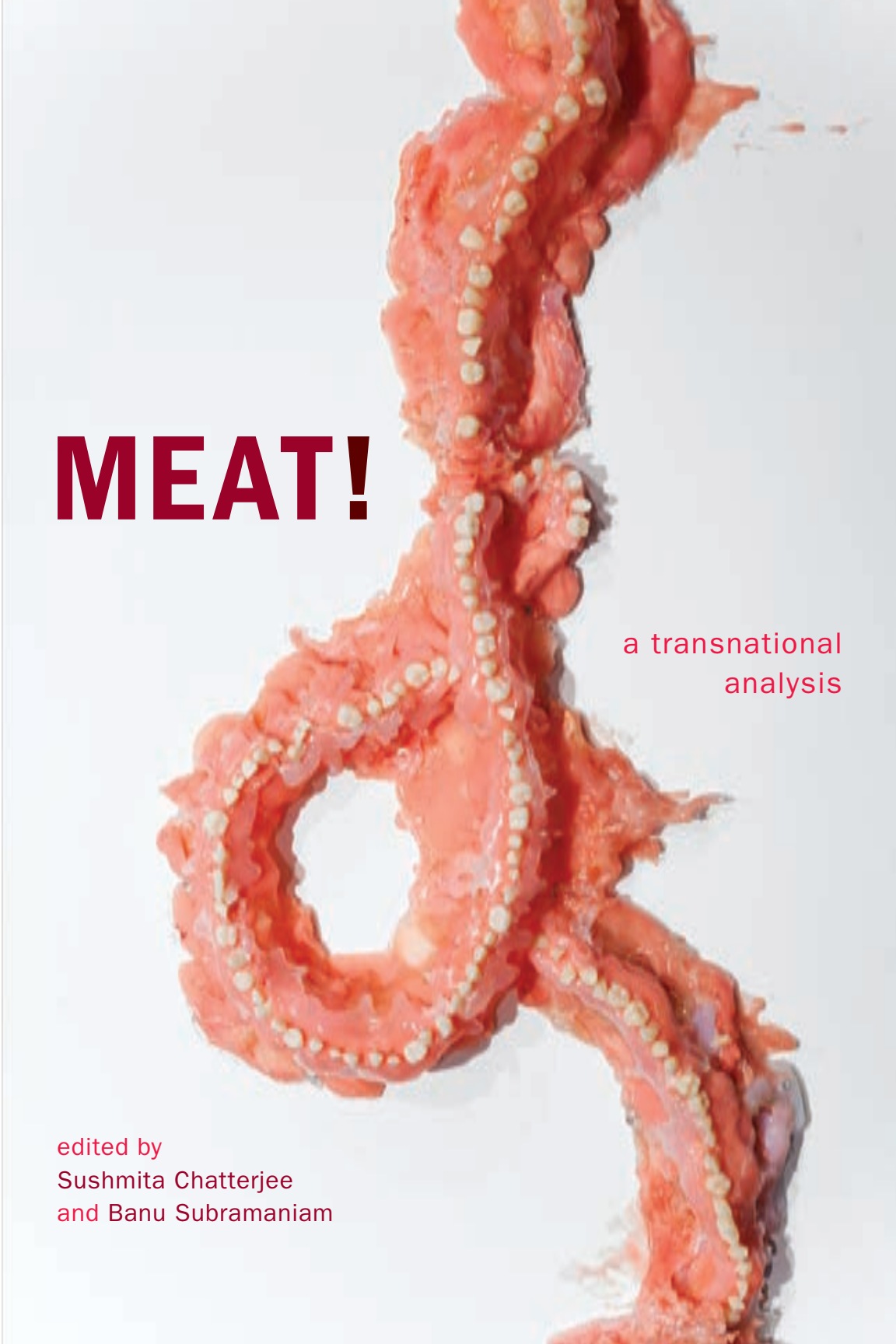
MEAT!
a transnational analysis
edited by
Sushmita Chatterjee
and Banu Subramaniam

MEAT!

BUY

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CONTENTS

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How to Think with Meat

MEAT noun \ mēt \
1 FOOD; the edible part of something as distinguished from its covering (such as a husk or shell)
2 FLESH; animal tissue considered especially as food
3 the core of something
—*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*

BY TRAVERSING THROUGH THE HEART OF EMPIRE, and along its meandering transnational routes, this collection of essays thinks with "meat." Meat, we contend, is a critical site, mobile and porous, where multiple political debates cohere. The twelve essays in this volume serve as a catalyst to open up conversations about ethics, consumption, science, race, gender, sexuality, colonialism, and postcolonialism, through a focus on meat. At first glance, meat seems like a self-evident category. Yet, as will emerge through this collection, meat proves to be much more tension-ridden: we explore how, what, and when objects become meat, the criteria by which diverse objects such as sexualized bodies and edible products may all be rendered into meat, and the invention of fake, substitute meats and meat-like products. Meat has become the center of a diverse set of politics—food politics, environmental politics, sexual politics, gender politics, body politics, maternal

politics, disability politics, class politics, religious politics, international agronomy, political economy, international law and trade through patents and trademarks—and it is important to a diverse set of issues such as social justice, vegetarianism, sustainability, climate change, pornography, and capitalism. Meat, as we discovered, mutates constantly as an object and thus needs to be studied through divergent scales of place, time, and their many entanglements. In this volume, we unravel how meat is consumable flesh, animal, food, a currency for empire; it is mother, oftentimes exotic, a sexual and racial signifier, a fetish; it can also be fish, vegetable, plant, technology, and a fierce conduit for biopolitics.

The topic of meat has a curious history and has been implicated in diverse framing mechanisms when thinking about animals, gender, sexuality, race, transnational orbits, bodies, and materiality. As a frame for consumable flesh, meat is often assumed to be dead, without agency or a voice to scream out its name. Thus, heterogeneity is collapsed under the universal equivocation of meat; sexuality and gender positioning are subsumed under its politics, and so are the violent histories of racism, slavery, misogyny, colonialism, and imperialism. We usually invoke meat to talk about a hunk of steak, women as meat, and objects, lives, conditions, divorced from social agency. But curiously, the ambit for meat keeps increasing the further we choose to see. Authors in this volume trace the transit of frozen meat, manifold technologies of making meat, becoming meat, eating meat, and bodies rendered meat through governance, sociality, and economics as the essays on beef bans, yoga, chicken, pig, and fish demonstrate. As we move through frontiers, oceans, and bodies, human and nonhuman, we encounter a rolling horizon that constitutes meat. However, it is important to underline that we do not say that everything is meat. Rather, we delve into the politics of becoming meat. As successive chapters in this book demonstrate, we are concerned with what and who becomes meat; the rendering of meat highlights configurations of political economy, identity, and technologies of power. The book aims to work toward fathoming some of these technologies, traveling with it, and showcasing its workings.

We approach "meat" as politics, a site for transnational flows, colonial circuits, and varied mediated significations of gender, race, and class. Drawing from colonial and postcolonial studies, transnational analysis, feminist science studies, queer theory, critical race theory, animal studies, and disability studies, this volume aims to push conversations in animal studies, food studies, and eco-analyses toward the volatile and power-saturated meaning of meat, an understanding of meat as a signifier of power. These

transdisciplinary mediations help draw out the potential interconnections and sites of political solidarity.

Contemporary politics is rife with activism around meat. For example, at the last Climate Change Summit in Paris, activists made a plea for less meat consumption. Paul McCartney tweeted "Less Meat = Less Heat."[1] New dietary guidelines announced in January 2016 in the United States recommended less meat for boys and men.[2] The growing sexual politics around anti-meat, grounded in ecological and ethical considerations, has been construed as "feminized" and unleashed its own backlash in movements such as MEAT (Meat Eaters Alliance Transnational), "Mankind for the Ethical Treatment of Humans," and dedicated to "the preservation and inhalation of meat and meat related products."[3] Missing from these conversations are questions of what constitutes meat. How do we respond to a global phenomenon such as climate change when keeping to local and straitjacket framings of meat? By widening the conversations about what constitutes meat, we highlight how the push and pull in conversations around meat move with a curious arrogance that seems to know the meat it talks about, notwithstanding the transmediations in every body and configuration: political, geographical, economic, and material. By highlighting the politics of what constitutes meat, we seek to draw out its varied constructions based on social exigencies, disciplinary framings, and economic rationalities.

Through the push and pull in conversations around meat and its many complexities born through capitalist, racialized, and patriarchal structures, we would like to frame the environmental consequences of a meat-eating culture, the ecological catastrophes that revolve around it. The rise of meat-eating and production among emerging economies has been accompanied by a racist backlash and global anxiety about its accompanying ecological damage. Anti-meat activists highlight the unprecedented greenhouse emissions and unsustainable levels of pollutants in air, water, and land; the spread of new kinds of viruses and bacteria; and myriad other environmental consequences that meat production entails. Not all meat has the same environmental consequences, and oftentimes eating beef is named as a major problem. But, as we shall see, these anxieties and accusations are embroiled in problematic global politics. While the environmental damages are indeed real, the renewed focus on the Third World as the site of ecological degradation is striking, especially since many of these regions are on the front lines of the devastation of climate change. As the essays in this volume show, growing ecological consideration should contextualize our understandings of anti-meat politics, as we theorize its complex entanglements

with global capitalism, including the rise of the technological innovations such as genetically modified organisms, and the emergence of fake meat. This volume contributes to environmental conversations around meat and its consequences, by signaling the importance of taking account of race, gender, empire, and power politics in rendering meat a consumable object. We beckon toward a larger picture, one that takes into account flows and forms, transits and consumption, beef bans and body politics, hog waste and xenotransplantation, to be able to build the conversation around consequences with deepened responsibility and an understanding about how different bodies are involved as meat. As conversations around environmental racism and the increase of toxicity have emphasized, we cannot presume homogeneous effects when framing these conversations, and thus we endeavor to draw attention toward power configurations on a transnational scale in order to inspire forms of action that are attentive to histories of colonialisms, racisms, ableism, and sexisms that frame "meat."

Meat is a quintessentially global object. We contend that in contemporary global politics, meat has emerged as a useful site where multiple ideologies, politics, and actions cohere. Meat changes in meaning as we travel through the world across territorial, political, cultural, and academic disciplines. An illustrative case of meat's changing meaning-play are the potent politics of the recent bans on beef-eating in certain regions of India. As several of the essays in this volume allude to, these bans cannot really be counted as a democratic insurgency toward vegetarianism, pacifism, or an anticapitalist ethos, targeted as it is toward religious antagonisms, revitalizing ideas of Hindu supremacy, and class-based politics. With the rise of religious intolerance, we see stark examples of how the politics of meat is tied to the politics of religious communalism, class interests, regionalism, ethnic and racial politics, and political party agenda-setting. Colonial expansion across the globe had its own politics of meat through widespread transportation of frozen meat, or in the introduction of new meats to territories around the world.[4] Much of colonialism transpired through the affective, the disgust in what the "other" chose to eat. As Parama Roy writes, "the stomach served as a kind of somatic political unconscious in which the phantasmagoria of colonialism came to be embodied."[5] Roy looks at the "alimentary habitus" as central to the colonial encounter.[6]

Meat also allows us to trace the postcolonial condition through its "alimentary habitus," through the stomach, arteries, flesh, senses, in communion with different spaces, through mobile transnational trajectories and border crossings. Aptly, Donna Haraway reminds us, "Follow the chicken

and find the world."[7] Understanding the routes of animal trade, dietary habits, food economics, avian flu and bioterrorism, labor, ecological politics, and bodies requires an understanding of meat. Indeed, meat is mediated through complex power relations of nation, gender, sexuality, race, class, disability, and empire, all of which need to be understood in their temporal framings. Our volume will engage with its transnational politics or the ways through which place and time territorialize and deterritorialize conceptions of what constitutes "meat."

Through different essays, this volume presents the astonishing range of issues, ideologies, and politics that cohere around meat globally. Rather than claiming "global" representation in the choice of subjects and issues surrounding meat, our volume looks at different spaces critically—the geopolitical framings of meat. The attention to geopolitics highlights connections and the interweaving of issues as they travel the world. To some, it will seem that our essays are curiously centered on South Asia, and specifically India. While our own intellectual and affective histories likely play a part, we believe that it is important to trace meat through its colonial histories, and the focus on South Asia enables us to showcase how deeply implicated meat is with colonial, anticolonial, regional, religious, and cultural politics of the subcontinent.

The various essays in the volume highlight the deeply resonant and fraught place of meat and its framing through local and global confluences. Thus, by signaling the power politics and varied stratifications premised on meat, we present glimpses into the shifting terrains of transnationalism, that is, how different communities of belonging are created and re-created through the emphasis on meat. We are attentive to the politics of framing a region as singular or monolithic as, for example, in South Asia. Thus, we complicate the construction of a region by pointing out the confluence of myriad forces, international and national, that frame an issue, and we work with a transnational methodology to pry open the politics surrounding the creation of nations and communities. Our attention to the recent beef bans in India reflects this methodology. We think together about how meat works as a conduit in transnational politics to showcase the creation of borders and the figuration of cohesive communities that refuse to be contaminated by meat-eating. By coalescing around a particular region, and critically engaging with it, we work toward illuminating the politics traversing transnational geographies and the mapping of bodies and spaces.

Meat is not easily categorized. It is not merely a singular object, sign, symbol, or one that embodies a unitary, local, or singular politics. Rather,

we understand it as a "meta" object of sorts that reveals the various nodes that connect meat; it brings together and reveals the multiplicities, complexities, and contradictions of contemporary politics. A quick perusal of the topics our authors will engage with include: How do we define "meat"? For example, is fish meat? How does fake, "bloody" vegan meat challenge our conception of meat? How do we queer veganism? Does a petri dish hamburger constitute meat? How do we make meaning of some of the varied transnational and cultural meanings of meat across the globe? How do the legacies of colonialism and empire endure in the contemporary politics of meat? How does meat figure in ethnic identity politics? Why are so many disgusted at consuming human milk, while they consume the milk of other animals unproblematically? When does cow's milk become a trope for nationalist politics or ecofeminist politics? How does meat-eating change in the context of postnuclear violence? What do North American indigenous relations tell us about eating meat and interspecies relationships? How is chicken connected to the politics of respectability for African American men? Different from the flesh of animals as meat, what are conditions under which the sacrifice of human flesh stands for hospitality and gift-giving? How do we respond to technologized, painless meat? How does the politics of beef-eating connect to yoga? What does following the pig tell us about race, gender, biotechnology, and empire? What is the relation between ash and meat? This is a large list, we admit—a veritable smorgasbord of issues, topics, methods, methodologies, histories, genealogies, and circuits! But that they all cohere around meat highlights the significance of meat as an object of inquiry. All these conversations remain productively haunted by the selective malleability and rigidity of what constitutes meat as it travels the world and its varied ethical imports.

Understanding meat as an assemblage of race, gender, sexuality, nationality, and disability means noticing the curious companionship of antagonistic ideologies. Despite the assertive declaration that "meat is bad" made by individuals and parties on different sides of the ideological spectrum such as vegan studies scholars, the Hindu right, ecological activists on climate justice, and others, we see a surprising lacuna in these conversations about what constitutes meat. Carol Adams's critique of meat as a homogeneous term based on an "absent referent" remains important in signaling unthinking consumption, lack of knowledge as to the origin of the flesh, and its sexual politics.[8] Maybe understanding meat has to grapple with this unknowability, its expanding constitutions and arterial flows. Meat as matter and political signifier has fascinating histories through space and

time, whether seen in the significance of dead animals as trophies, mutinies over eating pig or cow, how curry travels the world, McDonald's happy global family, or the increasing popularity of sushi as healthy food.[9] This volume looks at the entangled nature of conversations on meat and their mediated boundaries. We study meat through different spaces and time periods to reflect on what Elspeth Probyn terms "alimentary assemblages." As Probyn writes, "Now, beyond a model of inside and out, we are alimentary assemblages, bodies that eat with vigorous class, ethnic and gendered appetites, mouth machines that ingest and regurgitate, articulating what we are, what we eat and what eats us."[10]

Meat as alimentary assemblage is at the heart of contemporary debates in multiple fields. It can open up conversations in food studies and animal studies toward new and interesting directions. The growing popularity of animal studies on questions of binaries between human and animal, the nature of humanism, the status of nonhuman animals, animals in art and culture, anthropomorphism, and other questions has received a dizzying level of attention.[11] Some would even like to think of animal studies as divided into subgroups such as "critical animal studies, human–animal studies, and posthumanism."[12] The rich literature in animal studies has opened up different disciplines to their exclusions and investments in the "human," inspiring multiple transdisciplinary conversations on animality and animals. In addition, it has grown through critiques of its own exclusions with regard to topics of concern, areas of study, and critical deciphering of who is the "animal" and the "human" in animal studies—positions laced with power. For instance, Julie Livingston and Jasbir Puar succinctly point out that "much of posthumanist thought as well as animal studies suffers from an often unmarked Euro-American focus and through that, ironically, a philosophical resuscitation of the status of 'the human' as a transparent category."[13]

The volume also highlights the relationship of meat to food studies. The various essays highlight how "taste" is critically modulated through cultural, environmental, ethical, and technological landscapes. Moreover, the connections between animal studies and food studies are obvious, but they are oftentimes separated as different and distinct forums, journals, programs, and scholarly endeavors. Food studies, like animal studies, has evolving frames and pursuits on questions of food access, food sovereignty, the cultural politics of food, histories of food, and many other concerns. In critical engagement with food studies, Kyla Wazana Tompkins urges us to consider "critical eating studies" rather than food studies with its investment

on an object as "By reading orificially, critical eating studies theorizes a flexible and circular relation between the self and the social world."[14] Moreover, Henry Buller and Emma Roe draw our attention to the dissociations between "food" and "animals," and urge an integrative analysis.[15] They point out that "contemporary food and animal studies share a certain preoccupation with alterity and with it, a febrile engagement with ethics."[16] Engaging in these conversations on eating, food, animal, human, and differences, meat seeks to inspire conversations between animal studies, food studies, critical eating studies, feminist and queer theory, and environmental analyses to study the alimentary assemblages of flesh, climate change, technology, taste, desire, environmental justice, and many other pressing concerns of our times. Meat is food. It is animal. It is also human. Meat is eaten. Sometimes it is sacrificed without being eaten. It is tied to technology. It could also be vegetable. By drawing attention to interstitial connections, meat's maverick politics gnaws at the borders of programmable methods of inquiry.

Overall, this volume will constitute a unique intervention in thinking about animals, food, eating, and environmental issues, for many reasons. First, meat could be either dead or alive, and thinking about meat has to reckon with "animacies." As Mel Y. Chen writes, "Considering differential animacies becomes a particularly critical matter when 'life' versus 'death' binary oppositions fail to capture the affectively embodied ways that racializations of specific groups are differentially rendered."[17] Chen's critical intervention in animal studies makes us reconsider binaries between animate and inanimate, dead and alive. Meat continues this conversation through transnational trails, land and ocean bodies, toxic meat, hospitality and flesh, fake meat, xenotransplantation, meat technologies, and other issues. Second, it is important to emphasize the transnational focus of our volume. A transnational understanding of meat is indispensable in enabling analysis that moves beyond one-dimensional framings that, even in their critique of meat-eating, remain embroiled in making others meat through an ignorance of how bodies move in the world. For instance, how would vegan studies respond to the beef ban in different parts of India where outlawing meat, contrary to its meaning in some other parts of the world, stands for communalism, caste, and class violence? Invoking Jacques Derrida, it is important to understand that "One never eats entirely on one's own: this constitutes the rule underlying the statement, 'One must eat well.'"[18] Working with transnationalism necessitates an understanding of complicity and contamination between varied bodies and nations; thereby

we also situate analysis of transnationalism within nations, not simply international, as attention to indigenous relations necessitate. Third, studying meat necessitates a transdisciplinary orientation that would simultaneously de-discipline itself in order to move beyond prescribed borders. An understanding of meat in its diffused, malleable, changing connotations would add greatly to conversations in the fields that often remain stuck on static ideas of animal, vegetable, space, and time despite many attempts to maneuver otherwise. We hope that *Meat!* will act as a useful catalyst through these spaces.

Organization of the Anthology

The volume is organized into twelve essays. We start with Elspeth Probyn's essay, "When Fish Is Meat: Transnational Entanglements," which explores the framing of fish as meat, as white meat, or even as "chicken of the sea." Showcasing the insidious entanglements of fish with the politics of race, the north plundering the seas of the south, fascination for white-fleshed fish, eating fish more than a hundred years old, and many other insights, the essay draws analyses of "relatedness" further, through webs of colonialisms, sexual and racial imaginations of the north and south, and how fish swim through and get embroiled within these regimes of power. The north very much controls the market in terms of taste and naming, or even being practitioners of what counts as sustainable fishing practices. Inspiring our imaginations through deep waters, the essay helps us fathom the rolling borders of sea, fish, animal, and meat through the framing of the transnational politics of fish as meat.

Irina Aristarkhova's essay, titled "Eating the Mother," pries open questions about cannibalism by analyzing the "mother as food." Aristarkhova looks at Jess Dobkin's exhibit *The Lactation Station Breast Milk Bar* to analyze what constitutes food as liquid, solid, mother, self, and milk. She asks: "Is the mother food? And if the mother is food, then what kind of food: meat, drink, solid, liquid?" By provocatively positioning how we are all cannibals from birth, the essay moves the analysis of cannibalism toward the mother's body and drinking milk. In fact, as the author argues, life is actualized by eating the mother. The mother is meat and drink offering food to the life that she sustains. Questions of incorporation, digestion, gestation, reproduction, and other bodily co-becomings frame the analysis in this essay toward an understanding of meat that is often rendered invisible, like the mother.

Jennifer A. Hamilton, in her essay "Reindeer and Woolly Mammoths: The Imperial Transit of Frozen Meat from the North American Arctic," studies meat's entanglement within the politics of indigeneity and imperialism. By studying frozen meat in transit alongside the circulation of images and its racialized politics, the essay discusses how understanding "transits" is indispensable toward fathoming the global food supply line amid colonial and imperial processes. Brief interludes allow the author to draw out the connections between the figure of the Eskimo, meat, and its relation to "civilization" through consumption of whale blubber and specific animal products, and other images that centralize the framing of indigeneity alongside technologies of freezing and the consumption of meat. As the author points out, "I have traced how seemingly disparate phenomena—woolly mammoths and reindeer, canned meat and breakfast cereal, racial science and its nonhuman familiars—operate as nodes in the imperial transit of frozen meat."

Sushmita Chatterjee, in "Beefing Yoga: Meat, Corporeality, and Politics," invokes the transnational spread of yoga and the national beef bans spreading through many states of India. Urging us to discern stratagems of politics, the essay looks to extend conversations about "trans-corporeality" as coined by Stacy Alaimo, to understand the craft of politics and thereby situate "meat at the heart of government politics." The author asks: "What do beef and yoga as 'meat' tell us about a transnational body politic?" Comparing, contrasting, and showcasing the entangled nature of the beef bans and the emphasis on yoga, the essay uses the image of body politics to frame meat as politics. The essay emphasizes the opposing and incalculable pulls that frame body politics in transnational times, and its unforeseeable effects. Through an emphasis on "mischievous trans-corporeality," the essay unravels statecraft that works through meat.

Anita Mannur's essay, "Eating after Chernobyl: Slow Violence and Reindeer Consumption in the Postnuclear Age," examines "exotic" meat in the context of postnuclear violence. Specifically engaging with reindeer meat, the essay studies the entanglements of the right to food, environmental justice, indigeneities, and what constitutes local and exotic food. By drawing our attention to various locales, from Jungle Jim's in Cincinnati to London's Borough Market, New Nordic cuisine and its spreading through Finland, Iceland, Greenland, and Sami herders in Scandinavia, the essay interrogates questions connected to culinary framings and its politics. Mannur showcases the many erasures in framings of local meat as safe and without contamination, and frames how in our attention to fetishizing the local

we forget the transnational effects of nuclear catastrophes, which makes thinking of pure local food or meat a naïve proposition inattentive to the many forms of violence.

In "Romancing the Pig: A Queer Crip Tale from Barbecue to Xenotransplantation," Kim Q. Hall writes about entanglements between barbecue, xenotransplantation, queerness, and disability, which formulate an intimate politics of empire. As Hall writes, "My focus on romancing the pig aims to get to the heart of the matter about the materialization of the pig as a biopolitical site of a transnational politics that circulates beneath the skin and distinguishes between self and other in discourses of health, disability, and belonging." By critically engaging with frontiers, borders, and territorial movements between and through bodies, skins, and waste, the essay frames how pigs "become meat." Contesting notions of purity in meat and in politics, the essay contextualizes the racism and ableism sweeping through much of what becomes meat. Contesting romanticized notions of meat, and romancing the pig by deconstructing its usages, politics, and ethics, the essay foregrounds the "messy hybridities that make up bodies and worlds."

Parama Roy's essay, titled "On Being Meat: Three Parables on Sacrifice and Violence," uses three parables from early modern England, ancient Indic, and contemporary India to decipher varied frames of carnivory in relation to human self-sacrifice. These examples of human edibility and interspecies sacrifice instantiated for the flourishing of nonhuman life signal toward an "ethics not wholly governed by anthropocentrism." Taking up varied instances of "killability" in human bodies as different from animal life, which has dominated discussions, the essay points toward instances where flesh and life are separated as such, and the differences between consumption of flesh and sacrifice of flesh. For instance, Roy narrates instances of gift-giving that involve giving one's ears, eyes, hands, and other parts of the body, as seen in Buddhist literature. The gifts, as Roy illustrates, are "composed simultaneously of flesh and spirit," and constitute a "sacrifice of the bloody animal sacrifice demanded by Brahmanical ritual." It thus constitutes the "sacrifice of sacrifice." And, in this moment of self-sacrifice and becoming meat, the body is transformed into a higher being and qualifies to become Buddha.

In "'I Hide in Plain Sight': Food and Black Masculinity in Vince Gilligan's *Breaking Bad*," Psyche Williams-Forson examines representations of black masculinity through meat, especially chicken. Through a close reading of the character of Gus, Williams-Forson demonstrates the close association

between black men and chicken used to affirm and play against stereotypical framings. As the author points out, "chicken is used to shield as much as it is used to highlight Gus's blackness, his masculinity, and his performances of respectability." Gus works at keeping his illegal activities hidden by using chicken, and it is this mechanism that enables him to be a respectable actor. The author demonstrates the intricate workings of the politics of meat in identity work, among black men in this case, to showcase the myriad ways through which it works. While chickens are used to stereotypically portray black men and women and with racist tones, chickens are also used by black men and women to affirm themselves and to subvert the status quo of one-dimensional associations.

Neel Ahuja, in "On Phooka: Beef, Milk, and the Framing of Animal Cruelty in Late Colonial Bengal," writes about dairy practices in the context of cow blowing. Ahuja writes about the reverence bestowed on the cow as mother by Hindu nationalism, and the colonial state with its animal welfare policing. The construction of "the bovine question," Ahuja argues, helps us understand the continuation of cow protection vigilance and its rhetoric. As the author writes, "In its uneven representation of human–bovine intimacies, the colonial archive—especially legislative debates and administrative memoranda concerning animal welfare and dairying practices—offers a path for rethinking the disjunction of beef and dairy that guides most historiography of cow protection." By drawing our attention to the practice of phooka and intense debates surrounding it in colonial Bengal, this essay helps frame animal welfare policing around practices of witnessing that help validate claims of certain forms of cruelty, while obscuring others.

Angela Willey's essay, titled "Fake Meat: A Queer Commentary," uses the means of autobiography to queer vegan food and fake meat. Framing the "sexual politics of meat" in terms of queer vegan politics, this essay draws us through storytelling practices, the practices and pleasures of place and identity working in what constitutes meat, and the author's own narrative in making meaning of the confluence of events, relations, and people that cross her life and thinking about meat. Framing the issue of fake meat around sexual ethics, and with sparkling humor, Willey writes, "we might yet queer veganism by cultivating a far richer lexicon for practices of undermining cultures of killability."

In "The Ethical Impurative: Elemental Frontiers of Technologized Meat," Banu Subramaniam explores the purity politics in religious frames around the beef bans in India, and the technological imperatives of making safe meat separate from the ethical, political, and ecological concerns around

eating "real" meat. Questioning the ethics and the purity politics around categories of meat, vegetable, plant, technology, and religious politics, Subramaniam writes, "I worry that ethics is not the best frame through which to examine the politics of food." Confronting categories believed to be pristine and pure, the essay challenges the meaning of meat and its effects. By inviting readers into her own personal history, the author bridges conversations on meat between the personal, political, technological, and ethical. Dispelling myths of a vegetarian India, the essay traces the horrific violence surrounding beef bans in India. Concomitantly, we also notice the ironic proliferation of new technologies, "technologies of harm reduction," which muddy the borders between categories of meat and plants and "de-animalize the animal." By drawing attention to and prying open questions of "purity" surrounding meat, the author presents analyses in food and animal studies with a provocative impetus.

In an afterword, Mel Y. Chen in "Fire and Ash" reckons with the politics of meat by noting that "meat is a truly weird thing" that connotes substance and "nonintegrity" through widely varied meaning-plays. By noting how meat and air work environmentally, in tandem, and coagulate with fire and ash, Chen urges us to think through the "interconnectedness" of bodies, meat, air, and ash, noting all the while that "they are not the same ash." Indeed, thinking with meat, "How to enflesh this air-meat's nonintegrity?"

Conclusion

Overall, in considering meat as a transnational object, our attention to transnationalism works with varied mappings. Meat, here, does not simply displace the universal Western human critiqued as the bias of animal studies and food studies. Instead, we study mappings, transits, and movements to understand the slippery oscillations between nationalism and transnationalism; we track nationalism's ability to rear its head stubbornly over and over again; and we trace the multiple, intersecting transnationalisms even within nationalisms. We traverse with our analyses from global oceans to cellular levels when studying fish as meat or xenotransplantation. Attention to mappings has to reckon with their constructed nature, with technologies of intervention, and the constant oscillations of time. With attention to mappings, the essays in this volume study contemporary uses and forms of meat, alongside examples from the past, cognizant of the fugitive mobility of time in keeping intact and changing formulations of meat. We look anew at constructions of "local" and "global," through examinations of transits of

frozen meat and the transportation of exotic meat. Technologies of meat in terms of real or fake meat enable us to study its configuration from laboratories to farms, queer sexual politics, and body politics. Continuing the conversations on "entanglements," "intimacies," and "viscous porosity," this compilation of essays studies framings of meat through empire and imperialism with a serious attention to mappings and their undoing in space and time.[19]

In addition, the question of ethics—the "right" and/or "wrong"—remains a vexing problem for most of the essays. Rather than a quick denunciation, which loses the many nuances in the questions under review, we work with ethics as a mode of understanding entanglements and curious similarities and differences that prevent an easy solution. When becoming meat is also tantamount to becoming Buddha, how do we stake a morally higher ground on all forms of meat? When fake meat could signal a queering of veganism, is there a straight response? When yoga and the beef bans are connected, and yoga also helps millions around the world, should we practice selective appropriation? What is pure meat, and how do we reckon with its contaminations and retain a pure ethics? Is there an ethics beyond anthropocentrism? Multiple questions jostle for attention through this volume, its collage demanding thinking with complexity about the multihued politics of meat. As we hope to demonstrate in this volume, it is important to "Think with Meat," and how we do it has to be attentive to power relations: geopolitics, gender, sexuality, race, and empire, among others.

Notes

1 "Paris Climate Change Summit, and the Taboo of Meat-Eating," *Euronews*, September 12, 2015, http://www.euronews.com/2015/12/09/paris-climate-change-summit-and-the-taboo-of-meat-eating/.

2 Anahad O'Connor, "New Diet Guidelines Urge Less Sugar for All and Less Meat for Boys and Men," *New York Times*, January 7, 2016, http://well.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/01/07/new-diet-guidelines-urge-less-sugar-for-all-and-less-meat-for-boys-and-men/.

3 Meat Eaters Alliance, Facebook group, https://www.facebook.com/Meat-Eaters-Alliance-Transnational-MEAT-1281680272554 96/info/?tab=page_info.

4 See Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Joanna Radin and Emma Kowal, eds., *Cryopolitics: Frozen Life in a Melting World* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017).

5 Parama Roy, *Alimentary Tracts: Appetites, Aversions, and the Postcolonial* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 7.

6 Roy, *Alimentary Tracts*, 7.

7 Donna J. Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 274.

8 Carol J. Adams, *Neither Man nor Beast: Feminism and the Defense of Animals* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 16.

9 See Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010); Elspeth Probyn, *Carnal Appetites: FoodSex-Identities* (London: Routledge, 2000); Uma Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third World Feminism* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

10 Probyn, *Carnal Appetites*, 32.

11 Matthew Calarco traces the multidisciplinary origin of animal studies and lays out two incessant questions that define much of the field: "One question concerns the being of animals, or 'animality,' and the other concerns the human–animal distinction." Matthew Calarco, *Zoographies: The Question of the Animal from Heidegger to Derrida* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 2.

12 Laura Wright, *The Vegan Studies Project: Food, Animals, and Gender in the Age of Terror* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 11.

13 Julie Livingston and Jasbir K. Puar, "Interspecies," *Social Text 106* 29, no. 1 (2011): 5.

14 Kyla Wazana Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the 19th Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 3.

15 Henry Buller and Emma Roe, *Food and Animal Welfare* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 11.

16 Buller and Roe, *Food and Animal Welfare*, 13.

17 Mel Y. Chen, *Animacies: Biopolitics, Racial Mattering, and Queer Affect* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 10.

18 Jacques Derrida, "'Eating Well,' or the Calculation of the Subject: An Interview with Jacques Derrida," in *Who Comes after the Subject?*, edited by Eduardo Cadava, Peter Connor, and Jean-Luc Nancy (New York: Routledge, 1991), 115.

19 See Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Nancy Tuana, "Viscous Porosity: Witnessing Katrina," in *Material Feminisms*, edited by Stacy Alaimo and Susan Heckman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); Kath Weston, *Animate Planet* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

within anthropocentric hierarchies of privilege. But if Jonson's poem suggests in its details that anthropocentric privilege rests upon uncertain ground, the examples that showcase human or superhuman sacrifice *for* rather than *of* the animal attest that such privilege is not easily banished or superseded either. The Bodhisattva's virile self-sacrifice on behalf of nonhuman beneficiaries seems on occasion to be prompted as much by his own yearning for sacrifice as by the needs of those to whom he offers his flesh or other parts of his body. In any event, it is his capacity to render himself as meat that seals him in his status as an enlightened being, translated above mere mortals like animals or even other humans. In contrast, Bishnoi forms of sacrifice for and nurture of the animal, especially in the everyday form of suckling, seem to be exempt from the logics of human supremacism and heroic spiritual elevation. Yet even such a hospitable vision of interspecies care is not without its caste-marked limits, given its hierarchies of (pure) vegetarian animals worth saving and (impure) carnivorous ones that must be guarded against.

The point of such an exercise in parabolic concatenation is not necessarily to establish hierarchies of nonanthropocentric virtue, or indeed to proclaim that all endeavors at guarding against anthropocentric hierarchy must necessarily meet their limits. That the latter is true is undeniable; yet knowing this does not exempt us from striving toward this goal. At the same time, what constitutes a departure from anthropocentrism needs always to be subject to skeptical investigation. The point of examining both the scenarios of naturalized carnivory and those of anticarnivorous advocacy is to develop a certain modesty about presuming too quickly that we know what the meanings are of meat, anthropocentric privilege, or the sacrifice of animal sacrifice.

Notes

1 Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 80. For a complex elaboration of the affects attached to killing and killability, see Bhrigupati Singh and Naisargi Dave, "On the Killing and Killability of Animals: Nonmoral Thoughts for the Anthropology of Ethics," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35, no. 2 (August 2015): 232–45.

2 Peter Remien, "'Home to the Slaughter': Noah's Ark and the Seventeenth-Century Country House Poem," *Modern Philology* 113, no. 4 (May 2016): 507.

3 The Jataka tales were composed over many centuries. They may be found in an assortment of Buddhist texts, the largest and most famous of which is the

Jātakatthavannanā or *Jātakatthakathā* (Commentary on the Jātaka), a Pāli-language Theravāda collection of almost 550 stories from the fifth century CE. Naomi Appleton, "Jataka," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*, accessed February 7, 2019, oxfordre.com/religion.

4 Jill Robbins, "Sacrifice," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, edited by Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 286.

5 Kimberley Patton, "Animal Sacrifice: Metaphysics of the Sublimated Victim," in *A Communion of Subjects: Animals in Religion, Science, and Ethics*, edited by Paul Waldau and Kimberley Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 392 (italics in original).

6 Robbins, "Sacrifice," 287 (italics in original).

7 Hent de Vries, *Religion and Violence: Philosophical Perspectives from Kant to Derrida* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 201. Though the pre–Second Temple sacrificial order that is superceded with the emergence of Christianity is orchestrated primarily around animal sacrifice, it may also on rare occasions admit the possibility of human sacrifice, as the stories of Abraham and Isaac and of Jephthah and his daughter underline.

8 David Grumett and Rachel Muers, *Theology on the Menu: Asceticism, Meat and Christian Diet* (London: Routledge, 2010), 108.

9 Grumett and Muers note that rituals of animal sacrifice persisted in some, primarily Orthodox, Christian communities into the twentieth century (*Theology on the Menu*, 109–15).

10 Grumett and Muers, *Theology on the Menu*, 5, 8–11.

11 Augustine, *City of God*, translated by Marcus Dods (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2009), 31.

12 On Augustine, and especially Aquinas, on nonhuman animals, see Karl Steel, *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), chapter 3 and passim. For a consideration of the more theriophilic dimensions of the three great Abrahamic religions, see Kimberley C. Patton, "'He Who Sits in the Heavens Laughs': Recovering Animal Theology in the Abrahamic Traditions," *Harvard Theological Review* 93, no. 4 (October 2000): 401–34.

13 William A. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 7–17.

14 McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry*, 118.

15 Robert Applebaum, *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup, and Other Gastronomic Interjections* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 118–36.

16 Ben Jonson, "To Penshurst," ll. 29–38, in *Ben Jonson and the Cavalier Poets*, edited by Hugh McLean (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 22. Also see the following lines from Thomas Carew's "To Saxham": "The Pheasant, Partiridge, and the Larke, / Flew to thy house, as to the Arke. / The willing Oxe, of himselfe came / Home to the slaughter, with the Lambe, / And every beast did thither bring / Himselfe, to be an offering. / The scalie herd, more pleasure tooke, / Bath'd in

thy dish, then in the brooke: / Water, Earth, Ayre, did all conspire, / To pay their tributes to thy fire" (164).

17 Alastair Fowler, "Country House Poems: The Politics of a Genre," *The Seventeenth Century* 1, no. 1 (1986): 8. The word "painted" invites us to read these lines about animals turning themselves into meat as an analogue to nature morte/still life painting; the genre assumed ostentatious form in the large-format game pieces of seventeenth-century Flemish painters such as Frans Snyders, Jan Fyt, and Jan Weenix. I thank Irina Aristarkhova for suggesting this possibility to me.

18 Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 30.

19 Remien, "'Home to the Slaughter,'" 519.

20 Erica Fudge, *Animal* (London: Reaktion, 2002), 77.

21 On Jonsonian gluttony, see Bruce T. Boehrer, "Renaissance Overeating: The Sad Case of Ben Jonson," *PMLA* 105, no. 5 (October 1990): 1071–82.

22 See, in contrast, Robert Herrick's "The Hock Cart," which draws attention to the animal flesh that features largely in the Earl of Westmoreland's largesse, or to Jonson's own "Inviting a Friend to Supper," which is not shy about enumerating the carnivorous attractions of his table.

23 Patton, "Animal Sacrifice," 393.

24 Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, translated by W. D. Halls (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964 [1898]), 33.

25 Brian K. Smith, "Eaters, Food, and Social Hierarchy in India: A Dietary Guide to a Revolution in Values," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 58, no. 2 (1990): 177. "Meat is indeed the best kind of food," proclaims the Satapatha Brahmana, quite unreservedly (cited in Smith, "Eaters, Food, and Social Hierarchy in India," 197). Also see Francis Zimmerman, *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), for the "violent therapeutics" of the Ayurveda. In a later period—most notably in the era of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, the treatise on statecraft composed and redacted between the second century BCE and the third century of the Christian era—matsyanyaya became an emblem of ungoverned, prepolitical life, where might established right.

26 Kathryn McClymond, "Death Be Not Proud: Reevaluating the Role of Killing in Sacrifice," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 6, no. 3 (December 2002): 226 (italics in original).

27 Huber and Mauss, *Sacrifice*, 34.

28 Huber and Mauss, *Sacrifice*, 34.

29 Patton, "Animal Sacrifice," 396.

30 Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Bare Facts of Ritual," *History of Religions* 20, nos. 1–2 (August–November 1980), 120.

31 Wendy Doniger, *The Hindus: An Alternative History* (New York: Penguin, 2009), 115–16.

32 Smith, "The Bare Facts of Ritual," 125.

33 See, for instance, J. C. Heesterman, "Non-Violence and Sacrifice," *Indologica Taurinensia* 12 (1984): 119–27.

34 Smith, "Eaters, Food, and Social Hierarchy in India," 197. Uma Chakravarti has an account of the antagonism between sramanas and Brahmans in early Buddhist literature; see "Renouncer and Householder in Early Buddhism," *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology*, No. 13 (May 1983): 70–83.

35 Reiko Ohnuma, "Jataka," in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, vol. 1, edited by Robert E. Buswell Jr. (New York: Thomson Gale, 2004), 400–401.

36 Reiko Ohnuma, *Bodily Self-Sacrifice in Indian Buddhist Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2007), 141.

37 Interestingly, the usual criticism of extreme asceticism in Buddhist soteriological practice coexists with the exaltation of extreme self-punishment in the pursuit of dehadana.

38 By Ohnuma's reckoning, some 20 percent of the Pali Jatakas feature the Buddha in a prior male animal incarnation; these run the gamut from lion and elephant to pig, dog, vulture, and mouse. Reiko Ohnuma, *Unfortunate Destiny: Animals in the Indian Buddhist Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 42–43, 183–85. In these anthropomorphic incarnations the Bodhisattva speaks, reasons, and acts like a perfected human being.

39 When the tale is told in the Hindu epic the *Mahabharata*, King Shibi first offers the hawk "a steer, a boar, a deer, or even a buffalo" in exchange for the dove, and does not proffer his own flesh until challenged to do so by the hawk. Vyasa, "King Shibi Saves the Dove from the Hawk," *Norton Anthology of World Religions*, vol. 1, edited by Jack Miles et al. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2015), 171–72. This may be an indication of the more wavering commitment to ahimsa against nonhuman life in Hinduism, or it might index the difference in genre between the Jataka tale and the Hindu epic.

40 Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970 [1932]), 183.

41 Ohnuma, *Bodily Self-Sacrifice*, 279, 82–84. Another famous non-Jataka tale of tenderness toward nonhuman life involves the Mahayana monk Asanga, who attained enlightenment by demonstrating compassion to an animal. Unsuccessful at a twelve-year period of meditation, he emerges from his cave to encounter an old dog with a suppurating wound infested with maggots. Wishing to relieve the dog but unwilling to cause harm to the maggots, he cuts off a piece of flesh from his own thigh and transfers the maggots to it, using his tongue to effect the transfer. As a result of this, he is rewarded with a vision of the future Buddha Maitreya. See Robert Thurman, "Introduction," in *Tsong Khapa's Speech of Gold in the Essence of True Eloquence: Reason and Enlightenment in the Central Philosophy of Tibet*, translated by Robert Thurman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 28–29.

42 Ohnuma, *Bodily Self-Sacrifice*, 54.

43 Maria Heim, *Theories of the Gift in South Asia: Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain Reflections on Dana* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 40. Many scholars of Indic thought and South Asian anthropology have described the anonymous, asymmetrical, and unreciprocated forms of giving involved in some varieties of dana. But while the donor's gifts are unreciprocated by the recipient, there is a general understanding that this is treasure laid up in heaven; a return will come from elsewhere. For the many different aspects of this argument, see Jonathan Parry, "The Gift, the Indian Gift, and the 'Indian Gift,'" *Man* 21, no. 3 (September 1986): 453–73; Gloria Goodwin Raheja, *The Poison in the Gift: Ritual, Prestation, and the Dominant Caste in a North Indian Village* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); James Laidlaw, "A Free Gift Makes No Friends," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6, no. 4 (December 2000): 617–34.

44 Reiko Ohnuma, "Animal Doubles of the Buddha," *Humanimalia* 7, no. 2 (2016): 3–4.

45 Ohnuma, *Unfortunate Destiny*, xiii.

46 Ohnuma, *Bodily Self-Sacrifice*, 126. Sacrificing one's flesh for animals, especially birds, is not unknown in the Jain and (Hindu) Shaiva traditions; for the latter, see Carl Olson, "The Saiva Mystic, Self Sacrifice, and Creativity," *Religion* 10, no. 1 (1980): 32, 33. But a discussion of this is outside the scope of this chapter.

47 Karl Steel, "Abyss: Everything Is Food," *postmedieval* 4, no. 1 (2013): 93–104. Also see his blog posts, especially "Man Is the Pasture of Being, Part 2: Sky Burial, Mostly Persian," July 26, 2015, https://medievalkarl.com/2015/07/26/man-is-the-pasture-of-being-part-2-sky-burial-mostly-persian/, and "Man Is the Pasture of Being 3: Mandeville in Tibet, at Long Last," August 8, 2015, http://www.inthemedievalmiddle.com/2015/08/man-is-pasture-of-being-3-mandeville-in.html, for a comprehensive account of medieval European knowledge about sky burial (accessed September 30, 2016).

48 Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 327. Ladwig describes the renowned Bodhisattva Vessantara—he who proves his fitness for reincarnation as the Buddha by giving away his wife and children—as "a sort of Buddhist Ubermensch who increasingly moves away from the 'justice of commoners,' which according to Nietzsche is based on the principle of reciprocity." Patrice Ladwig, "Emotions and Narrative: Ethical Giving and Ethical Ambivalence in the Lao Vessantara Jataka," in *Readings of the Vessantara Jataka*, edited by Steven Collins (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 67.

49 Pankaj Jain, *Dharma and the Ecology of Hindu Communities: Sustenance and Sustainability* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 59. Some of the rules, especially those pertaining to the filtration of water and milk to prevent the ingestion of minute life forms below the threshold of visibility, appear to be indebted to the norms of Jain practice.

50 Jain, *Dharma and the Ecology of Hindu Communities*, 52–56.

51 Alexis Reichert, "Sacred Trees, Sacred Deer, Sacred Duty to Protect: Exploring Relationships between Humans and Nonhumans in the Bishnoi Community" (MA thesis, Department of Classics and Religious Studies, University of Ottawa, 2015), 100–102. In contemporary India, religious and caste bigotry is often couched in imputations of "impure" dietary practices.

52 R. J. Fisher, *If Rain Doesn't Come: An Anthropological Study of Drought and Human Ecology in Western Rajasthan* (Sydney: Manohar, 1997), 69–70.

53 K. S. Sankhala and Peter Jackson, "People, Trees and Antelopes in the Indian Desert," in *Culture and Conservation: The Human Dimension in Environmental Planning*, edited by Jeffrey A. McNeely and David Pitt (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 209.

54 Franck Vogel and Benoit Segur, *The Bishnoi* [documentary] (Gedeon Programmes, 2011); Reichert, "Sacred Trees, Sacred Deer, Sacred Duty to Protect," 76.

55 Reichert, "Sacred Trees, Sacred Deer, Sacred Duty to Protect," 24.

56 Barry Bearak, "Nature-Loving Indians Turn Poachers into Prey," *New York Times*, November 29, 1998.

57 Jacques Derrida, *Given Time: 1. Counterfeit Money*, translated by Peggy Kamuf (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 6 (italics in original).

58 Derrida, *Given Time*, 7 (italics in original).

59 Jacques Derrida, *The Gift of Death*, translated by David Wills (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 95.

60 Sankhala and Jackson, "People, Trees and Antelopes in the Indian Desert," 208. Rajputs are members of (mostly Hindu) patrilineal clans of western and central India.

61 Sankhala and Jackson, "People, Trees and Antelopes in the Indian Desert," 208; Sanjoy Hazarika, "Sect in India Guards Desert Wildlife," *New York Times*, February 2, 1993.

62 Reichert, "Sacred Trees, Sacred Deer, Sacred Duty to Protect," 24. Narayan notes, "Young men from the community have even formed vigilante groups with names like 'Commando Force' and 'Tiger Force' to protect the animal from poachers." Krishna Narayan, "Who Killed One of India's Wildlife Commandos?," *Nova*, January 20, 2016, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/next/nature/vigilante-conservation/.

63 The Bishnoi are not by any means the only human community to engage in the practice of interspecies suckling. See James Serpell, *In the Company of Animals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996 [1986]), 61–65, for anthropological evidence of several such communities around the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

64 On the other hand, an ethnography of the multispecies world that the Bishnoi inhabit suggests that these are anomalous rather than common practices, resorted to when more conventional methods of feeding have proved unavailing.

Reichert, "Sacred Trees, Sacred Deer, Sacred Duty to Protect," 66. But there is no doubt that they have occurred in several instances.

65 Alan D. Schrift, "Logics of the Gift in Cixous and Nietzsche: Can We Still Be Generous?," *Angelaki* 6, no. 2 (August 2001): 113–23.

66 This is not to deny the widespread use of wet-nursing, which suggests that maternal milk has been, and continues to be, a commodity in the marketplace. I am speaking rather to the fetishistic meanings commonly attached to human maternal milk once eighteenth-century reformers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau championed exclusive maternal breast-feeding as paradigmatic of enlightened female domesticity. See Irina Aristarkhova's essay in this volume for an account of the questions that are raised when human breast milk comes to circulate outside the restricted economies of mothers and their biological children.

67 See, for instance, Charnamrit Sachdeva, "'I Breastfeed Deer Because They Are Like My Own Children': The Bishnoi Mothers Who Use Their Own Breast Milk to Rear Wild Fawns," *Daily Mail*, April 29, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3564005/I-breastfeed-deer-like-one-family.html, and Shailaja Tripathi, "A Woman and a Baby Chinkara," *The Hindu*, August 16, 2013, http://www.thehindu.com/features/metroplus/society/a-woman-and-a-baby-chinkara/article5029062.ece.

68 Tripathi, "A Woman and a Baby Chinkara." The speaker is Kiran Bishnoi's husband, Shyam Sunder Bishnoi.

69 Wendy Doniger, *On Hinduism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 488.

70 Derrida, *The Gift of Death*, 68–70.

71 Thomas Keenan, *Fables of Responsibility: Aberrations and Predicaments in Ethics and Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 28.

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