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Kathak Potpourri: A Study of Classroom Kathak in Contemporary India

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Abstract:

This paper is a reading of the life and works of Sushmita Ghosh (a Kathak dancer and a former director of Kathak Kendra, Delhi) at an interesting crossroads of tradition and modernity wherein she takes up different subject positions to advocate the need for striking a balance between the past and present requirements of the cultural market. Ghosh's journey begins from the traditional *guru-shishya parampara* to the contemporary methodology of teaching in UK and in India, each of which requires a modification to cater to the needs of the students and the audience alike. This paper is a manifestation of a series of interviews conducted by me with Sushmita Ghosh in order to understand the changing cultural politics of the nation and the classroom as the space for refurbishing classical Kathak.

Keywords:

Kathak, Sushmita Ghosh, modern classroom pedagogy in performing arts, globalisation, glocalization, transnationalism, cultural nationalism, pedagogy and performance.

In 1953, Maulana Azad's speech on preservation of cultural heritage in the wake of nationalism aimed at democratic revivalism of art and cultural aesthetics. Azad's emphasis on museumization of culture and art through national festivals was a significant step in establishing cultural hegemony in the mid-twentieth century. Though advanced research in fine and performing arts was encouraged through establishment of national institutions like Bhatkhande, Bhartiya Kala Kendra, and Sangeet Natak Akademy, and libraries like Sahitya Akademy and Lalit Kala Akademy, 'preservation' became the catchphrase amongst scholars and cultural nationalists. At the same time, while tradition was being concretised and documented, modern ideas like 'development' and 'innovation' were the buzzwords in art. In few decades Kumudini Lakhia became one of the most prominent faces of modern Kathak and brought to the stage the concept of 'choreography' in Kathak performances¹. Choreography in Kathak was a novel phenomenon popularized in the late twentieth century which allowed an artist to exercise his/her potential as an individual in performing arts tradition. Democratization of arts and artists furthered the scope of mass participation and individuals were encouraged to exploit art through experimentation.

While innovation became the mantra of success for the new artists, traditionalists were anxious of the Western influences substituting the cultural heritage of the nation. Mass mediation through development in the field of print and technology also facilitated socio-cultural interaction as institutional copyrighted books were published, with specific details about the art form. Though global networking was not a new phenomenon in the twentieth century its impact was recognised now, especially in the shared value system.

The new scale of measurement for marking the progress of a nation, in the age of globalization, was called 'development'. 'The word "development" got currency after the U.S. Government launched the Marshall Plan in the late 1940s. A speech writer for President Harry Truman, coined the term to indicate the efforts to bridge the gap between the "developed" and the "underdeveloped" countries.' (Mehta 11) The policy offered economic dependence to the developing countries post World War II in order to generate expansion of the international market. The State was the channel through which foreign aid could exercise its authority as a patron which led the nation towards its modernisation. Instead of social progress, economic investments of the nation in international market became the measure for development. This augmented the influence of already developed countries like the United Nations, and hence modernisation was replaced with a new term called Americanisation. Homogenous development of economic and socio-cultural sectors of the nation across the international market became the ideals required to compete with the developed countries.

India entered the global market in 1947 with the signing of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) which was the first step towards international fraternalization. Nehru's Five Year Plans in the following years laid the foundation for the economic expansion of the nation that offered progressive schemes in the agricultural and industrial areas. Though the development programme began with policies on mixed economy supporting private and public sectors equally, economic backwardness in the international market led to lopsided growth of the private sector. Increasing urgency of global integration stirred fear in the socio-cultural life of the people as they moved closer to a monolithic identity. Cultural immigration through media in the 1980s and '90s overshadowed the inherent value system of the nation with Western influences. As a result of which, Nehru's plan of 'unity in diversity' was taking the shape of homogenisation with the sweeping definition of globalisation.

Later theorists have however denied this characteristic of global integration in India in support of multiplicity of socio-cultural beliefs. 'it is contended that we consider the Indian society as an independent variable while treating globalisation as a dependant factor for understanding changes in our socio-cultural and politico-economic life to construct a theory of social change with our own realities.' (Mehta 17) It has thus been concluded that even though adoption of foreign values may have affected the social and cultural institutions, transnational homogeneity has not overpowered the national identity. Later studies on implications of globalisation in India have proved prevalence of heterogeneous characteristics in contemporary social and cultural belief systems. These studies are a useful insight into indigenisation as a by-product of globalisation process, facilitated by media and technological explosion. As a result of this, complete annihilation of individual identity consequential to the global networking has been replaced by hyphenated identities. However I shall not enlarge upon this idea, but I will take the course of heterogeneity as the new cultural identity of a nation to compete in the world market.

From this standpoint I will venture into the main argument of the chapter distributed over three parts in which I propose to look at Kathak in contemporary light through Sushmita Gosh's life and works. The three sections of the chapter intersect at the moot point between tradition and modernity through the different posts held by Gosh, as an administrator of the State institute, Kathak Kendra, as the owner and

teacher of an organisation of Kathak called Aakriti Dance Foundation (later renamed as Aakriti Foundation) and as an independent artist living in Delhi. Ghosh's place in the present-day Kathak is an interesting study of an artist, who has travelled through the changes in Kathak's traditional pedagogy of *guru-shishya parampara* to contemporary institutional methodology of teaching. Her attempts to synchronise personal and national nostalgia of Kathak with the standards set by international institutions are a remarkable development in the tradition of classical Indian dance. The information hereby laid down is from series interviews of Sushmita Ghosh conducted by me, alongside brief interactions with students and faculty members at Kathak Kendra.

Sushmita Ghosh's journey in Kathak began at the age of eight years when her mother encouraged her to join Gandharva Mahavidhyalaya in 1972. Under the tutelage of Tirath Ram Azadji of the Jaipur *gharana* and Hem Singhji for Hindustani Music, Ghosh was introduced to Kathak. Her education in Kathak matured as she entered the State institute of Kathak Kendra in 1979 at the age of fourteen years with the scholarship from the Ministry of Human Resources. Later during her education, Ghosh switched to the predominant form of Lucknow *gharana* at Kathak Kendra and learnt classical Indian dance from Smt. Reba Vidyarthi and Sri Munna Lal Shukla.

I introduce a brief diversion here to look at Ghosh's gurus at Kathak Kendra. Though both Reba Vidyarthi and Munna Shukla have been trained in the Lucknow *gharana* of Kathak, their relationship with Kathak represents the polarised ends of traditional learning in performing arts. Reba Vidyarthi belonged to the non-heritage group of Kathak dancers like Maya Rao (during the same period). Vidyarthi's training with Achhan Maharaj at Nirmala Joshi's school of Hindustani Music and her subsequent rise as a performing artist placed her in the role of a faculty member at Bhartiya Kala Kendra. Her introduction of the five-year diploma course in Kathak pioneered modern pedagogy at Kathak Kendra which has its reverberations into the present times. Vidyarthi's unique approach to Kathak was an important development in extending the scope of Kathak as a subject for study and research across a period of five years. She replaced the free and subjective methodology of training and established a concrete syllabus binding the students and teachers around an organised curriculum. At the same time, 'As a foundation class teacher, Reba Vidyarthi created carefully designed progressive exercises that simultaneously build stamina and proper postures while practicing rhythmic skills.' (Walker 124) Some of these exercises are still prevalent in the syllabus of Kathak Kendra benefitting the students to excel the art form.

Later Ghosh earned a scholarship from the Government of India to take up full time course from one of the most popular Kathak gurus of Lucknow *gharana*'s line of descent—Sri Munna Lal Shukla. The grandson of Achhan Maharaja, Munna Shukla received the tutelage from both his father, Sunder Lal Shukla and his uncle, Birju Maharaja. Aside from brief interruptions, Shuklaji's continuous service to Kathak Kendra has helped to preserve the cultural hegemony of Lucknow *gharana*. His presence in the State institute has also insured that Western influences in pedagogical approach, hinted in Vidyarthi's case, would not replace traditional heritage of the classical form. Shukla was last of the *gharana* gurus to serve the State institution as the model for national heritage and to train young scholars in *guru-shishya parampara*.

Sushmita Ghosh's batch was the last generation of students to receive Munna Shukla's guidance in the traditional style of pedagogy at Kathak Kendra. In her early

years of training, Ghosh took up a part-time course in Kathak, balancing it with an under-graduate course in Physics Honours from University of Delhi. It was during her journey in Kathak Kendra that she received best from the two worlds of modernity and tradition in Kathak. When I asked about her Kathak lessons with Munna Shukla, she recalled how the *guru-shishya parampara* was receding into the background to make place for a systematic learning under the guidance of multiple teachers, instead of one, dominant guru. One of the reasons for the shift in pedagogy of Kathak was that most of the *gharana* gurus unlike earlier times did not depend on government funds and could propagate their art through private festivals or find alternative opportunities for performance and trainingⁱⁱ. As a result, in place of an unprecedented guru, there was a now heterogeneous group of teachers imparting knowledge to the students at Kathak Kendra. Little did Ghosh know at this time that the changes in pedagogy that she witnessed here would later help her to administer the same institute.

I

Sushmita Ghosh graduated from Kathak Kendra in 1990 and in the same year she moved to UK to take up teaching at Bharitya Vidya Bhavan. I shall explore her role as a Kathak guru in UK in the next section in a comparative reading with Aakriti Foundation. In this section I will refer to the contemporary methodology of teaching Kathak and Ghosh's place as an administrator at Kathak Kendra with respect to the impact of globalisation in the educational policies in India in past few decades. After returning to India in 2002, Ghosh realised that Kathak in Delhi had undergone a wave of change and she needed to reconstruct her space in the city, this time as an artist. For more than a decade Sushmita worked as an independent artist and as the owner of Aakriti Foundation in Delhi. In 2014, she received a call for an administrative service to Kathak Kendra. Though Ghosh was running Aakriti Dance Foundation in UK, administration was a challenge that invited her to execute these experiences on a local scale. As she recollects those days for me, she remembers her father's discontent with an administrative job in the department of Human Resources and Development (now the Ministry of Culture); and how reluctantly she accepted the post only if she could change the terms of management this time.

The first observation made by Ghosh as she entered Kathak Kendra was a wide gap in the curriculum of the State institute and in the performing arts universities abroad. She realised that even though Kathak Kendra was the only National institute safeguarding the classical dance of North India it too lacked in its ability to produce accomplished dancers. Ghosh concluded that one of the causes for the declining standard of performing arts students in India is their incomplete education. She observed that students do not equate performing arts with mainstream education and often replace one with the other. Consequently the students eager to enter the space of performance quit education in its early stages which hampers their comprehensive growth. She says, that 'If the government is spending a handsome amount on the students then they cannot say that they don't know how to write. So I'm trying to strengthen the curriculum. Not just mindless dancing.' To imply these changes, Ghosh filed an application for an increase in age from seventeen to eighteen years for admission in full-time Elementary course in Kathak. Though age is only a formal scale of measurement, Ghosh insists on adequate qualification of the student seeking admission.

Ghosh's emphasis on practicing a balancing act between Kathak and mainstream education echoes the debates on higher education in India since the last fifty years. In the report of the Education Commission of 1964-66 (D.S. Kothari commission) the main objectives in reconstructing the education system were improvement in primary and higher education as well as improving research facilities. Kothari commission was an advancement from the education policies since Independence in its insistence on developing an integrated educational system that could meet the contemporary standards of international universities (Kothari 4). Since education policies have been revised to homogenise learning and teaching standards on a global scale. Concerns regarding class conflict have erupted in the past few years reporting a statistical fall in the number of students enrolling in higher education programmes due to inadequate provisions like poor infrastructure, increased fee structure, etc. Though these issues have been partially resolved with economic facilities and rise in public universities the diminishing numbers is unpreventable.

A similar pattern of decline has been observed in Kathak Kendra as well. In a conversation with Ghosh this issue surfaced as she shared her observations on the receding number of students from foundation course to post-diploma course in Kathak. This concern was settled with the conclusion that students in the later years prioritize either mainstream education over Kathak or are engaged in social obligations like marriage. Though the institute has maintained the fee structure on a lower scale to help financially weak students to participate in higher education, the above mentioned social diversions have been successfully neglected. One of the primary reasons for deviating after few years of training is the apparent lack of job opportunities available to the students. Besides Government's indifference towards insufficient work options for prospective performing artists, the artists too have been reluctant to accept changes in the process of learning.

Sushmita Ghosh has repeatedly insisted on the students and teachers to reconsider Kathak as a subject to be studied rather than restricting it to performance. 'Like students who study other subjects the dancer too must prepare her/himself to be sustainable for life.' For her, talent for a performing artist may be of paramount importance but in the competitive market multiple skills is the key resource for survival. As an administrator the persisting challenge is to keep the faculty abreast with global developments so that teachers may impart resourceful knowledge to the students. Ghosh's project of modernization is congruous with the development in the global market of knowledge consumerism. Increasing competitiveness in the international space of performance has unsettled the world of traditional artists.

According to Harvey, this condition is defined as 'space-time compression' whereby the geographical boundaries are dissolved to contain different nations in the new space called the 'global village'. The collective imagination of the people across space and time leads to the most common consequences of globalisation, i.e., homogenization. T.K. Oommen in an article on the impact of globalisation on culture refers to four stages of transformation: homogenization (displacement syndrome), pluralization (accretion syndrome), traditionalization (revivalistic syndrome) and hybridization (mutation syndrome) (qtd. in Nagla 254-55). The first stage of homogenization in Kathak took place during its classicization at a time when dancers like Uday Shankar, Anna Pavlova, Madame Menaka took Kathak outside the boundaries of India to recreate the cultural history of the nation. The phrase

'displacement syndrome' thus explains the cross-country exchange of cultural practices. The second stages of pluralization and traditionalization can be then located at a time when the cultural practices of the country received widespread acknowledgement in the global market. A free exchange of ideas amongst performing artists expanded the vision of Kathak beyond its institutional reception. The stage of traditionalization continues to persist as we look at the dispute in modern methodology of teaching, cited earlier in this paper, even as we enter into the fourth stage of hybridization.

Oommen defines the fourth stage as the 'crossbreeding of traditional and modern' (Nagla 255). Differentiating it from the previous stages, he explains, 'Hybridization is different from pluralisation in which it is neither co-existence nor elaboration. It is an effort to innovate to break out of cultural and social dead ends. It is simultaneous exchange with both tradition and modernity and local and global.' (Nagla 255) Ghosh's efforts in the past one year at Kathak Kendra are directed towards a similar ambition of viewing tradition through the lens of modernity. With the help of her contemporary and a teacher at Kathak Kendra, Deepti Gupta, Ghosh strives to engage the students in conceptualising Indian mythology in contemporary Kathak. She gives an example of how Gupta in her theory classes asks her students 'to not see Krishna as Krishna's devotee but as someone who is studying a character from all ends; to thereby incorporate those characteristics in their dance. We are introducing the students to Natyashastra and forcing them to link the past with contemporary Kathak... We are looking at the modern curriculum.'

This quote directs us to witness one of the foremost developments in the process of hybridization between the local and the global spaces or as Roland Robertson popularised this phenomenon, 'glocalization'. Glocalization implies appropriating global values and products to a local market, which in this case is practiced by Ghosh and Gupta. It is important to note here that like Sushmita Ghosh, Deepti Gupta too has performed extensively in Canada and U.S. after completing M.A. in dance from York University. As a result, her theory classes reflect an intuitive knowledge of the competitive market in the performing arts tradition. Ghosh and Gupta have been actively encouraging the students to empower themselves with expansive knowledge of the art form, to be inquisitive in class and innovative in their performances. According to this novel methodology of teaching the characteristic emphasis on Kathak as kinaesthetic learning has mutated it to a subject for intellectual research as well.

In the new curriculum, in each semester an inter-class competition is organised in which the students are expected to make research projects. The presentation of these projects may differ from one another in the medium used. The students may either speak in the class in a group, display their research on chart paper, or may use power point software to express the same. Though manifesting team spirit is the main objective of the programme, the final project may eventually be a single-handed presentation; the marks for which are distributed equally amongst group members. Hence what appears to be a modernizing scheme may create a wider gap between the accomplished and the intellectually weak students. In Ghosh's upsurge to create progressive artists at Kathak Kendra she may have overlooked those students who come from poor social backgrounds or are unable to avail research facilities like the internet. In such a case sub-pedagogy and cross pedagogy could improve the standard of education as well as develop team spirit amongst participants.

The limitations in imparting adequate education to the students emerged during the annual examinations held in May 2015. Sushmita Ghosh for the first time prepared her students to disengage themselves from the patronage of their guru and to choreograph their performance test independently. Most of the students in these performance tests were confident and displayed complete knowledge of the performance skills like stage sense, reciting the *bols* clearly on the mike, etc. This was followed by class tests in the presence of external examiners which ‘was a disappointment because the students could not think beyond the text.’ (Ghosh) Once again until recently the class tests were organised in the presence of the teachers from Kathak Kendra which made these tests questionableⁱⁱⁱ. In another interview with Veena Singh from Bhatkhande Institute (Lucknow) it was revealed that the anonymity between the examiner and the student during annual examinations is often transgressed to maintain the standard of the university. This has frequently resulted in production of incompetent students who continue to imitate their guru’s teachings and are unable to compete with innovative and skilful artists. Ghosh’s endeavours in this area are thus revolutionary and even though the results for the graduating batch of students this year are low, if this practice is continued the results are likely to improve in the years to follow.



Sushmita Ghosh with her students at Aakriti Foundation, Gugaon (30th May, 2015)

II



After graduating from Kathak Kendra in 1990, Sushmita Ghosh joined the UK branch of Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan as the Resident Guru. The institute's foundation was laid in Mumbai in 1938 by Dr. K.M. Munshi with the purpose to cultivate cultural and national feelings amongst citizens. In few years hundreds of branches of Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan (here onwards referred to as Bhavan) have mushroomed across the nation and abroad as private universities and schools. The UK branch of Bhavan was the first overseas branch established in 1972 with the aim to preserve the cultural heritage of India as well as to disseminate it across nations. The cultural atmosphere of the university was modelled on the Indian belief system idolizing the teachings of

Mahatma Gandhi. Propagandizing non-violence as its core philosophy, the Bhavan sought to nurture racial unity on cultural lines.

For a developing country like India, this was a great leap economically and culturally. After the institute's establishment in London several performing artists were employed to popularize the classical art forms. Since it was a private institute, artists were paid improved salaries than those in government institutes in India. This was the first step towards establishing a foothold in the international market in the field of cultural development. Gradually the influence of the Indian performing arts tradition disseminated to the common masses of London. An increasing number of faculty members were employed from India to impart exclusive cultural knowledge to the participating students. It was thus a significant boost to the economy of India as it entered the global market for outsourcing a larger number of artists than ever before.

The employment of local artists in an international university was a major step towards reversing the flow of globalisation. Chindhale in an article on privatization of higher education in India remarks in this context. 'Globalization invites us to think globally and act locally. However, in the changing scenario, this formula needs to be reversed in its order, so that we can first, think locally and then act globally.' (Jharta and Jharta 287) Employment of artists like Sushmita Ghosh can be seen in these lights who recreate the culture of India in international space of pedagogy. As Ghosh recalls her experience with Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan and later Aakriti Dance Foundation (1998), she remembers that by the beginning of the twenty-first century, the students in UK were already aware of the Indian traditions. And now the learning experience was a communication between the two ends of the culture. While Ghosh indirectly conveyed Indian culture by her manner of dressing and asking the students to follow the same, she too was discovering a way to develop a better pedagogical system.

A few years later, a challenging opportunity in Ghosh's career appeared as she was offered the job of the first training officer of Kathak at Akademi: South Asian Dance, UK. The Akademi was established in 1979 to emancipate the status of South Asian Dance and to promote inter-cultural communication. With a similar aim in view, Ghosh in 1994 entered the Akademi to endorse Kathak in a more cosmopolitan institute supporting diverse dance forms than Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan. Sushmita Ghosh had soon accomplished the art of dance training and in 1996 was requested to design the first syllabus of Kathak for the Akademi. This was an extensive project of one and a half years which included writing a detailed manual for teachers as well. With the help of Pushkala Gopal for designing the syllabus and Nina Rajarani, for teacher's manual, the course work for Bharatnatyam was also published in the same year by the Akademi.

Although the syllabus was approved by the ISTD^{iv}, Ghosh encountered resistance from Kathak teachers like Alpana Sengupta who discouraged appropriating Kathak training according to the students. Estranged by her colleagues' antiquated teaching methodology, Ghosh returned to India in 2002 to refashion the pedagogy of Kathak on her own terms. This period in her life is important in understanding the reverse flow of learning *the* classical Indian dance with Western influences. As a UK-return teaching traditional Kathak, Sushmita Ghosh could encourage her students to look at the beauty of their tradition which even the West respected. With this view in mind, Ghosh established Aakriti Foundation in Delhi (now relocated in Gurgaon) to improve the standards of teaching Kathak and to produce an influx of the two cultures.

In the UK Ghosh had acquired knowledge of training the body for dance and the manner in which the students need to be instructed about their posture while dancing. She recalls in an interview, that during her training the gurus were not aware of the nuances of posture while performing which often resulted in health hazards. It was during her stay in the UK that she received a chance to learn aesthetics of cultivating the body to dance. With these memories fresh in her mind, she ventured into advance training in Kathak while designing the syllabus at Akademi. In a similar manner, emphasis on holding the torso straight and understanding the alignment of each movement in Kathak with the spinal cord, were some of the lessons that she incorporated in her classes in Aakriti. Acknowledging the kinaesthetic of Kathak thus became the new model that the students looked up to in her classes.

The main difference which emerged in her experience in teaching at Aakriti Foundation in the UK (founded in 1998) and in Delhi (founded in 2003) is the students' response towards training. Ghosh recalls that students in London were more receptive towards learning Indian cultural practices through the medium of Kathak, than the students in Delhi and Gurgaon. For this she feels that the Indian students have been influenced by the Western culture but in an inappropriate manner consequently neglecting one's tradition. Thus Ghosh took the responsibility of restructuring Kathak training for the local students to develop interest in their culture with an added perspective of the West. In her classes at Aakriti she encouraged her students to pursue Kathak as a hobby unlike rigorous training at Kathak Kendra, and to nurture the young minds with the knowledge of their traditional practices. These classes are often interspersed with participation in celebrating Indian festivals and learning about the culture. By asking her students to take pride in their historical culture of the nation, Ghosh is reversing the flow of migration to address the local audience.

One of the ways in which projects like these are useful for the nation's cultural development is that the students emerging from such private institutes do not perceive Kathak as a tradition to be mindlessly imitated as often promoted in government institutes like Kathak Kendra. Since innovation is encouraged and practiced in these institutes to prepare students for a competitive cultural market, their rate of progress is also remarkably better than public institutes. According to the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-07), the Government of India has proposed higher education policies, for which it has to depend on financial support from private sector. Thus government has reduced funding to public sector institutes to promote private sector contribution (Jharta and Jharta 292). Hence institutes like the Aakriti Foundation fall in this category of private sector sheltering performing art enthusiasts as well as emancipating the cultural education in India.



Sushmita Ghosh during one of her performances
Delhi Events Page)

(Picture courtesy:

III

Sushmita Ghosh as a performing artist of Kathak has made a mark in the proscenium stage in India and abroad with her performances like *Abhisarika*, *Neer*, and *Aavaahan* amongst others. These performances unlike her training methodology are not fused with western influences and intend to represent the beauty of the traditional style of performance. However, in the recent years, Ghosh's interest in performance has been replaced by her enthusiasm in studying the art form closely and watching the changes in it. Thus, besides administering and teaching Kathak at Kathak Kendra and Aakriti Foundation, Ghosh has for many years devotedly organised *Baithaks* or a confluence of artists as a platform to share experiences and presentations. These conferences that are named as "Milestones" celebrate the progressive journey of Kathak as well as promote the community of artists to emancipate the status of performing arts in the country. "Milestones" for Ghosh is reminiscent of her childhood days when her father would organise a similar *baithak* of dancers and musicians at their house in Delhi. This tradition is also an echo from the past of the first such *baithak* in 1947, on the eve of Independence by Pt. Ravi Shankar and Lala Sri Ram. By continuing the ritualistic conferences and inviting young, upcoming artists, Sushmita Ghosh is preserving the tradition with a hint of modernity.

ⁱ For further reading of Kumudini Lakhia's introduction of choreography in Kathak and the manifestation of changing perception of female dancers on stage, one may read her biography *Movement in Stills: The Dance and Works of Kumudini Lakhia* by Reena Shah.

ⁱⁱ Artists like Lacchu Maharaj joined the Bombay film industry. Many others had opened their own institutes of learning, performed independently or had receded to obscurity.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ghosh in one of the interviews mentioned that the teachers are so oblivious to the rules of not choreographing the students' performance tests that not only do they breach the regulations, they also report to her about their contribution.

^{iv} Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing, a Government funded organisation for the development of dance training in London established in 1904.

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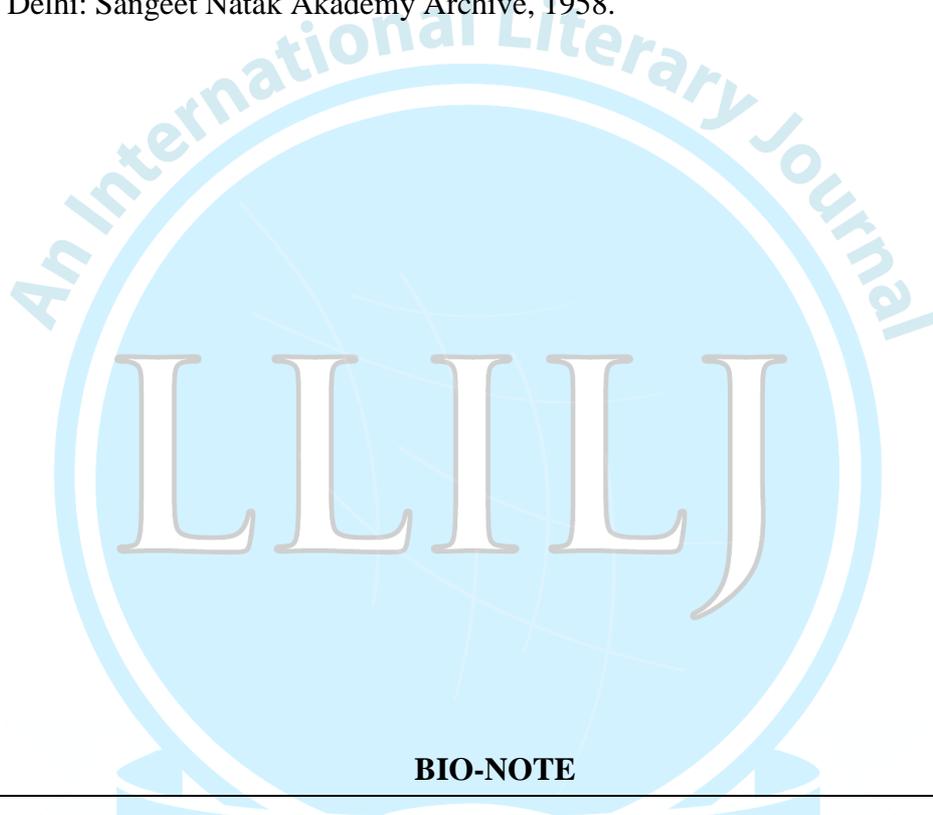
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