *At the Heart of Work and Family*.
49. The classic arguments on this relationship are to be found in Chatterjee, "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question"; Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*; and Sinha, *Specters of Mother India*. For an account of Bengali upper-caste womanhood, see Sarkar, *Words to Win*. For a discussion of Tarabai Shinde's critique of male colonial patriarchy, see O'Hanlon, *A Comparison between Women and Men*, where O'Hanlon shows how gender became a weapon in the consolidation of caste privilege, leading, for example, to middle-caste groups adopting *purdah* in the nineteenth century as markers of social status.
50. Grewal, *Home and Harem*, 207; 221.
51. Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*, 32. A similar argument is made forcefully for queer domestic spaces in Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*, while foundational analyses of the protean nature of the home in postcolonial worlds can be found in George, *The Politics of Home*, and Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders*. For a review of everyday acts of women's resistance to colonial modernity, see the essays collected in Ghosh, *Behind the Veil*.
52. Hull, *Government of Paper*, 134.
53. Radhakrishnan, *Appropriately Indian*.
54. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*. For an analysis of this discussion of science and religious belief, see Amrute, "Living and Praying in the Code."

55. Uberoi, *Freedom and Destiny*. See Majumdar, *Marriage and Modernity*, for an account of the historical place of the conjugal couple in Bengal marriages.
56. Uberoi, *Freedom and Destiny*.
57. Collier, Rosaldo, and Yanagisako, "Is There a Family?," 77.
58. Helen Thompson reminds us that the economy is a late addition to the public/private split that was initially a split between the public and the oikos (the family and the economy of the household). Thompson, "The Personal Is Political."
59. Knorr Cetina, "Culture in Global Knowledge Societies," 365.
60. This is reminiscent of *jugaad*, a work-around.
61. Pandian, *Crooked Stalks*. *Ganja*, a term for marijuana, is used in Hindi and possibly came to the Caribbean by way of indentured Indian laborers, and is derived from the Sanskrit *ganjya*, meaning "of hemp." Thanks to Richard Solomon for this reference.

Chapter 6: The Traveling Diaper Bag

1. Moritz Schwarcz similarly points out how humor can "help create solidarity and shared universes" in "The Banana Emperor," 310.
2. I define pleasure not as a response to a lack but as pursuit of varied ways of life.
3. Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy*, discusses jokes and insults as a means for creating ethnic and national solidarities.
4. There are many ways to conceptualize material and immaterial relationships. Among the most fruitful are those that begin with action in the world and then show how material and immaterial things precipitate out from this action. This approach is at the basis of, for instance, Karen Barad's exploration of material performativity in *Meeting the Universe Halfway*, Annemarie Mol's understanding of enactments in *The Body Multiple*, and Tim Ingold's reading of things and bodies as leaking into one another in "Toward an Ecology of Materials." Also noteworthy are the essays collected in Guins, *The Object Reader*.
5. Shankar, *Desi Land*, 92. Shankar follows Myers's discussion of objectification in *The Empire of Things*.
6. By hegemony, commentators on India's middle class mean the ability of this class to set normative patterns of behavior for other, lower-class and subaltern groups, to which these latter groups at least partially accede. See, for example, Baviskar and Ray, *Elite and Everyman*. While hegemony usefully indicates the way that middle classes can produce ideologies that both include and dominate lower classes, in less careful hands it can lead to a static picture of class relations that only always move in one direction, from the top down. To counteract this tendency, it is important to analyze both class relations and class as relational. See Negri, *Marx beyond Marx*. Cooper, "Marx beyond Marx, Marx before Marx," is also helpful on this point.
7. Radhakrishnan, for instance, describes their struggle as trying to be appropriately Indian, while Nadeem suggests that they are latter-day mimic

- men, aping American customs to be influential in India. See Radhakrishnan, *Appropriately Indian*, and Nadeem, *Dead Ringers*.
8. As Baviskar and Ray write, “More fluid processes of change and more complex social relations and cultural identities . . . [are involved in] being and becoming middle-class” (*Elite and Everyman*, 9).
 9. Virno calls the office a “loquacious” factory where ideas and desires are constantly fostered and communicated with other white-collar workers for the sake of future production (*Grammar of the Multitude*, 107).
 10. Autonomist Marxism highlights the productive capacities of workers’ movements to generate capitalist social organization. This insight is most useful in that it opens up to historical analysis what counts as a worker; see Weeks, *The Problem with Work*. Yet, by being focused on the worker vanguard and its ability to generate capitalist forms, this literature seeks utopian possibilities outside current conditions of work and only in the future, creating an artificial distinction between the politics of the office and the politics of resistance to capital.
 11. See Dave, *Queer Activism in India*, for an inspired discussion of the pleasures of incommensurability. I argue here that working through this pleasure is formative of middle-class Indian identity. A contextually informed discussion of commensuration is found in Povinelli, “Radical Worlds,” and Grossberg, *Cultural Studies in the Future Tense*.
 12. Hardt, “Affective Labor,” is a useful starting point for a discussion of affect in the workplace. What the term *affective unwork* is meant to signal is how affect can also be used to loosen the binds tying workers to the capitalist organization of their labor.
 13. For a complex discussion of how gifts extend the personality of the giver, see Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*; Munn, *The Fame of Gawa*; and Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift*.
 14. It was the ability to “give, receive and repay,” represented by gifts, that would allow “people, classes, families and individuals” to “sit down like knights around their common riches . . . [and] achieve happiness.” Mauss, *The Gift*, 80–81.
 15. Without a return, according to Mauss, to the contracts and obligations of gifts, mankind would be left to “the mere pursuit of individual ends” (*The Gift*, 75).
 16. “Debt,” writes Graeber, “is strictly a creature of reciprocity and has little to do with other sorts of morality (communism, with its needs and abilities; hierarchy, with its customs and qualities). . . . Exchange implies equality, but it also implies separation. It’s precisely when the money changes hands, when the debt is cancelled, that equality is restored and both parties can walk away and have nothing further to do with each other” (*Debt*, 121–22).
 17. Visa-dependent contract workers particularly are interested in these small disruptions because of the way that their “formally free” labor is not

only tied to wage but also to residence—their loss of job also means possible deportation. This is a feature of the global economy more generally, where labor migration allows capital freedom of movement but restricts the free movement of labor on the market. Thanks to Christian Novetzke for raising this important distinction.

18. Munn, “Constructing Regional Worlds in Experience,” 5. For a discussion of diaspora as linking past and future, see Ho, *The Graves of Tarim*.
19. Gamburd, *The Kitchen Spoon’s Handle*.
20. In Bourdieu’s terms, such consumer practices are practices of distinction. See Bourdieu, *Distinction*. According to this understanding, unmarked T-shirts and slim phones become markers of being a middle-class Indian because they create meaningful separations. They set apart those who have been abroad or with connections abroad from those who cannot mobilize these same resources. While the Bourdieuan approach provides significant explanatory power, it can only partially account for the time and effort spent in choosing and sending these gifts. That is, it accounts for the development of taste only as a means of effecting class membership.
21. Schielke, “Living in the Future Tense,” 45.
22. Commensuration is a process by which things are valued and compared against and through one another, often through the attempt to find a common metric (or convention) by which to do so. See Povinelli, “Radical Worlds,” and Grossberg, *Cultural Studies in the Future Tense*.
23. See, for example, the special issue of *American Ethnologist* on jokes and humor, May 2013; *Anthropological Forum* 18, no. 3 (2008), devoted to jokes, edited by John Carty and Yasmine Musharbash; and Rutherford, *Laughing at Leviathan*. A classic study of jokes and social roles is Radcliffe-Brown, “On Joking Relationships.”
24. Bernal, “Please Forget Democracy and Justice,” 300. See also Vienne, “Make Yourself Uncomfortable.”
25. Douglas, *Implicit Meanings*, 155.
26. Dave, *Queer Activism in India*.
27. Coleman, *Coding Freedom*, 103.
28. Coleman, *Coding Freedom*, 103.
29. The term *counterconduct* is taken from Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*.
30. Siegel, *Laughing Matters*, 8.
31. Siegel, *Laughing Matters*, 9.
32. Kaviraj, “Laughter and Subjectivity,” 222.
33. Rutherford, *Laughing at Leviathan*, 40.
34. Contrary to Sanjay Srivastava’s finding that a postnational imaginary has replaced a postcolonial one, which “marks the emergence of a confident cosmopolitanism among the middle classes and a confidence about the place of ‘Indian Culture’ within transnational flows and ideas,” I found that there was

still a great deal of precarity for these middle-class Indians. This difference may be a result of both the different footing Indians have when migrating and when at home and the differences within this class formation between those who are still striving for elite status and those who have arrived. See Srivastava, "National Identity, Bedrooms, and Kitchens," 83.

35. Baviskar and Ray, *Elite and Everyman*, 6–7.
36. Kenneth McGill points out that in Germany, such decisions fall under the category of *Ermessung*, or personal discretion that hinges on a bureaucrat's ability to represent the needs of state through individual decision making. McGill, personal e-mail communication, January 28, 2014. On bureaucratic imaginaries, see Sperling, *Reasons of Conscience*.
37. For another instance of newspaper parody, see Bernal, "Please Forget Democracy and Justice."
38. Boyer and Yurchak, "American Stioib," 191.
39. Boyer and Yurchak, "American Stioib," 212.
40. A joke is a gift in the sense of an offer to do things differently, but as a gift it implies indebtedness, chains of relations that cannot easily be undone. For the poison of the gift, see Derrida, *Given Time*. For an excellent reading of the gift in French social theory and philosophy, see Roitman, *Fiscal Disobedience*.
41. Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*.
42. Tsing, "Sorting Out Commodities," 37. A more standard account of Indian middle-class commodity cultures can be found in Brosius, *India's Middle Class*.

Conclusion

1. Vora, *Life Support*, 102.
2. Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*.
3. Weeks, *The Problem with Work*.
4. See, for example, Wong and Tsai, "Cultural Models of Shame and Guilt," 210.
5. The difficulty in deriving which specific South Asian notions of shame might be at work here is neatly captured in two thinkers' elaboration of the concepts of *sharam* (by Salman Rushdie in his novel *Shame*) and *lajya* (by Richard Shweder in "Toward a Deep Cultural Psychology of Shame"), both of which are glossed by the English "shame."
6. Shweder, "Toward a Deep Cultural Psychology of Shame," 1121.
7. I call this approach, following Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, and Barad, "Posthumanist Performativity" and *Meeting the Universe Halfway*, a performative one. For the founding discussion of performativity in language, see Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*.
8. The phrase they use to describe these decisions, *going for foreign*, indicates the daring required to just pull up stakes and "go for it" in this way.
9. For detailed accounts of this labor practice, see Aneesh, *Virtual Migration*, and Biao, *Global Bodyshopping*.

10. While going back to India and then later getting another temporary job abroad may not be a complete failure, programmers did not see this path as a successful one to take. It would be considered a rather unfortunate detour.
11. Radhakrishnan, "Professional Women, Good Families," 211.
12. Radhakrishnan, "Professional Women, Good Families," 211.
13. Berardi, *Precarious Rhapsody*, 32.
14. The following discussion is greatly indebted to talks with Marina Peterson, Anne-Maria Makhulu, and Catherine Fennell.
15. Mitropoulos, *Contract and Contagion*, 29.
16. Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 2.
17. Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 221.
18. Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 221.
19. Weeks, *The Problem with Work*, 225.
20. Weeks, *The Problem with Work*, 175–225.
21. For more on the relationship between the hidden and the public and how the former (especially hidden lives) stands in for the real beneath the latter, see Shelton, "My Secret Life."
22. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"
23. Du Plessis: Borkowski's Textbook on Roman Law 4e, Glossary, <http://global.oup.com/uk/orc/law/roman/borkowski4e/resources/glossary/#P>, accessed September 14, 2013.
24. For a detailed bibliography of the precarity literature as well as further definitions of the term, see Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 293–94nn1,7.
25. Weeks, *The Problem with Work*, writes that utopian demands can "inspire the political imagination, encourage us to stretch that neglected faculty, and expand our sense of what might be possible in our social and political relations" (206).
26. Taussig, *Ordinary Genomes*.
27. For a reading of Islam in Germany in light of the Nazi legacy and anti-Semitism, see Bunzl, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia*. Needless to say, the construction of India as Hindu is erroneous.
28. Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, 222. As discussed previously, I use Marcuse's formulation of eros but detach it from the repressive hypothesis, which no longer holds given that, as Foucault taught us, it is not repression but expressivity through which sexuality is put to use.
29. For more on the relationship between South Asian diasporas and the politics of race, the model minority, and assimilation in the U.S. context, see Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folk* and *Uncle Swami*.
30. Berardi, *Precarious Rhapsody*, 33.
31. In previous, early liberal formulations of freedom, for instance, the juridical freedom of the individual was tied to the political institution of the citizen, but citizenship was not extended equally for all (for instance, to women, slaves, and colonial subjects). Of course, also underlying this kind of

- freedom was the freedom of the market—and the “freedom” of workers to sell their labor on the market at a price that labor could command.
32. For an excellent delineation of labor and labor power, see Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination*.
 33. For Marx’s arguments on the working day, see *Capital*, chap. 10. See also *The Critique of the Gotha Program* for Marx’s explanation of the necessary limitations of bourgeois right in *The Marx-Engels Reader*.
 34. Hull, *Government of Paper*.
 35. Hull, *Government of Paper*, 129–30.
 36. This approach to class aligns with what Lauren Bear, Karen Ho, Anna Tsing, and Sylvia Yanagisako describe as the way “inequality emerges from heterogeneous processes through which people, labor, sentiments, plants, animals, and life-ways are converted into resources for various projects of production,” in “Gens: A Feminist Manifesto for the Study of Capitalism,” <http://www.culanth.org/fieldsights/652-gens-a-feminist-manifesto-for-the-study-of-capitalism>.
 37. For a different take on this novel, see Vora, *Life Support*.
 38. Kunzru, *Transmission*, 256.
 39. Kunzru encodes a hidden transcript of circulating objects of class and race in knowledge economies. I use a similar method of juxtaposition to understand how the Indian programmer as migrant expert links together stories of capital flow, economic change, and subjectivities.
 40. For a similar dynamic of resistance and recuperation in late liberalism, see Povinelli, *Economies of Abandonment*, and Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*.
 41. Deleuze, “Postscript on the Societies of Control,” 6.
 42. Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*, xxv.
 43. Mitropoulos, *Contract and Contagion*, 200.
 44. The reference is to “the iron cage” in Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*.