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On the media assemblage of Bollywood: time and sensation in globalizing India
by Amit Rai

Introduction

The new hero of Hindi-Urdu cinema is the cosmopolitan DJ. In keeping with global cultural and economic trends, DJ culture has exploded in India since 1998. The DJ has become a ubiquitous figure creating intensities everywhere from music videos, film, art exhibition openings, to wedding receptions. How does one think of this emergence? The DJ, spinning a careful but always risky mix of old filmi favorites and club anthems, creates interfaces and intervals in the movement of bodies, the projection of aural space, and the proliferation of digital media. These are new ad-hoc media publics, marked by the politics of negotiation, but whose effects at the level of the body remain obscure because what is partially at stake in their thought is the return of the body to a level of experience before experience (thus phenomenology cannot address this contagious strata in its specificity without reducing it to forms of consciousness). As others before me have suggested, this level of experience before experience is called the virtual. Or affect.

"Ajeeb Ittafaq hai." We should consider this line so common in commercial films as a limit experience in contemporary media. It's transformation signals a threshold into a qualitatively different kind of modernity in India. So the word Ittafaq is worth lingering on. Ittafaq is derived from an Arabic compound whose semantic range includes, Accordance, Harmony, Accident, Conspiracy, Agreement, Concord, Chance, Event, Opportunity.[1]

"Ajeeb ittafaq hai" is what Inspector Shekhar (Dev Anand) says to Waheeda Rehman when, after he is wounded by her thug accomplices, he awkwardly stumbles on to her house in *C.I.D.* (1956). And so the stage is set for Waheeda's famous performance of iconic facial gestures in the song "Kahin Pe Nigahein Kahin Pe Nishana" (Gaze somewhere, Target somewhere else) as she tries to seduce the villain and allow the hero to escape.

Ittafaq is also the word General Bakshi offers to Major Ram Prasad Sharma to explain how his daughter, in desperate need of military protection, and Sharma's long-lost brother have ended up in the same elite college in a remote northern hill station in *Main Hoon Na*. The other word the General offers is *kismat* usually

translated as fate or destiny. The oscillation between Ittafaq and kismat sets the stage for the digitally composited transition to the paradigmatic college song of our era, "Chale Jaise Hawayein," with its long shots, fast editing, moving cameras, digital effects, and explosive dance beats.

I am suggesting that Accordance, Accident, Agreement, Concord, Chance, Event, Opportunity – in a word, Ittafaq – have been and continue to be the order words governing the intimate passage from narrative anticipation to song/dance movement and back. The Ittafaq-image relates specific vectors or basins of attraction that energize the suspenseful transition of the body from dialogue to song. From at least the 1950s on, this passage has been represented as the advent and necessary mastery of chance through the aesthetic form of Bollywood melodrama. Indeed, as Peter Brooks pointed out long ago, part of what melodrama does as a technology of subjection is tame chance through the narrativization of coincidence. Both Ravi Vasudevan and Esha Niyogi De note that this is one of the legacies of the translation of the cultural form into popular cinema in India. More specifically, Vasudevan's work suggests how the mastery of chance in Hindi-Urdu melodrama happened through the picturization of the masculinist frontal icon.

I believe that a decisive aspect of what we are witnessing today is the rapid dissolution of the empire of signs, gestures, spatiotemporalities, and generic codes that governed this passage into and mastery of chance; the Ittafaq-image's new dispensation. In the passage from a melodramatic dialectic of Accident-Concord to the proliferation of chance as non-actualized event – a new quotidian practice of the Ittafaq-image is coming into being, a new sensorimotor circuit. I argue that a number of correlated developments have led to a qualitatively new Ittafaq-image in contemporary Hindi-Urdu cinema. The first of signal importance is the explosion of DJ culture and the specific rhythms and intensities of the audio-visual database as a patterned but unpredictable cultural form in India. Second, the displacement of the bazaar-Talkie by the Mall-Multiplex is also correlated with this emergence of new population-segmentations, risk-experiences, and chance-subjects in a globalizing economy. Third, the shift in visual style of certain commercial film genres marked by the emergence of the jump cut,[2] understood as a cut primarily in time sequence, not diegetic space, suggests the refunctioning of narrative in terms of what Gary Saul Morson has called the open time of narrativeness. Finally, crucial to this new experience of the event of chance is the regime of human security taking hold of disparate forms of work, property, value, pleasure, and life in the emergence of a Bollywood-insurance-astrology circuit between kismet and Ittafaq. All this suggests that at the level of an evolving sensorimotor schema a dissociated body accelerating with the dynamic functionality of a globalizing media assemblage has transformed the mode of address of frontal iconicity so long characteristic of commercial Indian cinema.

Loitering media

In practice, popular Hindi-Urdu cinema has always been a loitering technology. Loitering, in fact, is its mode of becoming. In malls or bazaars, loitering creates

self-organizing (patterned but unpredictable) traffic – jams, interruptions, density, gazes, clusters, flows – and this is what popular media does in its non-linear circulation. Through it and in it, the body waits for incoming and ongoing connections, modulated connectivities, the movements of which have defined class, caste, and gender power, or gradients of access across technological platforms in India. First Day, First Show – a ubiquitous and decades old habituation of Bombay cinema – was an assemblage of partly loitering, partly "authorized" bodies waiting for the inaugural unfolding of a media event. The authorized bodies either held a ticket, or were going about acquiring one by standing in the queue or buying black. The loiterers are what gave First Day, First Show its carnival quality. Loiterers come mostly for the spectacle, standing, sitting, leaning, wandering – *fokat mein* – without purpose or intention, they wait and add density to the scene of exhibition. That first show, indeed the first weekend, determined the future of any given film: house full on the first weekend was the sign positive of a healthy return on investment, and the black marketeers whose money laundering schemes were the financial life of Bombay cinema breathed a sigh of relief.

This assemblage is today undergoing a qualitative change, a phase transition as indigenous financial infrastructures are completely transformed by transnational capital, Hollywood production companies, new insurance products, and the synergies of the new media. What are the coordinates of this changing media topology? *Dhoom 2* (Gadhvi, 2006) brands itself across cellphone callback tone, music video, wallpaper, Fanzine, multiplex and Talkie, nation and diaspora, and each of these platforms and spaces distributes its own system of relations and durations. In what way does the brand have consistency across these contexts? How does the brand function in piracy circuits? In globalizing India, the work of mass consumption in biocybernetic reproduction loses its aura to gain an ecology.[3] The speeds and pauses of each technological platform are thresholds and connectivities, patterned and stochastic. In turn, these connectivities become a mode through which the diaspora of Bombay cinema can participate in various media bubbles still wreathed in the discourses of the nation. There is no global cinema today without jacking-in to cyberspace, interacting with a newly plastic media, as flexible bodies-in-population form relations of motion with technologies, credit-finance, and always already pirated content. And the coils of control are in these relations of motion,[4] which is to say that the analysis of a media assemblage such as Bollywood can take no comfort in intellectual production as "resistance" retrieval.[5] The loitering mode is at once pre-colonial, colonized, and postcolonial as affective dispositions with very different histories fold into, or are nested within each other in the event of media. This means that loitering media is not a gaze reducible to a subject position, but a mechanism of connectivity, interruption, pause, lingering, stuttering; but also "time pass."

Loitering is an aesthetic and a critique of bourgeois citizenship, even though the claim of belonging that may be legible in the practice cannot found an identity. Loitering always borders the mis-fit, a practice on the edges of propriety and property. This is why all loitering media traffics in the pirated. It is the loitering nature of Indian media that has enabled the gradual but thoroughgoing

refunctioning of every element of the assemblage itself: the shrinking of the average shot duration in editing practices globally, the emergence of the halting, jerky camera style in Bombay cinema, the transformation of the *Ittafaq*-image (chance-harmony becoming fate-risk), and the quotidianization of characterization in Bollywood acting form new resonances in loitering media technologies, but without resemblance or metaphoric condensation. To be more specific, each of these new aspects of Bombay cinema has emerged because there has been a change in the different durations of media, a shift in its speed, acceleration, flow, direction, a change in a given domain of validity. A modulation of duration: loitering. Each element of the assemblage has a duration all its own, an interruption specific to its looped feedback, hence an evolving ecology all its own; when the feedbacks start resonating across the assemblage new emergent properties take hold. But the aesthetic suggests another resonance, this time demographic, as hitherto excluded populations (lower caste, Muslim, queer, disabled, subaltern) find both a repre-sentative voice in the public sphere, being thus included in the liberal econos (household) of the nation (the Grand Narrative of the Secular Nation duly extended), and at the same time potentialize the spaces of the public not merely by exposing its constituent contradictions, but by opening those spaces to refunc-tioned connectivities, new temporalities, affecting bodies.[6]

Bollywood time pass

In other words, loitering is time pass: the common Indian phrase "time pass" names a historically specific social practice of cinema in India.[7] This is where an assemblage analysis of Bollywood media should begin: in practices of time, in the specific durations of a multiplicity. And this is also where politics begins: by changing the media's ontology of duration we extract experiences of the Untimely in Bollywood today. The singularity here, the durations of the media event, is a fuzzy set of correlated practices that function as a sensory-motor circuit of movie-going,[8] a strategic halting, stuttering, a pausing over and in sensation. It is this set of correlated practices (or assemblage) that is passing through a critical ridge in delirious phase transition.

There is no anticipation in time pass, it happens all at once, and not at all – when time passes loitering in the mixed streams of contemporary media you find yourself in the middle of events that exceed their actualization, waiting, wondering, the banal mixing with the monstrous. This excess, which is not representational, but mutational and virtual is the basis of a cultural politics of dominant Hindi-Urdu cinema. There is nothing but pure untimeliness in the gaps of time pass. This is also where capital derives its evolving schemes of value: *Dhoom II* wallpaper, callback tunes, and torrent are all simply time pass. And it is also something like the dead time in surrealist critiques of capital, where the linear calendrical time of capitalist standardization is literally shot dead, a bullet through the clock. Time pass derives from the middle English word "pasetyme": "A diversion or recreation which serves to pass the time agreeably; an activity done for pleasure rather than work; a hobby; a sport, a game. Also: a practice commonly

indulged in"(OED). Time pass is about pleasure in killing time, a practiced art that consists in feeling time's passing so as not to feel its accretion.

Time pass signals habituations of affective open time:[9] time's divergence from itself in the act of cinema-going, as when time bifurcates, halts, or "dies" in a body's implication or folding in some media stream. Such regulated but volatile durations of media experience were central to this film culture, and these durations are now in the process of becoming something else. The new multiplex schedule of showings disrupting the long-standing 12–3–6–9 cycle suggests that these new durations have to do with maximizing space, viewers, and rental time for exhibition-wallahs.

Certain aspects of loitering media flies in the face of such utilitarianism. Let us not forget there is always something parasitic about loitering, hanging around to maximize an event's duration. In this sense loitering in Bollywood would be less about exhibition space than the becoming time of space: gaps, interruption, opening time by remapping exhibition space. Historically, such open time operated in the consuming or "partaking" of extra-diegetic star auras, the renewed past of cinema unfolding activated the memories of viewers who in turn rendered that memory audible in shouts of acknowledgement for heroes, heroines, songs, scenes, or intertextual allusions. Time pauses as an immediate memory contracts the image-sound in the timespace of the media event, viral memory as a kind of interactive repetition of indices, or attention-attractors, distributed throughout the media ecology, and finding resonances in the feedback of active audiences. The time of cinema opens as well in anonymous hoots of displeasure for power outages, audio-visual failures, broken fans, bad dialogue, or zealous ticket-checkers and ushers (an active antagonism between the managers and workers of exhibition spaces and working class and youth audiences). More, the notion of time pass has often been integrated into the idea of its pleasurable return, that is, in the future of repeat viewings, cinema-going as pastime, as a way of killing time, is not its dissolution, but the rendering of time into a repeatable packet of memory. Here in the openings of filmi time pass, the fragmented present of cinema-going (so well analyzed by Lalitha Gopalan)[10] seems infinitely divisible, re-functioned as it were, in the form of talk back, sing alongs, crying, bathroom breaks, diegetic gaps, waiting in line, forced scene/song replays,[11] and of course the ubiquitous intermission.

These differently experienced aspects of Bollywood's temporalities break apart the discreet packet of time that defines the pedagogies of film culture in the West (although one could show that specific elements of fragmentation and interruption differently structure cinematic temporalities in the West).[12] In that sense, analyzing time in media assemblages suggests a method that first and foremost problematizes the timescales of an event – at what border of a phase transition, in terms of what durations, can we locate the limits of the event, that bubble of resonance that Ilya Prigogine and Manuel Delanda have explored in their different ways?

A media assemblage analysis of Bollywood would focus on the changing timespaces of media events. Thus, time pass films, despite their generally acknowledged formulaic mediocrity, were social events that integrated the specific theatre into the body's social passage; in that sense the singularity of the event was

indissociable from the specificity of a theater's space. Time pass films could become a time pass event only in certain talkies, only at certain times. This specificity is transformed in the globalized malltiplex into a space with no outside, like the Benjaminian dream: "Arcades are houses or passages having no outside – like the dream."[13] Benjamin's method and project in his study of the Paris arcades is peculiarly suited to understanding the hybrid temporalities of the contemporary malltiplex in India, and I will suggest some relevant connections here. Commenting on "the panorama of gaiety and tears passing before us like the dust of the rails before the windows of the coach" (Benjamin Gastineau, *La Vie en chemin de fer* [1861]), Benjamin wrote,

> Rather than pass the time, one must invite it in. To pass the time (to kill time, to expel it): the gambler. Time spills from his every pore. – To store time as a battery stores energy: the flâneur. Finally, the third type: he who waits. He takes in the time and renders it up in altered form – that of expectation.[14]

To kill, expel, store, spill, and render time: loitering. Divergent pasts and futurities fold into the act of cinema-going. They name different strategies of cinema-going in India, aggregated in the phrase "time pass." To kill, expel, store, spill, and render time are also different aspects of the rhythms of film culture's media *duration*: time pass is an emergent quality of sensation in the interactions of Indian cinema's media assemblage, and it is that experience of duration-pleasure that is being transformed today through new media intervals.

And it is here, in the immanent duration of the media event, where sexuality becomes pre-individual and potential. (We should recall that the level of the preindividual suggests a timespace in the body that is singular, immediate, populational, and stochastic.)[15] This is because an analysis of sexuality *in* Bollywood, rather than taking on the paradoxical ambitions of a representational critique (*"is this a masculinist frame?" "is this narrative queer(able)?"*), would follow the movements of sensation becoming habit and mutation in an entire *ecology of sensation*. Sexuality is where the body and populations meet, says Foucault. More specifically, sexualization in ecologies of sensation unfolds through changing relations of affect (capacities to affect and be affected), relations that are probabilistic and populational. Thus the timescale for apprehending sexuality would necessarily be as broad as the virtual-material arc needed to create a set of functional affordances or sensorimotor circuits at the threshold of a body and its populations: what a body can and cannot do in relation to the material substrate that it is connected with would be its sexuality, its evolving regime of sensation. In this sense we can speak of the specific charge of an attractor which would have numerous and changing dimensions, let us call him Shah Rukh Khan for the moment. I had a great conversation with a fan about SRK a few years ago – it would have to be updated for his newfound washboard abs, prominently on display in the publicity for *Om Shanti Om*. She had come to New York city as a college graduate in her twenties, a transplant from the small immigrant Hindu community in Minnesota. She remarked that New York provided the fan with so many more

"outlets" to connect to Bollywood. For this fan, the internet was a mode of connecting to the oceans of information on Hindi film, to fanzines, and finally to the affecting body of Shahrukh:

Q: How have you found that experience of Bollywood on the Web?

A: I think it's great. There's just, there's a lot out there, you know. There's, there's almost too much out there, to a point where do you want to read about the stars, do you want to read about their love life ... I feel like you can just read everything now. Um, you can have chat room discussions if you want, though I've never done that. But it's like a whole new level that they've taken it to. Bollywood's definitely ...it's, it's kinda become like a lifestyle rather than a trend. Like, people are doing everything [through it]. You know, I subscribe to Stardust. (Q: You do?) (Laughs.) Actually I don't subscribe to it but, because I've been called such a FOB [Fresh off the Boat] it was my birthday present from a friend of mine. (Q: Ah, but you kept it.) But I kept it. (Q: And you read it.) Um, the whole subscription ... So I get it every month now ... I mean, you can see all the pictures and the, you know, the photo shoots and, and whatnot. But, um, I was recently an extra in the *Kal Ho Na Ho* movie ... the Karan Johar's movie with Shahrukh Khan, I did three scenes with them ... mind you, I don't think a lot of people would because they pay you nothing for an all-day thing in which all you do is, like, sit around and wait. You know, I don't know if you've ever done that thing, but you seriously just wait, and I was ... just there because the whole, like, aura of being around Shahrukh Khan was so amazing. He is one of the most intense people I've ever been around. Seeing him is definitely an experience. Like, you can see him on film, but to see him act in real life is, is definitely something. (Q: He's a great actor.) He is. He's a great actor and has, like, his expression, and not only just his face but, like, his whole body expression. He's really intense. You know and even just watching him, he makes you just feel, like, feel what he's feeling. You know, like, there's a scene where he's sad about it and he's just crying and you want to go up to him and tell him that it's gonna be okay 'cause he just looks so sad.[16]

We could consider these moments: internet, Stardust, movie set, Shahrukh, affection – not as sequential stages, or lines of a narrative, but as implicated in one another, infolding continuously – taken to a new level of intensity, and in moments we glimpse the outlines of a phase transition to come. The meeting, for instance, of Internet-friendly digital cinematography (which would include within its own assemblage both technology and brand logo of T-1 lines, Lucasfilm THX and miniDV) and Bollywood melodrama has produced many skins, many relations of motion, many affects. Its diagram will be a sensorimotor schema. In one way or another it signals the death of Bollywood – which is not to say the end of Bollywood: both Benjamin and Derrida remind us that what is dead wields a very specific force: the force of becoming.[17] The futures of Bollywood are being born within the different fetishisms specific to this cinema – that is, its own fetishes (in no particular and non-exhaustive order: light-skinned virgins, Switzerland,

muscular *jawans* [male youths, soldiers], colonial nature, the workerless City, cosmopolitan consumer, and the global Logo) and the fetish that it is turned into in the West (middle-class European Americans were dancing "authentic" bhangra in the aisles during the screening of *Lagaan* [dir. Ashutosh Gowariker, 2001] at the artsy FilmForum in Manhattan) – the proliferation of these fetish surfaces – the skins of an assemblage – guarantee a mutational future, monstrous or not. Thus, the body's ability to co-emerge with the technologies it interfaces with obliges us to situate the question of sexuality in a preindividual plane of potential mutation.

Why is this diagramming of assemblages any different from a representational critique? I take seriously Deleuze's famous warning about representational thought, to wit, that the idealization of images (as discursive practice, as performative repetitions, or resistant identities) constrains thought within the narrow range of analogy, contradiction, identity, and sameness. Such an idealization values consciousness as product over the intensive processes that constitute an ecology of sensation. To return to our initial point of departure, loitering media, which is what Bombay cinema is today, allows different temporalities of the body to assemble on the same plane of becoming: intercalated interruptions. At the level of the incipience of perception, where sensation feeds back and forward in a time loop of potentiality, the rush of life contracts and expands, the body waits, populations interface, and the event bubble of media forms, self-organizes, and resonates. More specifically, when time is killed, expelled, stored, spilled, and rendered what happens at the level of the body is the modulation of its durational connectivities, a change in its self-relation, the opening of the body to new and old populations already within it. Habit (which is no longer discursive or analogical) and mutation (patterned but unpredictable) happen in the evolution of sensation's ecology.

How is it possible to think Bombay cinema today without the malltiplex boom? Consider: this is how one Indian filmmaker and cinephile, Ravi Deshpande, describes the urban cinema-going experience in the wake of new technologies associated with the multiplex.

> Look at the way you go to the movies in any of the metros today – You've logged in & checked the reviews, you've zapped into the slickly made promos, which in turn, have been made out of slickly shot songs somewhere out there – on the prairies, the mountains, the clean & nice streets – but almost always "phoren" [foreign], & at other times with lavish sets, costumes & at very ethnic-Indian locales; you have heard the new music that is familiarly a rehash from a groove sampled from a CD – again from "phoren"; you've found time, you've called amidst stressed city travel & connected cellularly to other stressed but "wanting-to-check-out-the-film" friends, you have found the money for that Dolby/DTS experience with non carbon arc "xenon lamp" projection, you have left the sweat-n-smell land & entered the cool-n-clean theatre. The lights dim & you settle to view a crisp positive on the new "Vision" (Kodak stock-stunning skin tones & cinematography).[18]

These are the elements of a continuous multiplicity – cell phone exchange, internet research, and the digitized cool of the multiplex are synaesthetically co-implicated

in the modular body of today's media assemblage, these are the media intervals that are intercalated in the enfolded sensorium of this ecology. The new Bollywood-media interface has changed the very nature of cinema-going, but has also defined particular trajectories for the commercialization of the human-computer interface in India. The multiplex is central to this transformation.

This diagrams an emergence: a news report on cinema-going in India from April 30, 2004 announced that Bollywood revenues would more than double by 2008, to $2.3 billion, supported by "a boom in multiplex building and the deployment of digital cinema to speed distribution."[19] But new digital technologies do not merely speed up distribution, since the interface between broadband and BitTorrent (or some other peer to peer protocol) will most likely transform the entire field of distribution itself; so these revenue forecasts remain in the realm of "science fiction." From First Day, First Show frenzies at single screen talkies to the new multiplex boom, the globalizing media assemblage of contemporary Bollywood is emerging through its new connectivities: digital images, spaces, sounds; cross merchandized consumption; population re-segmentation; immersive experiences focused on the autonomous life of the sensations.

The malltiplex is not an ecology a priori, but there is something nonlinear about its dynamical interactions. Now, my argument here is that to loiter (to kill, expel, store, spill, and render time) is the general condition of affectivity of the media assembling body in the contemporary malltiplex. This parceling of time, its divisibility, its continuous rhythms act on the body directly producing both new habituations as well as potentially new assemblages. Loitering is the very condition of evolution in media assemblages. The potential multiplexing of the body-technology assemblage is also a marketing gimmick. Brian Massumi suggests that potential is singular: a multiple in- and unfolding into each other of "divergent futurities, only the *divergence* of which is reproducible." The particular nature of each divergent conjunction in the series is what is problematic. "Multiple in- and unfolding: singularity is multiplex." Massumi means something different with this term than how I am using "malltiplex," however. The multiplex divergence of the singular, writes Massumi, is not to be confused with the "disjunctive simplicity" at the basis of a "system of possibility" (malltiplex). The multiplex mutually includes. Possibility develops disjunctively, one might even say quantitatively, toward the extension of a next actual step. "Multiplex potential envelops, around an intensely suspended (virtual) center."[20] The disjunctive simplicity at the basis of an audio-visual system of digitized possibility is how the machinic evolution of contemporary multiplexing captures the singular affectivity of the body and renders time through a specific organization of interruptive, quantified *bits of pleasure*. Malltiplexes aim to divide film's interruption in time through a highly selective, but also partly arbitrary refunctioning of the body-image-duration-space-pleasure-commodity topology. This entails the commodification or value-generating capture of potential connections that the body can make in the present moment: through food-thirst-hunger, through a certain appetite for star-aura, or by attending to, and consuming visual and aural affects less and less centered on the auditorium itself, attention as continuous distraction. Always, the malltiplexed body is drawn into a presentist temporality of total immersion that functions

through an always changing, and seemingly expanding combination of sensation: but never to the point of excess (no fainting, heart attacks, or extreme sports-like viscerality, hopefully). Simply, this mutliplexed presentism both solicits and controls potentializing excess. Loitering bodies in today's malltiplex (consider Forum Mall in Bangalore on a Saturday afternoon), by the differentiated nature of their waiting, anticipation, boredom, or excitement – kinesis – are implicated in the duration of media streams and are the catalysis for its mutation.

In sum, I have presented some coordinates of a phase transition in contemporary Bollywood. The aim here has been to de-fetishize popular Indian cinema and its cultures, situate film within a broader mediascape, and specify the nested timescales of its practices. Today, Bollywood media does other things than what it was capable of during its various Golden Ages. What a media becomes is partially determined by the emergent properties it makes functional in the assemblages it self-organizes through. An assemblage analysis of globalizing popular media would diagram emergent capacities as the very conditions of habituations and mutations that as yet have no name.

Notes

1 See *Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*.
2 A jump cut is a cut to later action from one filmed scene to the next, creating an effect of discontinuity or acceleration.
3 See Mitchell, W. J. Thomas, "The Work of Art in the Age of Biocybernetic Reproduction", *Modernism/modernity*, 10.3, September 2003, 481–500. The term "ecology" comes from many sources, but my most direct reference here is Manuel Delanda's *Intensive Science and Virtual Philosophy* (New York: Continuum, 2002); the analysis of a continuous multiplicity with phase transitions, critical edges, singularities, basins of attraction, and nested timescales is, to my mind, the clearest method for diagramming an ecology.
4 See Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on Societies of Control," *October*, 59, Winter 1992, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 3–7; www.n5m.org/n5m2/media/texts/deleuze.htm, accessed 20 December 2007.
5 Spivak once warned us about "information retrieval" and today we must be equally suspicious of "resistance retrieval." See Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak," and "Deconstructing Historiography."
6 This seems to me the radical implications of Shilpa Phadke's work on gender, caste, and loitering in Mumbai's public sphere. See Phadke, Shilpa, "Dangerous Liaisons: Women and Men: Risk and Reputation in Mumbai," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28 April 2007, www.epw.org.in/epw/uploads/articles/10544.pdf.
7 Although I was not able to see the movie, a film titled *Time Pass* was playing for a couple of weeks in the summer of 2000 in Bhopal. It was a kind of running joke between patrons and theatre staff, a code word for sheer useless expenditure. Moreover, the phrase kept returning in my interviews with cinema goers: going to see a movie was nothing other than time pass, it was

just the quality of that passage that differed from one movie to the next, from one movie hall to the next. More recently, a very odd, grotesque even, film by the same title was released (2004, dir. Chander Mishra); it narrates the story of a Hindu college boy trying to seduce a Christian girl amidst Hindu–Muslim riots in Bombay.

8   Fuzzy sets are defined as sets whose elements have degrees or gradients of membership.

9   For the notion of open time in narratology see Gary Saul Morson, "Narrativeness," *New Literary History*, 34.1 (2003): 59–73. He writes:

> And what gives a moment presentness? In a phrase, open time. For a present moment to matter, to have real weight, more than one thing must be possible at the next moment. We may define open time as the excess of possibilities over actualities. For a determinist, one and only one thing can happen at any given moment; what did not happen could not have happened. In open time, at least one thing that did not happen could have. Think of the moment in *War and Peace* when Rostov, with "his keen sportsman's eye," realizes that if he and his men charge the French at this moment, they will rout them, but if he waits, the configuration of the French troops climbing the hill will change and the opportunity will be lost. Rostov may charge or not, and his choice matters. Or consider Dmitri Karamazov holding a pestle over his father's head and trying to decide whether to kill him. He could do either, that is the whole point. The examples are endless.

10 See Lalitha Gopalan, *Cinema of Interruptions* (London: British Film Institute, 2001).

11 Almost every movie theatre owner I spoke with in Bhopal had some story to tell about students commandeering the projection room, and demanding the rescreening of key songs.

12 Considering this experience of open time in Bollywood cinema going it would be useful not only to provincialize the Hollywood dominant, but also to question if Hollywood's temporal pedagogies were ever that total in the first place even in the West. Consider in this regard some "temporal strategies" of everyday life used by the Surrealists and the Situationists to interrupt the dead time of capitalist alienation.

> An example of this kind of temporal interruption can be found in Breton's Second Manifesto of Surrealism, "the simplest Surrealist act consists of dashing down into the street, pistol in hand, and firing blindly, as fast as you can pull the trigger, into the crowd". Paul D. Miller identifies this as a "psycho-social critique" of the regimentation of time and culture in industrial society. The Surrealists parodied the monotony imposed by the industrialization of time through the activity of crétinisation, where "hours and hours going round in loops on city trams" aimed at disalienation from the very empty repetition it mimicked. This activity of dérive, or drift, "has an immediate shattering effect on calculated time". Through the shards of clock-time, another temporality appears, marked by "oneiric continuity", as opposed to the fragmented state of Debord's "commodity time" (p. 200).

See Conrad Russell, "Against Dead Time," *Time & Society*, 11. 2/3 (2002), pp. 193–208; see also Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

13 Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999), p. 406.

14 Benjamin, *Arcades*, p. 107.

15 The concept "preindividual" was first developed by Gilbert Simondon, elaborated by Gilles Deleuze, and taken up again by Brian Massumi.

16 Interview with "Anjali," *October*, 2003, New York City.

17 See Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. Alan Bass and Henri Rense (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 6; Benjamin, "Paris, The Capital of the Nineteenth Century," trans. Howard Eiland, in *Selected Writings, Vol. 3* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003) pp. 40–41.

18 Ravi Deshpande, "A Taste of Technology," *Expressions*, August–November, 1999 (3), www.abhivyakti.org.in/expression/tech.htm, accessed 1 October 2006.

19 Dodona Research, www.dodona.co.uk/news61.htm, accessed 1 October 2006.

20 Massumi, *Parables*, p. 113.