Chapter - I

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

In the decade of 1990s, economic policy of India shifted from welfare oriented state controlled to the neo liberal competitive market oriented economy. The change is attributed to the contemporary wave of globalisation. Globalisation in its current phase has been described as an unprecedented compression of time and space reflected in the tremendous intensification of social, political, economic, and cultural interconnections and interdependencies on a global scale (Steger 2004). It engrossed near about all the aspects of human life in India - individual as well as collective. The present study is an attempt to understand the implications of this development on Dalit politics\(^1\) in general in India and political identity\(^2\) of the educated Dalits in Mumbai in particular.

It is revealed that experiences of globalisation vary as per the social and political location of a person or community. People living in various parts of the world are affected differently. According to Steger (2004), it generated enormous wealth and opportunity for the privileged few, and pushed many to the conditions of poverty and hopelessness. Similar concerns are expressed by a section of scholars from India. According to Teltumbde (2004), Dalits being traditionally oppressed and more vulnerable, immediately fell prey to these forces. Thorat (2004) observes that economic discrimination in general and market discrimination in particular not only lead to income inequalities and high degree of deprivation for discriminated groups and induce inter-group conflict, but also effect economic growth. Thus, globalisation is viewed as disadvantageous to weaker sections of the society.

Globalisation and Fragmentation of Society

Globalisation is largely viewed as an economic phenomenon. Economic environment is an important determinant of the nature of the political process in any given society. Especially in a democracy, economic policies influence the production and distribution of resources that in turn shape the attitudes and perceptions of individual citizens towards various social and political entities. Steigerwald (2004) aptly reports this interconnection between economy and

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\(^{1}\) Dalit Politics is the democratic struggle of socially excluded castes to achieve objectives of social, economical, political justice in India, which began in first quarter of the 20\(^{\text{th}}\) century.

\(^{2}\) Detailed discussion over the meaning of the term is made on pages 11-12 of the present report.
politics with serious implications on social and cultural bases of identity construction. According to him, economic changes induced by the state or the market, created a new political environment in which political actors started to redefine their roles. It brought on the surface, the paradox of identity assertion of racial and ethnic minorities and its inclusion in an alienated world designed by consumerism. Steger (2004) added with the idea of fragmentation of such political groups, based on segments of caste, language or region, into sub-segments to search for their political spaces and each sub-segment, in its sub-sub segment, and so on. The process of globalisation has gone together with the exploration of several narrow, local spaces in the society.

It is held that globalisation has encouraged the growth of ethnic identities. It has reduced the effective power of the nation state. Globalisation implies that national borders be reduced to the administrative contours. This suggests that nation-states in a traditional sense will not be considered as a highest ideal for its citizens to unite under one banner and they need not to sacrifice their narrow loyalties towards their ethnic groups. The effect of this has been that ethnic movements have got more room to grow. It has encouraged the growth of ethnic identities in a reactive sense. Ethno-nationalism has held out a promise of cultural preservation and political autonomy at a local level (Sarangi 2005).

Dalits and Identity Politics in India

The Dalit literally means ‘the broken one’ the one who is oppressed and exploited by the hegemonic social structure. The term is popularly used to identify ‘ex-untouchables’, constitutionally referred to as ‘scheduled castes’ (SC) and ‘scheduled tribes’ (ST) in India. The Dalits in India carry an identity, which is ascribed to them as a result of their birth in the lowest strata of the caste based on social hierarchy of the Hindu social order, which carry stigma of untouchability. It implies deprivation, denigration, subjugation, and exploitation. Pinto (1999) observes that while in the rural areas, Dalits cannot enter the higher caste sections of villages, visit the same temples, drink water or tea from the same cups or glasses, in urban centres caste operates in more subtle ways in recruitment for jobs, promotions and career advancements. According to Berreman (1960), such inhuman status is universally resented and struggled against as no group of people is content to be low in a caste hierarchy -to live a life of inherited deprivation and subjection- regardless of the rationalization offered to them by their superiors.
or consented by them. M.N. Srinivas (1962) conceptualized the social process of escaping from the consequences of belonging to the lower caste and status as ‘Sanskritisation’ (caste emulation). Barreman (1972) interpreted these escape roots as an attempt to shed that identity, either through dissimulation (passing) or through movement to places or milieux where it is wholly or largely irrelevant. Individual mobility to caste-free occupations and middle-class status is common among the financially and educationally fortunate. Tajfel and Turner (1986) outlined three strategies by which individuals can deal with being a member of a devalued group; individual mobility, social creativity and social competition.

The Dalits in India are engaged by various means in struggle for shedding their stigmatized identity. According to Barreman (1972) such accorded identity is mostly maintained due to the power of oppressor, any loosening of its grip is used by the oppressed as an opportunity to shed it. In pre-independence India, liberal education of British, their mighty state apparatus, improved means of communication and transportation and industrialization brought change in the traditional power structure of Hindu social order.

The Politics of emancipation and the politics of identity assertion are parallel trends in the assertion of these marginalized groups. Phule⁴ and later Shahu Chhatrapati⁵ attempted to immerse diverse identities of lower castes in the idea of Bahujan/Non Brahman. Ambedkar⁶ attempted to constitute an identity of lower castes as Labour. But soon he formed the All India Scheduled Caste Federation (AISCF). By the time of his death he envisioned the Republican movement which could dissolve identities of Caste and Class. His conversion to Buddhism with his followers added religious identity as Buddhist to the later politics of Dalits, especially in Maharashtra. In the year 1972, the Dalit Panther Movement tried to reconcile the differences among various identities by broadly defining the term ‘Dalit’. In 1993 the Republican Party of

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⁴ Jotirao Phule (1827-1890) born in Pune, in the Mali (gardener) caste, falls in the category of Shudra Castes, was ardent champion of the rights of marginalized people includes women, untouchables, shudras and peasants. He started first school for women as well as for untouchables in Pune. His famous works are Brahmanache Kasab (1869) Gulamgiri (1873) and Shetkaryacha Aasud (1883), in which he criticised the Brahmin hegemony as responsible for the plight of the commoners in India.

⁵ Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj (1874-1922), the ruler of princely state of Kolhapur, carried comprehensive administrative, economic and social reforms during his reign like abolition of bonded labour and of Mahar, Kulkarni and other hereditary vatans, 50 percent reservation in government services for backward classes and boarding houses and educational facilities for them.

⁶ Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956), known for his contribution to the Constitution of India as chairman of the Drafting Committee, himself born in a lowest untouchable caste of Mahar, led the historic struggle of untouchables for their rights in India. He operated mostly from Mumbai region, has 24 volumes of his writings and speeches at his credit, published posthumously by Government of Maharashtra.
India (RPI) led by Prakash Ambedkar took the lead along with some Other Backward Class (OBC)\(^7\) leaders to form the Bahujan Maha Sangh.

**Dalit Identity Politics in Maharashtra**

Proper understanding of the Dalit politics requires probe into the issues of identity among these groups. Owing to the heterogeneous nature of the group, identity of Dalits is fluctuating since the beginning of their struggle. Generally, the term Dalit includes those termed in administrative parlance as Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). The word Dalit is of relatively recent origin. Credit of its popularity in public discourse goes to the Dalit Panther movement which attempted to define it in 1970s - as all those who share the common experience of subordination and suppression (Limbale 1989). Marathi-speaking literary writers, neo-Buddhists by persuasion, began to use the word Dalit in their literary works instead of Harijan used by Gandhi (Shah 2001).

Identity of Dalits is problematic in other sense too. It is the device of understanding self as well as, is an instrument of assertion of self in social interactions. Stigma of untouchability put Dalits in the dilemma which is difficult to resolve. Revealing their identity involves humiliation for those who want to escape from it and for those who view it as a device of emancipation vis-à-vis political assertion it has strategic importance in the construction of identity in historical context. They are also caught in the web of issues like, Bahujanwad and reservations, which seems to be contradictory to each other. Attempts are made since earlier days to increase ideological base by co-opting with Maratha politics under the banner of Bahujanwad, but hitherto existing tension between Caste Hindus and Dalits over issues of atrocities against the latter and reservations in government jobs is limiting the success of such attempts.

The forces of globalisation further affected the identity of Dalits by influencing the caste consciousness of rising middle class among them. Mumbai being a prime centre of the Dalit movement, it is also the financial capital of India. Hence the forces of globalisation directly affected the Dalit struggle. Teltumbde (2005) emphasizes a need for the progressive

\(^7\) Other Backward Classes referred to the collection of castes which were culturally defined as artisan castes (*Shudras*) in the vertical social stratification consists of three higher varnas viz. *Brahman, Kshatriya* and *Vaishya*. Legally 3,743 castes are identified by Mandal Commission Report (1980) as socially and educationally backward in a nationwide study, popularly known as OBCs.
conversion of anti-caste and anti-imperialist movement for achieving the respective goals of annihilation of castes and ending imperialism. But success of this strategy is debated. Guru expresses the concerns as he comments,

“The coherent narrative of Dalit politics of the past...is now no more possible particularly in the urban context of the country... Dissolution of the social sites like textile mills of Mumbai which contained radicalism and once provided a vibrant and more stable context for the coherent politics, by Globalization, Liberalization and Privatization (GLP), displaced the very agents of radicalism” (Guru 2004:257).

Emerging urban middle class among Dalits who got benefited by the globalisation and acquired urban consciousness has maintained distance from the protest movement as well as party politics. Simultaneously, remaining among Dalits fell prey to negative effects of GLP, which threatened their very existence (Kamble 2002).

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Political assertion of the Dalits in Maharashtra has a distinct place in the history of mass movements in India and worldwide. It is understood as a revolt of systematically marginalized people against the theological and social impediments. Understanding its every aspect contributes to our understanding of political empowerment of depressed sections.

At this juncture, it is necessary and relevant to understand the crucial aspect of identity formation and its consolidation among Dalits. No mass movement either social or political can sustain unless and until members of it identify themselves with its goals, objectives, ideology and symbols. Political mobilization of Dalits is not an exception to it. Rise of leadership from within, well-developed set of ideals associated with movement and symbols resulted into identity formation, which further strengthened the political movement.

For Dalits, politics and political identity were the means of social liberation. This instrumentalist version of politics is owing to the emergence of secular liberal state which causes decline in the religious and other authoritarian influences over its functioning. State emerged as the welfare agent in the first quarter of 20th century. Colonial state in India played catalyst to extend political space to the marginalized and hitherto suppressed masses that learned the language of politics in piecemeal introduction of democratic reforms. Call of
Ambedkar, to ‘Educate, Unite and Agitate’ became the strategy of empowerment for them. Emphasis on education and protecting reservation policy remains the immediate and tangible goals in the pursuit of long-term objectives of social justice. Today within the framework of neo-liberal economy, with decline of the state, the Dalits, who lack necessary infrastructure to adapt to the changing environment, seems to be in the state of confusion. Their very identity that enabled them to sustain their political movement is undergoing transformation. It is essential to account and assess these changes in order to acquire the proper understanding of the contemporary Dalit politics and its prospects for future struggle for liberation.

**STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Political assertion of Dalits largely remained the major area of concern for academicians. Study of identity formation among them is a recent trend. Success of any social movement, which has its objective, the protection of interests of the specific groups, is heavily depending on the formation of their identity. Dalit politics is also depending on the identity of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as the depressed classes. Having scattered population, identity formation is crucial for their political mobilization. Forces of globalisation intersect their political identity, which was under the tremendous pressure from its birth. In this changed environment to understand the dynamics of the Dalit struggle for their rights, it is necessary to analyze the development in the area of their Identity formation. In the present study an attempt is made to explore and analyze theoretically and empirically the political identity of the Dalits in Mumbai city pertaining to its nature, formation and impact.

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The research problem of the present study needs explanation of the term, political identity. Encyclopaedias do not discuss the term political identity as such. Search for the meaning and definition of the term land the reader in the web of concepts like Identity, Identity Construction, Identity Politics, Identity and Identification, Identity in Childhood and Adolescence, Identity Movements, Social Identity, Identity Formation, Identity-Psychosocial, Identity Theory etc.

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In *Complete A-Z Sociology Handbook* identity is defined as a sense of self which develops, as a child grows up and establishes him or herself as an independent individual (Lawson and Garrod 2007). It suggests that there are certain social formations with which an individual identifies him/herself. Self is the product of the association of the individual with something, which is outside, in this case a social organization. Post modernists view identity as a shifting situational aspect of the individual, in which an individual may have multiple identities. An individual’s shifting location may demand shifting attention to one or multiple associations and hence he/she can be subjected to multiple identities. Role theorists hold that social identity and self-esteem of Individual are composed of all of the roles (and associated social identities) that one occupies and enact in the course of a given stage in life (Young and Arrigo 1999). From constructionist perspective, identity is constructed when conceptions of self are forged in relationships with others and with regard to existing notions of the self. This can result in reinforcement of the traditional or established notion of the self or may develop into a different and negotiated version of the self.

Relationship between properties of individuals and interaction, on the one hand, and those of social structure, on the other was subjected to sociological inquiry near the close of the nineteenth century (Turner 2002). This inquiry known as interactionism reduces the social behaviour of the individuals to the symbolic interactions. George Herbert Mead’s synthesis of the ideas of William James, Charles Horton Colley, and John Dewey stands as the conceptual core of modern interactionism. He linked the emergence of the human mind, the social self, and the structure of society to the process of social interaction (Turner 2002). In the traditional framework of symbolic interactionism, as it evolved from Cooley, Mead, Blumer, social structures have little place in accounts of persons behaviours that serves as context for persons action and interaction.

Structural symbolic interactionism modified the traditional framework by putting emphasis on social structure’s resistance to change and its tendency to reproduce itself. It visualizes societies as highly differentiated yet organized systems of interactions and relationships; as complex mosaics of groups, communities, organizations, institutions; and as encompassing a wide variety of crosscutting lines of social demarcation based upon social class, age, gender, ethnicity, religion, and more. This vast diversity of parts is seen as organized in multiple and overlapping ways-interactionally, functionally, and hierarchically. At the same time, the diverse parts of society are taken to be interdependent and sometimes relatively independent of
one another, sometimes implicated in close and cooperative interaction and sometimes conflicting (Turner 2002). Such new look to symbolic interactionist framework permit theorization of the relations between particular parts of society and particular parts of self.

Primarily the term identity is fused in personal and social analysis. While Marcuse and Freud see identity as both personal and social, Camus, Fanon and Sartre present the existentialist notion of identity (Mackenzie 1978). Major breakthrough in the study of identity as applicable for political analysis was achieved after the formulations developed by Erikson as well as Tajfel and Turner’s works on the identity.

Erikson defined identity as,

"A subjective sense as well as an observable quality of personal sameness and continuity, paired with some belief in the sameness and continuity of some shared world image” (Erikson 1975 :18).

He suggested that people experience an identity crisis when they lose a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity. With changes in the surrounding circumstances, the individual have to define and redefine its roles and positions frequently. This instability in the perception of self makes an individual vulnerable to the identity crisis. As a psycho analyst, Erikson highlighted the role of social factors in determining the formative experiences in individual’s life. Lucian Pye (1966) borrowed the idea of ‘crisis of political identity in new states’ from the work of Erikson (Mackenzie 1978). Pye employed the term identity in political analysis. He associated the word identity to the topic of national character to address the problem of newly independent states to acquire a common sense of identity located in national territory as being their true homeland. In most of these new states traditional forms of identity ranging from tribe, to caste, to ethnic and linguistic groups compete with the sense of larger national identity. The ‘crisis’ also addresses the problem of compatibility of traditional heritage and parochial sentiments with modern cosmopolitan practices (Mackenzie 1978).

One of the most influential accounts of identity with its implications for political studies is found in social identity theory as developed by Tajfel and Turner (1978, 1979, and 1986). The major thrust of their work is to understand the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination. According to them, individuals have natural tendency to categorize others and
themselves and associate with in-groups and out-groups in order to boost their self-esteem. These individuals indulge in comparison of their groups with other groups, which exhibit an element of favourable bias in their orientation towards in-groups. The process leads to distinguishing in-group from out-groups and associating positive attributes to in-groups. With his famous ‘minimal groups’ experiments Tajfel (1970) established that membership of groups confers on individual certain elements which constitute his social identity which is distinct from his personal identity derived from individual personality traits and interpersonal relationships. With the help of the concept ‘identity salience’ the social identity theory postulates that social behaviour exists on a spectrum from the purely interpersonal to the purely intergroup. Where personal identity is salient, the individual will relate to others in an interpersonal manner, dependent on their character traits and any personal relationship existing between the individuals. However, under certain conditions, "social identity is more salient than personal identity in self-conception and that when this is the case behaviour is qualitatively different: it is group behaviour" (Hogg and Abrams 1988: 25).

Tajfel further identified tendency to commit fundamental attribution error among individuals as a group members. They attribute the achievements of out groups to luck, or contextual circumstances and their own to dispositional faculties of the group. In this regard individuals go to the extent of making biased comparisons with less-fortunate out-groups to support the validity and legitimacy of their beliefs, values and behaviours. This helps them to highlight the differences between in-group and out-groups. Any effort of in-group member is vehemently thwarted with tribal instinct of expulsion from the membership of group and subsequent punishment.

Although theoretical foundation of present study is in the works of Erikson, Tajfel and Turner, the three schools of political identity- Primordialism, Instrumentalism and Constructivism are inducted to explore the nuances of the problem under study (see Joireman 2003).

Primordialists attribute person’s ethnic identity to birth, ‘as defined by or intimately connected with blood ties or kinship’ and is unchangeable. Perspective of primordialists is divided into three different versions; biological; cultural and linguistic; and soft primordialists. Biological perspective views ethnic sentiment, or ethnocentrism, as a natural, inborn characteristic of human beings. Cultural primordialists emphasize culture (with its attendant social practices, language, and religion) as the critical factor that determines the ethnic identity of a person. Soft
Primordialists view individual’s attachments as evolving from history and a myth of common homeland which are psychological and emotional factors.

Instrumentalists do not subscribe the primordialists’ version of identity. For them it is the protection of common interests and not the biological, cultural, linguistic exchanges that hold groups together. Instrumentalism perceives ethnic identity as a means to achieve political ends and it is changeable. Unlike primordialism, it rejects universal claim of identities to be omnipresent irrespective of time and space. Instrumentalists believe that identity is manipulated and used by elites to achieve political goals or some form of political mobilization. Instrumentalists highlight the behaviour of an individual, his/her actions and choices to estimate the identity of person along with other objective markers of symbols, customs, language and appearance. Identity is not neutral in this sense. It is used by either individuals or groups to advance their interest. Symbols are manipulated towards this end.

Third school of political identity theory is social constructivism. It rejects primordialism on account of fluid nature of identity and shares with instrumentalism that political and economic factors have greater role in determining identity. Unlike instrumentalism, it does not view identity always as an outcome of opportunistic nature of humans, but attribute the formation of collective identity to social, economic, political conditions which provide people choices to base their identity on the available set of identities like language, religion and/or physical characteristics. Unlike primordialists, social constructivists believe in multiplicity of ascribed (predetermined) identities which people can have but like instrumentalists it does not subscribe that such identities get consolidated to achieve some sort of group benefit or individual benefit for the leader. Social constructivists advocate variety of reasons for construction, consolidation and politicization of such identities.

Ian S. Lustick and Dan Miodownik (2002) summarize constructivism in following way:

- Political and politicizable identities are not stamped “primordially” on groups or individuals within groups;
- Translation of observable homogeneity among individuals into collective perceptions, goals, and behaviour requires explanation;
- Identities are malleable, tradable, and deployable;
Groups and individuals have repertoires of identities that are activated differentially in response to changing incentive structures;

Some actors can have disproportionate influence on patterns in the activation or consolidation of particular identities at the group level.

Theoretical strands discussed above along with works of Erikson, Tajfel & Turner are inducted in the present study in order to explore the research problem concerning political identity of the educated Dalits in the context of globalisation. The present study limits itself to the exploration of the above said issue. It holds critical view of the theoretical approaches employed but does not claim to refute or accept the claims of the theories reviewed. Any critical examination of such kind need focused attention of theories which can be possible through experimentations under controlled environment. Studies like Ian Lustick and Dan Miodounik (2002) fulfils such criteria.

**Linguistic Exploration**

In the title of the present study the word ‘identity’ is applied as a noun to follow the adjective ‘political’ which together forms the term ‘political identity’. There is one more way to use both the words i.e. ‘identity politics’ in which the word ‘politics’ is applied as a noun to follow the noun ‘identity’. Often both the usages are employed as alternative to each other. But a careful examination with linguistic instruments will reveal the reader the significant difference in terms of meaning carried by them.

‘Political’ in ‘political identity’ is an adjective. ‘Political’ is pertaining to contestation for power especially in larger socio-political context of struggle to influence and control resources for one’s benefit. The function of the adjective is to describe the nature, behaviour, characteristic of the noun which follows it. In present case, noun ‘identity’ which denotes the subject as ‘singular’ or ‘plural’ i.e. individual or group. It means an identity of individual or group. It now requires us to explain whether we are intending to study the phenomenon in individual or in group.

The nature of the research problem addressed will help us in this effort. Since the second half of nineteenth century there are constant efforts to construct a collective identity of Dalits in order to voice their concerns before the contemporary state and society. These efforts were
towards forming a collective identity founded on the shared experiences of exploitation within the caste structure prevalent in the Hindu social order. Studies (Walter 1996, Shah 2001, Joe 2007) which addressed these issues of identity regarding Dalits considered the collective aspect of the identity. They are mostly involved in exploring the efforts of various Dalit communities to construct the common identity. Present study is addressing the changes in the political orientation of the emerging educated urban Dalit youths. Respondents and the unit of analysis for the present study are individuals. Their perception of themselves and their self-location in the present political scenario in the context of the globalisation is the subject matter of the study. Thus present study is an attempt to explore and analyze the political identity of the Dalits. Although, here the researcher is trying to narrow down the study but, no claim is made to separate the concept ‘political identity’ exclusively from the concept of ‘identity politics’. In fact the ‘identity politics’ employs the instrumentalist version of identity theory of ethnicity and ‘political identity’ takes into consideration the constructivist approach of ethnicity. Political identity can be defined as a subjective sense of self based on in-group and out-group differentiation that shapes the political orientation of individual/group. ‘Identity Politics’ includes campaigns and struggles based around issues concerned with self-expression. It suggests a political orientation built around a (pre-existing) social identity (Ford 2009). Their interconnection in the analysis of group politics is duly acknowledged here.

The present study doesn’t begin with labelling the assertion of consciousness of Dalits as the Dalit Identity assertion. Even though it will be appropriate in other settings with different set of questions. The word ‘Dalit’ is employed here to connote the people who in the constitutional terminology are labelled as ‘Scheduled Castes’ of Maharashtra. Since the movement of the victims of the caste injustice in Maharashtra is predominantly led by the members of the Scheduled Castes, that is too, particularly Mahar caste group in Maharashtra, here the term ‘Dalit’ is referred to them.

Thus the term ‘political identity’ is employed to study the political orientation of the educated Dalits as an individual as well as a member of a marginalized group ascribed with the low status in the caste hierarchy of the Indian society. Thus, the phrase ‘political identity’ is intended to serve the purpose of exploring the individual Dalits’ conception of ‘self’ as a ‘political actor’ in the context of the globalisation.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Large body of literature is available on key words of identity, Dalits and globalisation which pose difficulty to selection and subsequent review. For an instance, the collection at Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, has fifty titles listed under the tag Dalit. There are more than eighty tags available which include the term Dalit. Similarly under the label Identity more than fifty tags are available and similar is the situation regarding the key word Globalisation. To organize the search three themes, which emerge from the research problem, were identified.

- Linkages between Identity and Globalisation
- Impact of Globalisation on Dalits.
- Discussion on the Identity of Dalits

Linkages between Identity and Globalisation

Stiglitz (2002) in a seminal work written as critique of globalisation highlighted devastating effect of globalisation on developing countries. He criticized the top-down policy intervention by the advocates of globalisation and argued for the poor centred design of economic policies. Stiglitz’s work point out towards existence of two worlds of developed and underdeveloped countries. Both the worlds possess their own world views and cultural patterns and thus their own identities. Imposition of developed capitalists’ world’s hegemonic conception of competitive, individualist self is not readily acceptable for underdeveloped world which cherished communitarian values. This led to the interaction between forces of globalisation and self.

Interaction between forces of globalisation and self is major theme of Callero (2008), Kinnvall (2004) and Verkuyten and Ildiz (2010). Callero (2008) argues that global process of technocapitalism is altering roles that individuals play in their social sphere. These roles as perpetuated and defined by traditions of local culture have long provided stability to self of individual members. Alteration of those roles by global process is not accepted by the local grass roots organizations and democratic social movements. These bottom-up forces of local organisations are responding to the changes through politicizing self in order to resist the levelling advances of technocratic globalisation. Hermans and Dimaggio (2007) examines the psychological consequences of globalisation. According to the authors, the social, cultural and

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9 As a source to collect references along with Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Deonar, Mumbai, the researcher is indebted to the Centre for Education and Documentation, Colaba, Mumbai; Jawaharlal Nehru Library of University of Mumbai, Kalina Campus.
economic changes associated with globalisation have disrupted traditional life patterns and have called into question normative expectations. As a consequence, many individuals are left with a powerful sense of psychological uncertainty that motivates individuals and groups to find local niches to construct a stable identity. Similarly, Kinnvall (2004) points out the insecurity and existentialist uncertainty developed by the globalisation. He argues that threat to one’s existential stability is responded by individuals and groups with taking resort to religion and nationalism which offer them ontological security and reaffirmation of one’s self identity. Upsurge of religious fundamentalism and violent ethnic nationalism after the end of cold war, offers evidence to Kinnvall’s premise. Verkuyten and Yildiz (2010) highlight Kinnvall’s proposition regarding sheltering of individuals’ to religion in order to seek protection to their self-identity. Their study of Dutch Muslims examined identity consolidation and mobilization as a function of the content Muslim identity. They argue that personal meaning and personal certainty are two aspects of an individualized interpretation of Muslim identity and they are positively associated to their religious consolidation which reflects in their demand to publicly express their identity.

Alteration into the representation and understanding of self is visible in Nafstad’s (Nafstad et al. 2007) longitudinal analysis (1984–2005) of media language in Norwegian public discourse. The study demonstrates how the current globalised capitalist market ideology has increasingly permeated this long established Scandinavian welfare state; individualism increasing at the cost of communal values. The study observes that the usage of the Norwegian equivalents of ‘I’/‘me’ has increased considerably whereas ‘we’/‘us’ has been stable. Usage of words such as ‘solidarity’, ‘common/communal/shared’, ‘welfare society’, ‘duty/obligation’ and ‘equality’ has decreased, whereas ‘right/entitlement’, ‘optional’ and ‘freedom to choose’ have increased. A study by Woodward, Skrbis and Bean (2008) examine the impact of globalisation over cosmopolitan dispositions. It argues that whole idea of belongingness has considerably altered; and individual outlooks, behaviours, feelings transcend local and national boundaries. The study show how cosmopolitan outlooks are shaped by social structural factors, and how forms of identification with humanity and the globe are fractured by boundaries of self and others, threats and opportunities, and the value of things global and local. Both the studies reveal the process through which the impact of globalisation on the self-identity of the individuals is felt at personal level.
Globalisation appears as a process with two dimensions. Top and Bottom or Centre and Periphery. There are opposite claims made by both the sides which highlight negative and positive effects of globalisation. Along with economy, culture is studied as a highly contested field by both the sides.

Critics of globalisation (Shephard and Hayduk 2002) argue that globalisation is a seamless extension of western cultural imperialism. It has been viewed as an effort to impose homogenized, westernized, consumer culture. Peterson (1996) claims that globalisation dynamics reveal the centrality of private sphere activities and their gendered politics to processes of identification, structural inequalities, and political action. Author argues that bringing the family/household into relation with nation-states and global capitalism (and vice versa) exposes the pervasive and interactive power of gender(ed) identifications and divisions of labour. Globalisation has cause reduction in power of nation state to play pivotal role in national economy, in protection of human rights, and delivering social services. Veronica Perera (2003) highlights the legitimacy crisis of neo liberal globalisation. In the study of the World Social Forum (WSF), the author observes that despite of differences in goals, agendas and languages, different social movements have united under the banner of WSF to articulate and contest the neoliberal agenda in the form of globalised policies, institutions and conceptualizations of State, the market and democracy. In the sense WSF contributes to create global political identity to address the legitimacy crisis of neoliberal globalisation.

Contrary to the stand taken above and against the commonly held view that globalisation is the causal determinant for indigenous movements in Latin America in late twentieth century; Deborah J. Yashar (2007) holds that some of these movements emerged long before the neoliberal current started, some developed parallel to it but were not because of globalisation. While arguing the different notion the author claims that indigenous movements have emerged where there are (1) challenges to pre-existing corporate identities, (2) transcommunity networks to provide the resources for mobilization, and (3) associational spaces to facilitate collective expression. Tomlinson (2003) do not subscribe to the views of critics of globalisation that it is western cultural imperialism and argued that cultural identity is a product of globalisation and not the victim of globalisation.

The dichotomous stands of critics and apostle’s of globalisation are questioned by Mikhail Epstein (2009). He projects ‘transculture’ as an alternative to globalism and pluralism. Author
questions the dichotomous and antagonistic relationship between global and local. Written in philosophical tones the paper argues for celebration of difference and diversity rather than attachment to fixed cultural identity based on race, ethnos, religion, or ideological commitments which turned out to be a source of conflict and violence. At the same time, he offers caution towards homogenizing tendencies of globalisation.

Basically, as an economic philosophy with free market orientation, capacity of globalisation to make commercial use of political identity is studied by the researchers. Nicolas Lewis and Gordon Winder (2007) offer an insight into the process of globalisation with its emphasis on commodification of nationalistic sentiments. A century old tension between Great Britain and Ireland added a production value to the Rugby tour of both countries. Author highlights the convergence of cultural economy and political economy and draws an inference that national political identity as composed of imagined reality of political aspirations is exploited by market forces, which shows that globalisation has become imagined and institutionalized in new ways. Contrary to the popular perception on weakening of state under globalisation, Daniel Maudlin (2009) studies the role of governments in England in maintaining national identity by controlling planning policies to preserve regional architectural identities and maintain a visual “Englishness” in the build environment. Study of Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen (2009) reveal that despite of prediction on elimination of national borders due to forces of globalisation, borders remain one of the most basic and visible features of the international system. Borders continue to play a central role in shaping, dividing, and uniting the world’s societies, economies, and ecosystems. Thus locality or geography is also the ground of contestation. McNeill (2000) examines the geographical aspect of globalisation in his study about debates on the globalisation of cities and regions. He explored the role of cities as crucibles for the negotiation of globalisation and its relation to national identity. He argues that cities as marked as global entities have offered a valid ground for projection of global identities. As a case study of opening of a Guggenheim Foundation art gallery in Bilbao, the author observes that the event offers an evidence of collision between Basque extremism, modern ‘bourgeois regionalism’ and global art corporation. Author underscores the significance of the event for the Basque Political Identity.
Impact of Globalisation on Dalits

The Dalit as a category is studied in great details since last century and more. Plethora of literature available on their plights and issues provide testimony to this fact. Recent upsurge in the discussion on globalisation and its effects on various communities throughout the world has left its imprint on the study of the Dalits in India. Most of the available literature stress on the adverse impact of globalisation on them (Gupta 1995; Pinto 1997; Teltumbde 2001, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007; Thorat 1996, 2000; Jogdand 2000, 2003).

Teltumbde argued that reforms introduced in India after 1991 were of ‘crisis driven’ variety and not a strategic choice with a vision of long-term development of Indian people (Teltumbde 2001). In his opinion, under the New Economic Policy (NEP), Dalits face ‘dual disabilities’, firstly as being a part of the class of have-nots and secondly being a disadvantaged social groups. He assessed the impact of neo liberal economic reforms on Dalits as a poor from three factors, food security, inflation and employment. He observed that their social disabilities, largely reinforced by and sustained on the economic deprivations, are bound to get accentuated with these policies. (Teltumbde 2001). As a prerequisite of composite growth and development of Indian society, he advocated that government should aim at empowering masses, enhancing their capability by radical land reforms, massive investments in rural areas into agriculture-related infrastructural projects, universalisation of primary education, primary health care system and reinforcement of positive discrimination in favour of Dalits in all sectors of the economy (Teltumbde 2003). As a way out he directs towards the ‘Bhopal Agenda’ a charter worked out by a group of Dalit intellectuals and activists in the Bhopal Madhya Pradesh in the year 2002, demanding notably an all encompassing reservation (Teltumbde 2003). Such effort he emphasized as only possible if Dalits worked out their strategy with that of general poor. He argued to converse the struggle of annihilation of caste with ‘a common struggle against imperialism’ (Teltumbde 2003: 35). Similar argument he developed in his Anti-Imperialism and Annihilation of Castes (Teltumbde 2005). Written after Mumbai Resistance 2004, Teltumbde explores the organic linkages between castes and imperialism in order to achieve any fundamental transformation in India (Teltumbde 2005). He observed that caste system is

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10 Charting a New Course for Dalits for the 21st Century, held at Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, India, 12-13 January 2002. The intellectuals and activists gathered in Bhopal deliberated the issues concerning the Dalits in India. The proclamation to rededicate themselves to work in unison to achieve the basic rights of Dalits was passed along with a 21-point agenda to liberate the Dalits from problems of untouchability and exploitation.

11 “Mumbai Resistance 2004 was organized by 310 organizers during January 17-20, 2004 in parallel to World Social Forum with the purpose of exposing anti-globalisation pretensions of the latter and providing an alternate mode of expression to people’s anti-imperialist struggle” (Teltumbde 2005: ii).
intrinsically an imperialist institution, the anti-imperialist forces have to necessarily struggle against the comprador domestic forces, caste is reality of socio-political dynamics within India and the annihilation of castes therefore becomes an integral part of the anti-imperialist struggle (Teltumbde 2005).

Further, Teltumbde (2006) assesses the impact of globalisation on education and its implication for the emancipation of Dalits. He argued that progress of miniscule minority of Dalits was possible due to the initiative of welfare state to offer them education and reservation in jobs. New paradigm of market oriented reforms resulted in the neutralization of reservations in services due to reduction of the Dalit’s access to education, commercialization and elitist orientation of education (Teltumbde 2006). In the same article he points out the rise of saffronisation of education and culture in post 1990 era in India which he argues is fallout of globalisation. He further argues that this development is not only injurious to Dalit identity and culture but is going to be physically killing them as it does to the religious minorities (Teltumbde 2006). Impoverishment of the Dalit youth due to neo liberal policies poses challenge of lack of emergence of new leadership from within them. The pathetic state of the Dalit organizations and the recent history of their movement will pose basic challenge before Dalit intellectuals regarding future strategy of their movement. In a paper titled State, Market and Development of Dalits (2007), Teltumbde argues that the dichotomous conception of both the State as well as the market resulted in the confusion regarding the development of Dalits in India. As a resource-poor people Dalits were always dependent on the State for their protection and development. Neo liberal policy obfuscated the role of state in international economy and markets are incapable of channelling resources to them. This hampered development of Dalits in post 1990 reforms period.

Patil in his assessment of NEP in India asserted that new economic measures intends to reduce the Government deficit and trade deficit only at a great social cost by reducing production and public employment drastically (Patil 2003). Based on the study of Jatavas, a caste group involved in leather industry, conducted by Knorringa (1999), he concludes that the Dalits in unorganized sector suffer from multiple-deprivation such as higher participation in work compared to other communities, insecure and adverse working conditions, unregulated wages and unskilled or semi-skilled occupations (Patil 2003). Based on the studies of Thorat (2000) and Teltumbde (2000) he stated that representation of Dalits in government jobs has been adversely affected due to the introduction of new economic policy.
Omvedt offered a critic of anti globalisation position that excludes the interests of Dalits and Adivasis in the garb of protecting the same. Omvedt exposes the contradictions within the leftist line of thinking in opposing globalisation. She observed that leftists in an effort to oppose globalisation follow dependency theory which creates confusion to understand logic of capitalism. She advocates that revolution of Marxian sense predates certain conditions ripe for it. And part of those conditions includes the development of a global working class which is educated and cultured enough to understand and create a new world (Omvedt 2005). She opined that such a new class must include the Dalits and Adivasis. Refuting logic of Indian capitalists and Marxists, she stated that implementation of reservation policy in private sector will bring Dalits into the labour force which eventually result in increase of labour force as a precondition of revolution. Adivasis in her observation are facing two problems. Firstly, “increasing extraction of natural resources and their channelling to the world market via multinationals, the state and local power holders; and secondly the growing “Hindutva-isation” or “Hinduisation” of the Adivasis by forces of the Hindu right.” (Omvedt 2005: 4883)

Commenting on resisting globalisation Omvedt stated, “It is impossible and even undesirable to withdraw from the global economy and social system” (Omvedt 2005: 4884). Her suggestions on the response to globalisation are two ways: “One, there is a role for both the state and the market (remembering that both are oppressive). Two, there is a role for “sunrise industries”-which forecast new society-including what we know as information technology and the development of alternative energy and new material sources” (Omvedt 2005: 4884).

**Discussion on Identity of Dalits:**

Dalit identity is a subject of study in recent years. Works of Fernandes (1996), Velaskar and Wankhede (1996), Pinto (1999), Shah (2001), Ganguli (2005) and Joe (2007) have explored this phenomenon in the past few years. An earlier noteworthy attempt in this direction is made by Berreman (1972).

*The Emerging Dalit Identity,* an edited work by Walter Fernandes (1996) is an effort to understand the emergence of the Dalit identity. Contributors analyze the struggles of Dalits in different parts of India. The book constituted of papers on macro themes as well as case studies. Thorat, Krishnan, Lobo and Das provide macro analysis while Franco and Parmar, Ginwalla and Ramanathan, Pinto, Ayrookuzhiel, Fernandes, Herbert, and Pathak used case study approach to analyze them with reference to their relevance to other parts of India. Thorat
argued that caste has proved counterproductive from the social, economic, cultural and ethical points of view. In his views the developmental inputs in India have been beneficial to the few Dalit individuals but most Dalits’ status has deteriorated. Ginwalla and Ramanathan in their paper analyse the resistance of Dalit women as being victims of double discrimination to the caste as well as patriarchy. Authors argue that the resistance by Dalits to the forces of oppression is sometimes overt and sometimes covert and by no means have they accepted their subjugation voluntarily. Ayrookuzhiel studies the Pulaya religious interpretation of the hymn on *Chinna Pulayan* to give it a meaning that is the opposite to the high castes interpretation of the same. The search of new interpretation of the hymn is a kind of resistance with religious legitimacy in their search for a new humanity. Franco and Parmar discuss the case study of some Dalit cooperatives in Gujarat where economic inputs are used as tools of organization. Authors highlight the basis of these efforts as in the rejection of the sub-human status ascribed to them and their quest for self-reliance and dignity. Pinto studies the resistance of the Dalits in Karnataka to the atrocities which are result of their search for liberation. Their efforts to own land and their refusal to let their women sexually exploited by high caste men result in increasing atrocities on them. Pinto further observed the effort of the Dalits to organize under the banner of *Dalit Sangarshana Samiti* and their increasing presence as a force to reckon with in the political life of Karnataka. Krishnan in his paper offers analysis substantiated by official figures that Dalits’ resistance to subjugation and quest for a new humanity receive a reaction from upper castes in the form of higher number of atrocities against them. Fernandes discusses the process of conversion to Christianity in Tamil Nadu, from the perspective of the search for a new identity. The author observed that despite of basic egalitarian philosophy of Christianity, caste tensions continue among Christians. Lobo argues that even though the socio-economic status of the Dalits has not improved substantially after their conversion, they experience subjective change. Lal in his paper analyses the efforts of the fundamentalist forces to use religion as a tool to co-opt the movement of Dalits, reinsert them into a homogeneous social order as a subordinate caste and perpetuate their subjugation. Pathak discusses his own efforts to implement the combined ideology of Ambedkar and Gandhi in Sulabh International. Author present it as reformist movement with the objective to assist the Dalits to acquire a new identity with resistance to those who have monopolized education and other sources of power and have given a religious legitimating to their sub-human status. Herbert analyzes the other facet of the Dalit resistance in his study of the political organization provided by the Naxal movement in Palamau. Das views political reservation offered to the Dalits by State as a co-opting mechanism to suppress their dissent. The author recall the Gandhi-Ambedkar Pact
(1932) to show that Ambedkar’s demand of separate electorate was need of the hour to give true representation to Dalits in polity but with the victory of Gandhian tactics political reservations were accepted which undermined the issue of true representation of Dalits. He observed that upper castes resent the reservation for Dalits in jobs but they do not oppose the reservation in politics. Because reservation in employment empower the Dalits while reservations in politics keep them co-opted by the dominant castes. Fernandes as the editor of the volume comment that the new identity of Dalits is emerging with all the push and pulls. He further acknowledges that the process is not a unilinear or homogeneous.

_Dalit Identity and Politics_ is the edited work by Ghanshyam Shah (2001) that includes articles by renowned writers on the Dalit issues like S.K Thorat and R.S. Deshpande, N. Sudhakar Rao, Gopal Guru, Kancha Ilaiah, Eleanor Zelliot, Gail Omvedt, Ghanshyam Shah, S.P. Punalekar, Lancy Lobo, Sudha Pai, Abhay Kumar Dubey and Pushpendra. The writers in the volume examine aspects of Dalit identity, movements and political participation through institutional channels in contemporary India. The volume offers the Dalit perspective, a view from the below. The contributions in the volume show that there is not just one Dalit perspective. There are various shades to it. It is focused on the twin aspects of politics of identity assertion and collective action. Thorat and Deshpande argue that as a scheme of distribution, the Hindu social order has failed and overtime, produced appalling economic inequalities and poverty, particularly among the social groups located at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy of the Indian society. Discrimination, which is an all-pervading character of the caste system, is just not confined to production relations alone ‘but covers all possible economic spheres’. Punalekar examines Dalit literary works and identity formation. Gopal Guru argues that the Dalit identity not merely expresses who Dalits are, but also conveys their aspirations and struggle for ‘change and revolution’. Guru strongly contest a view that the Dalit as a category compels Dalits with different experiences ‘to carry the load of the muck of the historical pasts’, he argues that the Dalit category is ‘historically arrived at, sociologically presented and discursively constituted’. The formation of the Dalit identity aims at uniting them as the oppressed at one level, cutting across religious and linguistic boundaries. Ilaiah argues that, ‘the modern Dalit-Bahujan movements, while building up an anti-caste ideology, drew upon the dialectical materialistic discourses that started in a proto-materialist form with Indus-based Lokayats or Charvakas and continued to operate all through the history.’ Eleanor Zelliot observes that the image of Dr Ambedkar who led and provided an ideology to Dalit movement is more widely known today and, in some ways, more important than it was
during his lifetime. Further she observed that Ambedkar’s commitment to parliamentary democracy has been continued by Dalits ‘even though much of this programme for equality and justice has not come to fruition’. Shah and Punalekar discussed how the term Dalit provides self recognition and identity. N. Sudhakar Rao observes that SCs ‘emulate the power structure and power relations of the dominant caste in the village and the territory, rather than accept religious values and their exclusion as “impure”’. Abhay Kumar Dubey shed light on the possibility of alliance of Dalits and OBCs. He termed it as political alliance which will remain ad hoc and temporary till both join hands in day-to-day social life by developing an alternative culture at the grass-roots level. Lancy Lobo examined the socio-economic conditions of Dalit Christians and observed that, although conversion was opted by Dalits as an escape from caste justice within Hindu religion the socio economic conditions of Dalit Christians has not changes significantly. Dalit Christians continued to face discrimination within Christianity also. Lobo concludes that, ‘most sects, cults and denominations that preach equality end up institutionalizing inequality, be it in the form of caste or class.’ Shah argues that some Dalits followed the Bhakti movement, not to legitimate Brahminical norms, but largely to express their protest to God against the discrimination they faced. This as per Shah is one of the ways, in which they asserted their identity and right to equality. While commenting on the Dalit movement in Maharashtra after 1970s’ Gail Omvedt argues that it has failed ‘to show the way to transformation’. Sudha Pai highlighted the compulsion of electoral politics in the form of manipulative politics and opportunistic alliances with upper-caste parties limited the efforts of Bahujan Samaj Party towards social transformation. Pushpendra argues that increased participation of Dalits in electoral politics highlight their concentrated effort through electoral participation to create a new political identity for themselves by using the levels of competitive politics.

Joe Arun’s study (2007) *Constructing Dalit Identity* focuses on the aspects of the Dalit assertions and describes the process in and by which the Paraiyars, one of the Dalit groups of Pappanallur village, Tamil Nadu, South India, attempt to construct their identity by reversing the symbols of pollution (drum, beef eating, and land), that defined them as flow and polluted, into symbols of their culture and positive identity. The study examines the meaning of the symbols and its role in the ethnicisation of the Paraiyar identity. The study identifies three key phases of the process of identity formation, which are conflict, symbolic reversal, and identification. It is not a linear process. The study follows two theoretical traditions of enquiry: symbolic interactionism and constructivism with multi-sited contrastive approach.
The study is essentially an inquiry in the field of identity formation which the author claims had not considered by previous studies with separation model in the theories of untouchability or the ‘unity’ or consensus model. In its review of previous studies on Dalits the author found that earlier studies were close to understand the identity issues of Dalits but they were not able to explore the phenomenon of identity formation in great details. Those studies either focused on economic mobility through the reservation of jobs and in education and political participation or on the question of how Dalits use cultural resources for their mobility (Joe 2007: 14-15).

Thus the linkage between globalisation and political identity has been aptly reported by scholars in their works. The impact of the current wave of globalisation over the living conditions of the Dalits in India has been the major area of concern for the scholars in India. In following chapters hitherto unexplored theme of political identity of Dalits in the context of globalisation has been addressed. The Second chapter presents the research methodology adopted for the exploration of the problem undertaken in the study.