Chapter - IV
GLOBALISATION AND IDENTITY FORMATION

This chapter discusses identity formation in the context of globalisation in four sections. In the first section, identity formation in cultural frame, development of global and local culture, identifying self and denying others and universal and particular relations are discussed. In the second identity formation in global process and civilised identity in crisis and fragmentation have been narrated. The third section covers identity formation in global system in a multi-cultural society in relation to cultural creativity involving importance of local, social, individual, group and their positional identity and meaning attribution in relation to imperial expansion and assertion of cultural differences. Further, last part of this chapter, delineates various approaches, which help to understand socio-cultural changes in Indian society.

Globalisation and Identity Formation in Cultural Frame

The world and lives are being shaped by the conflicting trends of globalisation and information technology revolution, and the restructuring of capitalism have induced a new form of society, the network society. It is characterised by the globalisation of strategically decisive economies activities, which are dominated and influenced by the networking form of organisation, flexibility and instability of work, and the individualisation of labour by a culture of real virtuality constructed by a pervasive, interconnected and diverse media system and by the material foundations of life, space and time, as expressions of dominant activities and controlling elites.

In the second volume of ‘The Information Age’, M. Castells (1997) examines questions of identity and, in doing so, he spells out what he considers to be the key sources of political resistance to the dominating powers of global capital, social movements that are obliged to conduct their politics, like other political forces, through the communications media. In this, information technologies are seen not only to enhance the power of capital but also to provide essential tools for opposition. Castells's typical
way of proceeding is not to set out a complexly elaborate conceptual framework in
abstraction rather he says that his method aims at communicating theory by analysing
practice.¹ The globalisation process is regarded as opening up of the world as a single
place with unavoidable increasing contact. In this increasing dialogical space we also
notice a good deal of disagreement, clashing of perspectives and conflict apart from
consensus and working togetherness among various nation states, blocs and civilisations.
They are bound together to change their complexity and sensitivity in increasing webs of
interdependencies and power balances. It is partly through the capacity to transmit
information about shifts in fortune, which is more difficult to retain lasting and
oversimplified images of others. Because of the difficulty in handling increasing levels of
cultural complexity, doubts and anxieties there is the desire to remain in a bounded
locality or return to some notion of home, which is regardless to see as a real or
imaginary or temporary and syncretised or a simulation. It is also manifested in a
fascination with the sense of belonging, affiliation and community. What is clear is that it
is not helpful in regard to global and local as dichotomies but the processes of
globalisation and localisation are inextricably bound together in the contemporary time in
close nit of bounded space and social relationship.

The term local and its derivatives locality and localism, are associated with the
notion of a particular bounded space with its set of close-knit social relationships based
upon kinship ties and length of residence. It is an assumption of a stable homogeneous
and integrated cultural identity which is both enduring and unique. In this sense it is often
assumed that members of a locality formed a distinctive community with its own unique
culture. Featherstone (1995) argues that most of the research on localities is influenced by
two main assumptions². The first is derived from the 19th century models of social change
in which the past was regarded as entailing simpler, more direct, strongly bonded social
relationships expressed in the paired oppositions: status and contract (Maine), mechanical
and organic solidarity (Durkheim), and community and association (Tonnies). The latter
terms, drawn from the ideal types delineated in Tonnies influential Gemeinschaft und

Gesellschaft, have been used to emphasise the historical and spatial continue between small relatively isolated integrated communities based upon primary relationships and strong emotional bonding and the more anonymous and instrumental secondary associations of the modern metropolis.\(^3\) The second, deriving force from Anthropology, emphasises the need to provide ethnographic descriptions of the particularity of small towns or villages. Here, the community studies become preoccupied with the problems of delineating the boundaries of the locality. It soon became clear that the most isolated community in Britain or the United States was firmly plugged into national societies. Later, several studies have been conducted to examine such as Middle Town Study and Yankee City the ways in which local communities are being transformed by industrialisation, urbanisation and bureaucratiation.\(^4\) We can say on the basis of various studies quoted in Featherstone that a locality is not always presumed as an integrated community.\(^5\) We have to be aware of the location in time-space and social space of those who paint a nostalgic and over unified picture of it. It is also important that it does not operate with the view that localities are able to change only through a way of modernisation process. Usually when we think of a locality we have in mind a relatively small place in which everyone can know everyone else and social life is based upon face-to-face relations. It is assumed that the intensity of day-to-day contacts will generate a common stock of knowledge. It is the regularity and frequency of contacts with a group of significant others which are held to sustain a common culture. There is a dimension of cultural integration which is powerful and emotionally sustaining rituals, ceremonies and collective memories. The commemorative rituals and ceremonies act like batteries, which are stored and recharged the sense of communality. Apart from the regular calendar of ceremonies which reinforce our family, local and national sense of collective identity, collective memories refer to group contexts in the past which are periodically reinforced through contact with others who shared the initial experience.\(^6\) Can a nation be considered a local community? And the term community refers not only to the modern

nation-state, but also draws on the meaning of nation as a local community, domicile and family condition of belonging.\(^7\)

Nation as a term is connected with native. We are born into relationships which are typically settled in a place. Smith (1990) emphasises the need for a common repository of myths, heroes, events, landscapes and memories which are organised and made to assume a primordial quality important for construction of a nation.\(^8\) Anderson (1991) regards availability of a print culture as a crucial factor, which is important in the construction of a nation. The possibility of the nation, therefore, depends upon the development of the reading literature like books, and newspapers, and public is capable of using these sources throughout the territorial area. The capability of using these sources throughout the territorial areas enables them to imagine themselves as a community.\(^9\) The nation becomes represented through a set of more or less coherent images and memories which deal with the questions of the origins, difference and distinctiveness of a people. It has a quasi-religious basis in the sense that people are willing to go for sacrifice and suffering and ready to die in a sacred totality for their nation. A national culture is also constituted as a unique particularity which is locked into power struggles and elimination contests. In this sense the mobilisation of the population by the idea of the distinctiveness of the nation through its difference from its neighbours attained significance.

The external pressures of the significant others and the escalating power struggles infuses the sense of construction of an identity for the nation. It has been argued that conflicts heighten the sense of the boundary between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group'. George Simmel has written at length about the capacity of external conflicts to unify the internal structure of a group. Simmel's writings provide sense of the multidimensional and relational nature of social life. A local culture may have a common set of work, kinship relationships, knowledge and beliefs which tend to become sharpened and more well defined when the locality becomes locked into power struggles and elimination

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contests with its neighbours. In such situations we can see the formation of a local culture in which the particularity of its own identity is emphasised. In this case the locality presents an oversimplified unified image of itself to outsiders. Inside the locality social differentiation has been eliminated and relationships are necessarily more egalitarian, simple and homogeneous and its internal difference and discourses get disappeared. Internally we may be able to consider the community as incorporation of all sorts of independencies, rivalries, power struggles and conflicts. In such situations particularity acquires some larger collectivity and acceptable public face, which entails the mobilisation of the repertoire of communal symbols, sentiments and collective memories.

The bilateral interactions between nation-states which involve competition and conflict can have the effect of unifying the self-image of the nation. The image which is presented to the other in regular contacts as nation-states becomes bounded up in pressures to form a distinctive and coherent identity. This process of external presentation of the national face, also has an internal dimension, which depends upon the power resources particular groups possess to mobilise the ethnic core. There is endeavour to mobilise different aspects of the ethnic core to suit their own particular interests and aspiration; in effect the process of cultural formation of a national identity always entails a part being represented as a whole: a particular representation of the nation is presented as unanimous and consensual.

The image of a nation is constructed through television and the cinema, what is required necessarily to bridge the public and the private. A nation is an abstract collectivity which is far too big to be directly experienced by people. The existence of events, civic rituals such as remembrance day provide the sense of the sacred which binds the nation together. Television does not merely represent such events, but also constructs them. Globalisation is a process whereby the world increasingly becomes 'one place' and we, generally, become conscious about the importance of local. It should not be taken to imply that there is a unified world society or culture — something akin to the social structure of a nation-state and its national culture. Here, two aspects of the process of globalisation can be referred. Firstly, the existence of a global culture in the restricted sense of 'third culture' as sets of practices, bodies of knowledge, conventions and lifestyles which are an independent of nation-states. There are a number of trans-societal
institutions, cultures and cultural producers which cannot be regarded as representatives and agents of any nation-state. Secondly, it is related to the form of global culture in the Simmelian sense. It gets expressed in the sense the globe which is a finite, knowable bounded space, a field into which all nation-states and collectivities will inevitably be drawn. Here, the globe, acts both as a common bounded space in which our encounters and practices are grounded. The growing contact and communication among nation-states and other agencies produce clash of cultures. This situation leads to drawing of the boundaries between the self and the others. 10 The changes which are taking place as a result of the current phase of intensified globalisation can be understood as provoking reactions focusing to rediscover particularity, localism and differences. This also generates a sense of the limits of the culturally unifying, ordering and integrating projects associated with the western modernity.

The development of 'third culture' as a mediating culture, is the result of the problem of inter-cultural communication in the process of globalisation. 11 This development starts in the legal field first designed to deal with the practical problems of intercultural legal disputes. But with the development of the European Court of Justice and other institutions and protocols in international law, they can achieve autonomy and function beyond the further integrating role. 12 The deregulation of markets and capital flows produce a degree of homogenisation in procedures, working practices and organisational cultures. In addition there are some convergences in the lifestyle, habitual and demeanour of these various sets of professionals. There are also similarities in the work and lifestyle of the people who are not found in every city but only found in certain quarters of the city. They are concentrated in various world cities such as New York, Tokyo, London, Paris, Los Angeles and Sao Paulo. 13 It is integration of the particular services located in particular quarters of these world cities, which produces transnational sets of social relations, practices and cultures. This shows the unevenness of the process

of globalisation. These people working in environments full of advanced means of communications which overcome time-space separation and gives rise to the emergence of 'deterritorialised cultures'.

With the help of international economy and communications networks the extension of various social and cultural forms to different parts of the world is necessarily producing a homogenisation effect. Thus globalisation process is seen as producing a unified and integrated and homogenised common culture. And the local cultures are necessarily battered out of existence by the proliferation of consumer goods, advertising and media programmes stemming from the West and the United States. The negative cultural effect of the media as how goods and information is adapted and used in everyday practices by people is self-evident. It is possible to point to the availability of western consumer goods, especially major brands of food, drink, cigarettes and clothing, following the business and tourist trails, films and its strong appealing heroes to the remotest part of the world.

The local or peripheral culture adopts the absorption/assimilation/resistance strategy against the mass and consumer culture and its images and goods originating form metropolitan centres. In the first place it is apparent that it is not just a question of the everyday practical culture of local inhabitants giving way to globally marketed products. Such market culture/local culture interactions are usually mediated by the nation-state. Every nation-state which is the process of creating a national identity will educate and employ its own range of cultural specialists and intermediaries. Some of them may have been educated in world cities and have retained strong networks and lifestyle identifications with other transnational design. Some of them may even be official 'cultural animateurs' employed by the ministry of culture, who keep one eye on national cultural integration and one eye on the international tourist trade and its influence.

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In this way the priority is given to the nation-forming project. The power resources that the nation-state possesses are used to reinvent memories, traditions and practices with which it can resist, channel or control market penetration. Some nation-states invest in locally produced film and television programmes. Such kind of experiments in cultural engineering grounded in local forms of life and practices are bound to succeed. It has been the job of the cultural gatekeeper to decide in conjunction with colleagues abroad about what aspects of the local popular culture—music, food, dress, crafts, etc.—can be packaged and marketed in the metropolitan centres of the world. In many cases the various forms of hybridisation and creolisation have emerged. And the meaning of externally originating goods, information and images are reworked, syncretised and blended with existing cultural traditions and forms of life.

Television and the new communications technology in view of M. Morlet (1991) as quoted in Featherstone (1995) are frequently presented as producing both manipulation and resistance, and the homogenisation and fragmentation of contemporary culture. The new communication technology transcending the physical place by bringing disparate groups together produce a global Gemeinschaft. These groups unite around the common experiences of media and form new communities. This means that the locality is no longer the prime referent of our experiences. We can immediately unite and share experience with distant others through telephone, television with whom we can form a psychological neighborhood or personal community. There are ‘information rich’ and also ‘information poor’ nations on the global level and their access to power resources creates important differentials within localities. There are clear differentials, with the wealthy and well-educated, they are most likely to have access to the new forms of information and communications technology through possession of the necessary economic and cultural capital. New technology is also need a good deal of background knowledge to make its meaningful consumption. But on the other hand, it has been seen

that these global resources are often indigenised and syncretinised to produce particular blends and identifications which sustain the sense of the local. 20

The homogenisation thesis of globalisation misses the ways in which transnational corporations direct their advertising agenda towards various parts of the globe. It is increasingly tailored to specific differentiated audiences and markets. The global and the local cannot be neatly separated. It is seen in the statement by Coca-Cola: 'we are not a multi-national, we are a multi-local.' 21 Here, we can refer to the term 'glocal', the fusion of the terms global and local to make a blend, which is modelled on the Japanese *Dochaku*, which derives from the blend of agricultural principle and Japanese business interest in the 1980s. 22 The various combinations, blends and fusions, incompatible processes such as homogenisation and fragmentation, globalisation and localisation, universalism and particularism, indicate the problems of conceiving the global in terms of a singular integrated and unified conceptual scheme. One of the important examples of this various flows and blend of people, goods, technology, information and images cross and intermingle is the world city. World cities are the site in which we find the juxtaposition of the rich and the poor, the new middle-class professionals and the homeless, and a variety of other ethnic, class and traditional identifications, people form the centre and periphery are brought together to face each other within the same spatial location. 23 In this sense various cultural factors like mixing of codes, pastiche, fragmentation, incoherence, disjunction and syncretism were characteristics of cities in colonial societies. From this perspective the first multi-cultural city was not London or Los Angeles but probably Rio de Janeiro or Calcutta, or Singapore. Thus the notion of cultural modernity goes beyond Eurocentric notions of the homogenising effects of industrialisation, urbanisation and bureaucratisation, etc. and cultural diversity, syncretism and dislocation occurred there first. A global conception of the modern is required focusing upon spatial dimension, and geographical relationship

between the centre and the periphery rather than historical sequences of transitions from tradition to modernity and post modernity.

The process of migration (intensified flows) of people from the ex-colonial countries to the western metropolitan centres in the process of globalisation has posed us the question of cultural identity. The inward movement of people, images and information, from places introduces new levels of complexity in the formulation of notions of identity, cultural traditions, community and nation. This migration challenges the notion of one-way flows from the centres to the peripheries. The dominant centres in the West have now become not only importers of raw materials and goods, but of people also. The visibility of ‘the rest in the West’ as S. Hall, (1992) infuses cultural difference, once maintained between societies and within them. The migrants are unwilling to passively absorb the dominant cultural mythology of the nation or locality. It raises issues of multiculturalism and the fragmentation of identity. It has provoked extremist and nationalist reactions, which have occurred in the racist campaigns of Le Pen in France and in Britain in the 1980s Falklands War and its associated ‘little Englanderism’. This led to a series of reactions on the part of immigrants entailing a retreat into the culture of origin or a retreat into fundamentalist religious form of the home country such as a re-identification with the Caribbean, Pakistan, India or Bangladesh in Britain. For the second generation migrants the construction of complex counter-ethnicities is also evident in these societies. The prospect of a unified single identity may be impossible and illusory for them as they move and oscillate between various identities. It is widely noticed in various films, novels, etc. focusing on the third generation migrants who maintain the life style different from the life style of a positive unified identity. It has generated a discourse about the process of forming or constructing a coherent and strong collective identity and some new form of community, within modern societies.

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The tourist industry has become the world’s leading industry in the process of global marketing and globalisation. 27 Tourists now travel to the more exotic and remote parts of the world and come in direct contact and encounters with various locals. They are not only interested in the presentation of a simulation of a local culture but they are interested in the whole paraphernalia of the performance and set behind the scene. 28 The simulations of localities vary from cartoon-style parodies, to small-scale ‘walk-in, see and touch’ simulations of the popular imagination of a national culture to the whole heritage industry of living and working examples of the past. 29 In other situations it is the locals themselves who are asked to take part in staged authenticity for tourists. Here, the tourists are granted the privilege of moving around the living working locality in which the real inhabitants perform for them.

However, there are cases where tourists take part in tribal life on a more comprehensive basis. Here, the tourist lives with the tribe and takes part in a wide range of activities. They maintain a partly modernised and independent version of their traditional way of life. They are in a situation in which they possess sufficient power resources to be able to manipulate the boundary of their community to their own advantage and maintain their sense of cultural identity. An example would be of the Ainu of the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido. They consciously maintain their cultural identity. Tourism may be seen as a resource which is destroying localism and ethnic identities. It has destroyed plantation economy and taken their land for commodification and due to assimilation process the population of Hawaii has reduced to 40,000 from 600,000. The Hawaiian cultural movement in the 1970s has reacted against the long-term process of incorporation of Hawaii into the US economy. It is clear that a threat to cultural identity of a group or of a community is witnessed in global era. 30

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Globalisation and Emergence of Global and Local Culture

The process of globalisation leads to an increasing sensitivity to differences against American homogenisation. Here, a global culture has seen formed through the economic and political domination of the United States which thrust its hegemonic culture into all parts of the world. From this perspective the American way of life with its rapacious individualism and confident belief in progress is regarded as a corrosive homogenising force, as a threat to the integrity of all particularities. The assumption is that all particularities and local culture would eventually give ways under the modernising force of American cultural imperialism. Modernisation theory sets the model into motion, with the assumption that as each non-western nation eventually becomes modernised, it would move up in the hierarchy and duplicate or absorb American culture, to the extent that ultimately every locality would display the cultural ideals, images and material artefacts of the American way of life. The people of various countries around the world are watching Dallas or Sesame Street, Coca-Cola cans and ring-pulls are to be found all around the world, and is taken as evidence of this process. The move from traditional to modern societies was seen as accountable in terms of a range of specific processes: industrialisation, urbanisation, commodification, rationalisation, differentiation, bureaucratisation, the expansion of the division of labour, the growth of individualism and state formation processes. It is generally assumed that these processes dubbed with the western modernity have a universalising force and in effect western history was universal world history.

One of the characteristics associated with postmodernism is the loss of a sense of a common historical past. The process of globalisation has brought about a great interchange and clashes of different images of global order and historical narratives. It means that there are diverse cultures and particularities which were excluded from western modernity's universalistic project, which is one particular outcome of the current phase of the process of globalisation. It entails the sense that the world is one place and globe has been compressed into a locality. The others are neighbours with which we must necessarily interact, relate and listen. Here, the assumption is that the density of contacts between nations will itself lead to a global culture. In this case the notion of a global culture must be distinguished from one which is modelled on that of the nation-state.
National cultures have usually emerged alongside state formation processes in which cultural specialists have reinvented traditions and reshaped and refurbished the ethnic core of the people. As nation-states became increasingly drawn together in a tighter figuration of competing nations, they faced strong pressures to develop a coherent cultural identity. The process of the homogenisation of culture, the project of creating a common culture, must be understood as a process of synthesising and blending local differences. The process of formation of such a culture cannot be understood merely as a response to force within the nation-state, but must also be seen in relation to forces outside of it.

This process of cultural formation would be much easier in the face of some external threat. Here, one would have to conceive the globe as subjected to some extraterrestrial threat. A further possibility would be the response to a perceived threat to life on the planet through some ecological disaster. In either case, the process of cultural formation and development of a common identity for the world as an ‘in-group’ is in response to the development of a mission to meet the challenge of an ‘out-group’. There is clearly a range of other possibilities such as a federation of nations, or the triumph of a particular religion or trading company, which could in theory have led to the formation of a global culture.\(^{31}\)

The different nations have come together through closer financial and trade ties, through the increasing development of technology producing more efficient and rapid means of communication such as mass media, transport, telephone and fax through warfare it has produced a higher density of interchanges. It has been a rise in the intensity of a wide variety of cultural flows which makes transnational encounters more frequent. A. Appadurai (1990), for example, refers to the increasing flows of people like immigrants, workers, refugees, tourists, exiles, technology such as machinery, plant, electronics, financial information such as money, shares, media images and information from television, film, radio, newspapers, magazines and ideologies and world-view. On

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the practical level, the intensification of flows results in the need to handle problems of inter-cultural communication.\(^{32}\)

This leads to the development of ‘third cultures’, which has a mediating function. There is a further new category of professionals i.e. lawyers, accountants, management consultants, financial advisers, etc, who have come into prominence with the deregulation and globalisation of financial markets with the twenty four hour stock market trading, plus the expanding numbers of design professionals - specialists who work in the film, video, television, music, fashion, advertising and consumer culture industries.\(^{33}\) All these specialists have to become familiar with a number of national cultures. The majority of these third cultures are drawn upon the culture of the parent country from which the organisation is originated. It is therefore the cultures of developing the global financial firms, which have been dominated by American practices. The same situation applies with regard to many cultures and they take into account the particularities of local cultures and adopt organisational cultural practices and modes of orientation which are flexible enough to facilitate this. Hence, the practical problems of dealing with intensified cultural flows between nations lead to the formation of a variety of third cultures, which operate with relative independence of nation-states.

In the current phase of globalisation the West has to learn to tolerate a greater diversity within their boundaries which manifest themselves in greater multi-culturalism and poly-ethnicity. This also shows their inability to channel and manipulate global cultural flows successfully. The demand of equal participation, citizenship rights and greater autonomy on the part of regional, ethnic and other minorities have come up. Those who talk about such issues within nation-states are also more aware that they are talking to others outside the nations-states. This point makes us aware as R. Robertson (1992) argues that the idea of a global culture is in the process of becoming as meaningful as the idea of national-societal, or local culture.\(^{34}\)


A local culture is perceived as being a particularity which is the opposite of the global. It is referred to as the culture of a relatively small, bounded space for the individuals who live there engaged in daily and face-to-face relationships. Here, the emphasis is upon habitual and repetitive nature of the everyday life is taken for granted. The common stock of knowledge of the inhabitants and the physical environment like organisation of space, buildings, nature, etc. is assumed to be relatively fixed, the rituals, symbols and ceremonies that link people to a place and a common sense of the past in the sense of belonging, the common sediment experiences and cultural forms which are associated with a place, are crucial to the concept of a local culture. When we meet some one of our community in various parts of the world like England, China, and Canada, then we revive our collective memory and constitute a sense of temporary identity. This symbolic aspect of community boundaries, is also evident when one considers relationships with a village in which those who define their localness in terms of length of residence may refuse membership to outsiders. Hence, the ‘we-images’ and ‘they-images’, which are generated within local struggle to form an identity on the one hand and on the other tend to exclude outsiders. In addition to this face-to-face dimension of direct contact with outsiders, which may under certain circumstances reinforce local cultural deity, there is the perceived threat to the integration of the locality into wider regional, national and transnational networks via the development of a variety of media of communication. Here, it is possible to point to the development of the various transcultural media of interchange of many people and the contact with other parts of the world render different local cultures and make them more pressing. It also integrates localities into more impersonal structures. The national elites or trans-cultural professionals and experts have the capacity to dictate and override local decision making processes, which decide the fate of the locality. In this sense the boundaries of local cultures are seen to become more permeable and difficult to maintain.

It is expected that the generation of such nationalistic, ethnic and fundamentalist reactions to globalisation could also entail a strong assertion of local cultures against global compression and the intensity of global flow. It takes the form of reviving local traditions and ceremonies, or inventing new ones. Before proceeding to a discussion of

these strategies, it would be useful to focus on the notion of a loss of sense of place, or homelessness, in more detail. It can be used to point a general loss of a sense of wholeness, moral certainty, genuine social relationship, spontaneity and expressiveness.\(^\text{36}\)

In this connection someone formulates romantic schemes to recreate some golden age or deliver some future utopia about it. A sense of home is sustained by collective memory and our sense of the past does not primarily depend upon written sources. It depends on the ritual performance and formalism of ritual language, which may entail commemorative rituals such as weddings, funerals, Christmas, New Year, and participation or involved spectatorship in local, regional and national rituals e.g. royal wedding and nation days. These can be seen as the batteries which charge up the emotional bonds related to sacredness which integrates canopy of a nation-state. The globalisation makes the dissipation of the sacred possible that operates in a variety of ways amongst a wide range of groups of people.\(^\text{37}\) The countless little rituals, rites and ceremonies of the localities embodied practices between friends, neighbours and associates, and cement and formalise relationships and social bonds between people.

It has been argued that the phase of intense globalisation which took place between 1880 and 1920 drew more nations into a tightly structured, global figuration of interdependencies and power balances. It has produced finally an intense nationalism and ‘wilful nostalgia’.\(^\text{38}\) The efforts of nation-states to produce homogeneous, integrated common cultures and standardised citizens loyal to the national ideal led to attempts to eliminate local ethnic and regional differences. A second phase of nostalgia can be related to the phase of globalisation which has taken place since the 1960s and is associated with postmodernism.\(^\text{39}\) This second phase can be related to pressures, which for the large part are being successfully met in the West from nation-states to reconstitute their collective identities along with the pluralistic and multicultural lines.

In this present phase, the response to nostalgia in the recreation and invention of local, regional and sub-national culture has been placed alongside the perceived


destruction of locality through the globalisation of the world economy, expansion of the mass media and consumer culture. For example in Europe people think of the cultural assertiveness in various forms which are evident in the case of the Welsh, Scots, Bretons, Basques, etc. in Europe. But it can also be understood as using these means to reconstitute a sense of locality. Hence, the qualities of populism, syncretism, fragmentation and multi-coding, the collapse of symbolic hierarchies, the end of the sense of progress and historical 'new', and the positive attitude towards the excluded 'other,' which are associated with the development of consumer culture. With postmodernism, there is a re-emergence of the vernacular, of representational forms, with the use of pastiche and playful collaring of styles and traditions.

Identity: Identifying Self and Denying Other

This identification of self and denial of others is related to western and non-western cultural importance, individual life practices, civilisational understanding, modernity and its consequences in the current global process. The post-modern rhetoric places great stress on difference and otherness. Sardar argues that far from being a new theory of liberation, postmodernism, particularly from the perspective of the other, the non-western cultures, is simply a new wave of domination riding on the crest of colonialism and modernity. The western values, associated with modernity and its post-modern variant, are underpinned by individualism whereas the non-west puts greater emphasis on collective and communal values. In spite of the assault of western modernity and postmodernism, other cultures have retained values of community, belonging, morality and meaningfulness. This relates, in Sardar's much generalised argument, to non-western resistance to the western discourse of human rights, which, is the rights only in individualistic terms. The non-western cultures have a much broader conception of rights, grounded explicitly in religion. The rights defended by non-western cultures are human in general not just individual, and also respectful of the non-human, animal and nature.

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42 Ibid., p.65.
Rights, moreover, are attached to duties and obligations and they are not discrete and atomistic in nature but harmoniously interconnected by traditional belief systems. As many commentators have argued that post-modern culture is one of an accentuated consumerism where personal identity is constructed by what one buys. It means an intense commodification leaves no aspect of life untouched. According to Sardar, non-western youth are extremely vulnerable to the blandishments of post-modern consumerism. The economics of western television programmes, especially for the US products, show that programmes are rented abroad much more cheaply than the costs of domestic production. The young people in the non-western countries are subjected to constant bombardment from western culture and especially the values of consumerism. Generational tensions open up and non-western identities become increasingly fractured due to the seduction of the young by western commercial culture. For, spirituality there is a fundamental gulf between western secularism and non-western religiosity. According to Sardar, religion and belief in God are necessary in order to discern good from evil. Furthermore, from the perspective of non-western societies, surviving postmodernism is all about moving forward to tradition, which he insists is not an argument-for a conservative traditionalism but a means of sustaining the values and axioms of a civilisation against the amorality, relativism and, ultimately, nihilism of post-modern western culture.

S. Huntington's thesis on 'The Clash of Civilisations' is a more insightful and somewhat less ethnocentric account of the complexities of world order following the collapse of Soviet communism and the end of the Cold War. The civilisational paradigm also has virtues over the 184 states, which reduces international relations to the relations between sovereign states and fails to appreciate spheres of influence and the power of identities that transcend the nation-state. For Huntington, the world is intelligible but complex. Civilisations are made up of a number of elements: religions, race, comprehensiveness, longevity, and cultural rather than political identity. The most important element, Huntington argues that religion has been major element of identification of civilisations currently in the world. The first is sinic in which

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43 Ibid., pp. 71-72.
44 Ibid., p. 273.

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Confucianism is prominent. Although many scholars would include Japanese civilisation in the sinic category but Huntington does not. In his opinion, it is a distinctive offshoot of Chinese civilisation. The other major civilisation identified by Huntington is Hindu; the Islamic; the Christianity in western countries; Latin American; the seventh, orthodox. Finally, and eight, Huntington sees African possibly a separate civilisation in spite of its northern relation to Islam and southern relation to western Christendom.\(^45\) A civilisation may include people who share in and identify with its culture in a state dominated by other civilisation.\(^46\) S. Huntington, (1996) in his fascinating book deals with a wider range of questions related to cultural differences in the world, which is identifying more self and denial of others.

His emphasis on values and their grounding in religion, has been a strength of belief or trace of belief, underplays the role of material interests. Huntington is much concerned with the problem of immigration, the influx of Muslims into Europe and Hispanics into the USA. It may give rise to cleft societies encompassing two distinct and largely separate communities from two different civilisations, which in turn depends on the numbers of immigrants and the extent to which they are assimilated into the western cultures prevailing in Europe and America.\(^47\) The problem is one of assimilation or of exclusion. He is concerned about the problems of moral decline, cultural suicide, and political disunity in the West.\(^48\) It might be said as root cause of identifying self and denial of others. In fact, Huntington wants to resist the siren calls of multiculturalism, which he sees as particularly characterised by the undermining of a culture of individual rights by the myriad calls for collective rights, not only to do with race and ethnicity but also to do with sex and sexuality. In his analysis identity is seen and understood with the reference to civilisational association across the world and its clashes occur due to the denial of others and identifying self.

The various aspects of the transformation of identity in the late modern world, identity is a multi-accentual concept, and it mediates self and history in many complex

\(^{46}\) Ibid., p.135.
\(^{47}\) Ibid., p. 204.
\(^{48}\) Ibid., p. 304.
ways. Giddens stresses on the production of identity in radicalised modern conditions. It has to be appreciated that these issues concerning the transformation of identity may just be the latest manifestation of western individualism. This is not particularly a problem for Giddens since he admits the 'western' qualities of modernity and insists that they are being globalised. He argues that we are moving in the period of post-modernity in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalised and universalised than ever before. He identifies four relatively autonomous institutional dimensions of modernity that are being further extended around the world: capitalism, industrialism, surveillance and control of the means of violence. Capitalism is the capital accumulation in the context of competitive labour and product markets and industrialism is defined as transformation of nature: development of the created environment, surveillance as a control of information and social supervision and, finally, military power under modern conditions is termed as control of the means of violence in the context of the industrialisation of war. He rightly insists upon a relative autonomy for each of dimension. Further Giddens connects questions of self-identity to the accentuation of institutionalised modernity, globalisation and the further erosion of tradition, which he considers a western project that in one way or another is affecting every part of the world more intensively than ever before. Giddens provides an important characterisation or typification of certain aspects of social existence in conditions of late, high or radicalised modernity, which he uses interchangeably.

Giddens believes that the consequences of modernity have been accentuated and modernity has become reflexive. This involves the further dissolution of traditional forms of life, a form of life characterised by repetition, the cyclical reproduction of customs, habits and cherished assumptions across the generations. Tradition is comparatively static whereas modernity has become less fixed and predictable than they were even during the great upheavals of earlier phases of modernity. Tradition had persisted as a counterpoint to the unsettling features of earlier modernity. However, personal experiences of dislocation, uncertainty and choice, characteristic of modernity in general, are more pervasive and constitutive of identity. Global forces affect local intersect in complex

50 Ibid., pp. 55-63.
51 Ibid., p. 59.
ways and selfhood must be understood in reflexive relation to current institutional transformations.

Giddens identifies three major dynamics of late modern life: separation of time and space, disembodying of social institutions and intrinsic reflexivity.\(^1\) First, under pre-modern conditions, temporal and spatial arrangements are closely connected together. With the advent of modernity, time becomes abstracted and turning into a universal temporal scheme, a global calendar and clock, related to the growth of trade and international communications. Time is less and less constrained by space. Transport and communications speed up, overcoming what once were immense physical and natural barriers to generalised human concourse. Second, the disembodying of social institutions is the lifting out of social relations from local contexts and their rearticulation across indefinite tracts of time and space.\(^2\) Giddens identifies two kinds of abstract systems that facilitate such disembodying: symbolic tokens and expert system. Symbolic tokens are media of exchange namely money, which has become increasingly abstract. Everything, in principle, is reducible to a universal scale of exchange values. Money even loses its physicality in coins and notes and appearing as digits on a visual display unit (VDU). According to Giddens, expert systems bracket time and space through displaying modern technical knowledge.\(^3\) New forms of depersonalised expertise are constantly being produced alongside the older professions such as medicine and law and the growth and spread of management consultancy is a good example. The use of abstract systems depends upon trust and belief that the money has value and the experts really know what they are talking about.

Intrinsic reflexivity is the third major dynamic of late or high modernity. Intellectual monitoring of action, self-consciously using fallible knowledge, is routinely built into institutional and personal life of high modernity. The modern constantly reflects upon itself and these reflections play back into the modern. Knowledge is not what it used to be. Instead of the quest for certainty of earlier modern knowledge systems, late modern knowledge is characterised by radical doubt. This is not only in the scientific and

\(^{2}\) Ibid., p. 18.
\(^{3}\) Ibid..., p. 18.
interrelated. Robertson clearly says that there have been four focus points viz. nationally constituted societies, the international system of societies, individuals and human kind, which are helpful in understanding globalisation process since the 16th century. The process of globalisation has proceeded in the recent centuries largely in terms of enhancement, tangible crystallisation and relationship between each of these reference points. The concept of globalisation primarily concerned with operational construction of three major components and the forms of the world, which move towards bringing unity. So when we speak of globalisation, we refer to all relative specific paths that the world has taken in the direction of becoming unipolar. He emphasises two more important aspects of arguments of globalisation process. Firstly, there has been only relatively recent form of globalisation with having rival prospectuses to this dominant form, which has promoted images and concrete steps towards making single world. It has been seen that its various components have themselves been contested and have changed in content also over a period of time. Secondly, it focuses on the distinctiveness of culturally thematised and differentially accorded relative autonomy of these former components. In the 20th century these four principal references of stability had acquired relative foci of social practices. And Robertson considers one of the most important aspects and results of this general process of differentiation, which has been relativisation of basic reference points for human being and also involving a strong trend of world unity. These two developments of increasing relativisation of standpoints and proliferation of orientation to the global situation encourage the rise of discourse of fundamentalism including both totalising fundamentalism and anti-totalising fundamentalistic tendencies. The more diffused meaning of globalisation and many discussions on it has become common feature of journalism and intellectual discussion, which has clustered on two points of major tendencies. The one task of globalisation referring to the diffused growing tendencies of inter-dependence across the world on a number of different dimensions but primarily economic aspect has been more emphasised and the other sense of globalisation of institutions, collectivities and practices as the globalisation of science, the globalisation of education and so on has been emphasised.

62 Ibid., p.176.
These tendencies with each perspective acknowledge that globalisation increases interdependence including consciousness, particular practices, which are subject to constraints of general structure and formation of the global field. Robertson claims this time to be appropriate in returning to the local-global issues made part of contemporary consciousness of 'think globally and act locally'. In the sociological context and interest, it is to link the local to global by recognising embeddedness of local into global but not by thinking that social problem can be dealt at local level, which has problem of analytical perils, i.e. of omitting local from the global. He recognises that conception of societies, international relations, individual and human kind have not become increasingly differentiated but also experiencing internal shift into them and one of the most noted and significant shift with respect to contemporary national societies is in the direction of multiplicity and polyethnicity, and they have been largely directed by the principle of homogeneity. The contemporary problematic of multiculturality/polyethnicity along with increasing complex conception of gender differentiation exacerbates the search for fundamentals, which importantly brings globality increasingly into the centre of many societies. In European communities, various societies and regional communities or entities in spite of European Commission (EC) attempt to exclude additional Asians and Muslims, becoming considerably interest of cultural regions, which is becoming world space in Balibar's (1991) view as cited by Robertson.63

The central dynamics of globalisation process involve two fold process of the particularisation of the universal and universalisation of the particular, which help in understanding the real meanings and fundamentals. The particularisation of the universal is defined as the global concretisation of the problem of universality, which has become the point of search for global fundamentalism. The current phase of rapid globalisation facilitates the rise of movements concerned with the searching for real meaning of the world as a whole. And universalisation of particulars refers to the global universality of the search for particulars, for increasingly fine-grained modes of identity presentation. In Robertson's idea, fundamentalism is a mode of thought and practice, which has become almost globally institutionalised in the 20th century and in terms of norms of national self-determination announced after world wars and then expanded on global scale to all

63 Ibid., p. 177.
manner of 'entities' from 1960s onwards. To talk of fundamentalism two themes are important, one to consider the relationships between the quest for community, stable values and beliefs on one hand and on the other the nostalgia quest. All the contemporary way of doing the search for fundamentals is often framed or analysed in implicitly nostalgic terms rather than in the terms of a sense of loss or homelessness. The idea of search for fundamentals becomes reflexively organised on pan-local, ecumenical or concultural basis and this whole idea of return to real fundamental is rendered problematic. In the simultaneity of post-modern and rational choice theory, Robertson says these two superficially opposed points constitute standpoints of two sides of the same coin. The post-modern depicts a world of small narratives, a fluid disorderly global field of forms of life, identity presentation and consumerism. Rational choice promotes rational selection of ultimate beliefs and values, rationalised programmes indicate standardised ways in which preferences are exercised in increasingly complex situation of choice. Here, the former parades variety and heterogeneity and the latter is rooted in the assumption of global homogeneity and sameness of human kind and thus first promotes particularity and second promotes universality. It is interesting and requires interpretation on the take-off period of modern globalisation lasting from 1870s through to the end of 1920s. And the coordination of particular and the universal received widespread practical and political attention. The material circumstances of the world such as recently developed rapid means of travel and communication like airplane and wireless facilitate rapid spread of global consciousness. The crucial aspect of events and circumstances previously segregated in space of time came to be considered simultaneous in terms of categories of universally particular and particularly universal. In this time period context, the world was increasingly compressed and globalised and the great emphasis was on the need to invent tradition and national identity which was derived from contingencies of global compression and the concomitant spread of these expectations. In this period, the geohuman contingencies were formally worked out and time-zoning of the world, establishment of international dateline, global adoption of Gregorian calendar, adjustable seven-days week, establishment of international telegraphic and signalling code were established. At the same time the relationship of local and pan-local, ecumenical movements brought major religious traditions into a
coordinated, concultural discourse, international socialist movements brought to overcome strong particularism in the name of internationalism. And at the turn of the 19th century, International Youth Hostel movements attempted coordination of particularistic back to nature venture, modern Olympic games and Nobel prizes are of examples of particular universal developments and the use of term fundamentals and fundamentalism were also got established in the USA in the same period. In the mid of 19th century, politicisation of Archaeology had developed resulting in the national quest for the movements of classical and biblical civilisation in Egypt, Greece, Mesopotamia and Middle East, which were seen increasing international and industrialised society.64

These movements in turn became the national official symbols of peoples of the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean countries and local and non local archaeologists are trying to shape a new past for peoples of those regions.65 Robertson argues that search for fundamental exists to a considerable degree in both globalisation and global culture. He does not favour that all the search for fundamentals, it should be regarded and searched in this term and he favours making distinction between fundamentalism within globalisation and fundamentalism against globalisation and between both pro and anti fundamentalistic globalism, which are concerned with widely grounded fundamentalism. C. Geertz (1988) rightly says that we live in the world which is a gradual spectrum of mixing differences and it is again necessary to enlarge the possibility of intelligible discourse, which are different in interest, outlook, wealth and power but they are endlessly connected to each other.66

In the other set of index of culture, globalisation and world system the concepts of identity in the increasingly compressed world in which the most formidable components of nationally constituted societies and inter state system are subject to the internal and external constraints of multiculturality and poly ethnicity, which is the condition for identification of individual and collective selves of individual and collective others. Taking the essentiality of cultural importance of explaining others McGrane (1989) says

65 Ibid., p. 248.
that the history of different conceptions of difference from roughly 16th century to early 20th century in the western society, culture strongly accounts for the difference of the other, referring to mainly European and non-European other. This approach is important in terms of drawing attention to the civilisational paradigms for the both construction and representation of identity. It does not address ‘oriental’ in the west and also a globally authoritative paradigm and globally contested paradigm for interpreting and explaining the difference of others. 67 In more explicit ways personal and collective identity is largely constructed with some constraints and fixities of ascriptiveness and there are more dominant and less consensual ways of doing identity in a given period and place. In the compressed and singular world the bases for doing identity are increasingly shared and sometimes collide. Thus in a multicultural educational programmes the condition for the operation of such programmes resembles a shared basis of identity presentation. Citing A. Giddens (1992) and U. Beck’s (1992) idea of the ‘risk society’ in our contemporary social existence, Robertson says that we live in with the calculative attitude of open possibilities of positive and negative action.

For the overall circumstances of identity representation of the great global identity and complexity, Robertson used idea of relativism and worldism for some of convenience. 68 The term relativism covers a multitude of signs, post-modernism, the new pragmatism, which does not cover up the sharp discontinuities between different forms of collective and individual life. It is anti-foundational and anti-totalistic and its one offshoot is talking of culture in a global perspective involving participation of free-wheeling game of cultural politics in which culture is bound up with power and resistance. The worldism is foundational in nature. It is based on the claim that it is possible and desirable to grasp the world as a whole analytically, in such a way that everything of socio-cultural or political identity presentation occurring around the globe can be explained and interpreted in reference to dynamics of entire world system. He draws attention to particularity and difference and to universality and homogeneity resting on the thesis of two fold processes of involving interpretation of the universalisation of particularism and particularisation of universalism. Talking of the

relationship of universal and particular and capitalism, Robertson views that capitalism amplifies and bound up with the ambiguous expression of the demand both for assimilation into universal and adhering to particular and interplay of universal and particular is not limited to the capitalism. And the consumer global capitalism of our contemporary era is wrapped into the increasing thematised universal particular relationship in terms of the connection between universalistic supply and particularistic demand. The market involves the increasing interpenetration of culture and economy since the contemporary capitalist creation of consumer involves tailoring of products to the specialised regional, societal, ethnic-class and gender markets. Robertson quotes Bourricand idea of universal-particular in reference to global world as the emergence of spatial and temporal compression of the world, which puts increasing constraints to multitudes of groups and individuals to face each other in an open ensemble of interlocutors and partners. This gives rise to the issue of universalisation which accentuates the issue of particularisation. Robertson favours Bourricand's idea since it draws attention to globalisation and culture in ideational and practical aspects of interaction and communication between collective and individual sectors on the global scene and he indicates his missing aspect that interaction between different particulars may occur and cultural discontinuities in the Bourricand logical or ideal solutions, give rise to the problem of world order. Wallerstein (1984a) insists on simultaneity of particularism and universalism in his idea of nationalism in their relationship in the genesis and construction of capitalist civilisation.69

On the issue of universalisation and particularisation, Robertson has two main points to offer. Firstly, this issue is a basic feature of the human condition, which was given a substantial and extremely consequential historical thematisation with the rise of the great religio-cultural traditions. Those traditions were developed around the universal-particular theme and their significance has continued to our time. Its pragmatic status is inherent in relative incorporation and syncretisation of ideas from other culture in such a way that particularise the universal as for example Japanese contribution to the universal Japan acquired substantive theme of universality through its encounter with and

modification on along nativistic lines of Confucianism and Mahayana Buddhism. Japan's crystallisation of a term of universalistic particularism has resulted in its acquiring paradigmatic global significance with respect to handle the universal-particular issue. Secondly, the universalism-particularism issue has come to constitute a global-cultural form, which is a major axis of the structuration of the world as a whole rather than simple viewing universalism principle, which is applied to all particularisation referring to local. They have come together united in terms of universality of experience and increasing expectation of particularity on the other hand. The particularisation of universalism involves the idea of universal being given global human concreteness while the universalisation of particularism involves extensive diffusion of the idea that there is virtually no limit to particularity, to uniqueness, to difference and to otherness. In most general sense the contemporary globalisation may best be considered as a form of institutionalisation of two fold processes of involving universalisation of particularism and particularisation of universalism. Robertson claims that general radical Islamic movement is regarded not only opposition to workers homogenised system as a form of anti-modernity but also to the conception of the world as a series of culturally equal, and relationised entities and ways of life, which is fruitfully seen as a form of anti-post modernity.

In another way universalism-particularism axis of globalisation, the globality manifest in reference to a new globalised variation on the old theme of Gsellschaft and Gemeinschaft, which have been primary focuses for the critique of modernity in Germany. It is upgraded to increasingly interwoven with the discourse of globality in a sense to refer to the general relationship between the particular and communal on the one hand and the universal and the impersonal on the other. Robertson rightly quotes A. Appadurai (1990) for referring the central problem of today's global interaction and it is closely related to cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation. Arjun Appadurai argues that the central problem of global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of the sameness and differences to cannibalise one another and thus to proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment idea of triumphantly universal and resiliently particular.

research practices but also in the routine conduct of everyday life. As Giddens remarks, 'the integral relation between modernity and radical doubt is an issue which is not only disturbing to philosophers but is existentially troubling for individuals.' In these late modern conditions the interlacing of social event and social relations at distance are experienced with local conceptualities. The role of the modern media is crucial to this dialectic of the local and the global. Contemporary experience is highly mediated experience and typified by the collage effect of modern communications, especially television, and Giddens calls it the intrusion of distant events into everyday consciousness.

However, Giddens asks, what to do, how to act and whom to be. The focal question for everyone is living in circumstances of late modernity. These are not novel questions of modern life but they have become more urgent for self-identity in late modernity. In a post-traditional social universe, reflexively organised, permeated by abstract systems, and in which the reordering of time and space realigns the local with the global and the self undergoes massive changes. Another feature of late modern existence identified by Giddens is the sequestration of experience. He says that in order to sustain ontological security some fundamental aspects of life are in a sense privatised. It is evident in what Giddens calls the privatisation of passion.

Globalisation and Identity Relation in Terms of Fundamentals, Universal and Particular

Roland Robertson advocates globalisation, a relatively autonomous process and its approach departs from empirical generalisation concerning a rapid comprehension of entire world into a single, global field and conceptual ideas about the ways in which the whole world should be mapped out in sociological terms. He proposes two stands of elaboration for the relationship between globalisation and fundamentalism and these are

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55 Ibid., p. 21.
56 Ibid., p. 21.
57 Ibid., p. 27.
58 Ibid., p. 70.
59 Ibid., p. 80.
60 Ibid., p. 149.
In quoting C. Geertz (1986) R. Robertson agrees with the idea that globalisation is not simply a matter of society, region and civilisation brought together in various problematic ways but also occurring with the increasing intensity inside naturally constituted societies. C. Geertz says that foreignness does not start from the water’s edge but at the skin. The areas of the Central and Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union, the problem of old ethnic identities are played out in the context of global thematisation of ethnicity within humankind. The position of individual in the globalisation process in the discussion of world societies or world systems as large scale matter the contemporary construction of individualism, as small scale mater in contrast has been ignored. The micro-sociological process has been clearly distinguished from the macro-sociological process in terms of scale and complexity, but Robertson believes it as mismatched in the concept of globalisation as he places individual equally important as four elements in discussion-national societies, individual selves, the world system of societies and humankind. In this way globalisation process involves industrialisation of both universalisation of particularism and particularisation of universalism and indicating specifically consisting of interpenetration process of socialisation, individualisation, consolidation of international system of societies and concretisation of the sense of humankind. He says that globalisation has involved the institutionalised construction of individuals and the world political culture and it has led to the institutionalisation of life course. And John Meyer’s (1987) view of two dimensional public celebrations of the private or subjective individual aspects of the persons has also entered into rationalised social organisation. The states have played mediation role and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have also raised issues of education, health, human rights, rights of women for both promoting and mediating individualism. Robertson claims that even C. Geertz’s idea of increasing poly-ethnic and multiculturlity encouraged by large migration and diasporations have been crucial for encouragement and promotion of individualism on world wide. Robertson agrees with John Meyer’s idea of celebration of subjectiveness with involvement of rationalised social organisation, which plays important role in the establishment of minority forms of personal and collective identification where gender plays a significant role.
In the process of globalisation communication and computer network, electronic and digital technologies, with their immense information-processing, communicative and representational properties are significant in mediating identity as well, producing metaphor of deconstruction and reconstruction of the self in the organism/machine interface.\(^71\) Hobsbaw points out that identity has emerged as a major category of political debate only since the 1960s. The prime locus of identity politics as modern women’s movement, the gay and lesbian movements have flourished comparatively, giving a controversial lead in so many other respects, to the rest of the world.\(^72\)

In the late modern or in global era Haraway (1991) defines Cyborg as a hybrid creature, composed of organism and machine and explains her use of this ‘myth’ in order to come to terms with the dispersal and hybridization of identities.\(^73\) She has traced how biological research and socio-biology could be read ideologically, as constructed by cultural narratives mapped out across nature. This has given the scope for a paradigm shift from the study of the organism to the study of cybernetic systems inter and intra-communication networks, scientific management and latter managing the information society. In the tradition of western science and politics – the tradition of racist, male-dominated capitalism; the tradition of progress; the tradition of the appropriation of nature as resource for the production of culture; the tradition of the reproduction of the self form the reflection of the other – the relation between organism and machine has been a border war.\(^74\) She also imagines the world without gender and refusing the fixed identities, including the sexual, prescribed by modern systems of domination: the cyborg is a creature in a post-gender world. She insisted that it is not specifically a call for bisexuality but, instead, involves the dissolution of any polarity. According to Haraway, the myth of the cyborg derives, from three boundary breakdowns. The first breakdown is between human and animal. Research in Biology is a factor here, as is the politics of animal rights, challenging cruelty and human arrogance. The second breakdown is between organism and machine. Smart machines have increasingly put the distinctiveness


\(^{74}\) Ibid., p.150.
of human mental and physical capacities into question, and, indeed, have also extended such capacities. The third breakdown is between physical and non-physical. Miniaturised technology is everywhere, often functioning as the invisible machinery of our calculations and intellectual processed. One can also add to Haraway's point here by referring to interactions between virtual and actual realities. She asks when we visit the library on computer screen, are we visiting the library or not.

Haraway is interested in the transgression of boundaries of any kind. This relates to the general critique of essentialism in poststructuralist thought. Nothing exists in splendid isolation as a thing in itself, a self, a nation, any kind of identity. The signification of identity exists only in relation to something else. It is called into being by the binary code of language, albeit creating binaries that need to be deconstructed for the points of view of postmodern thinkers like Haraway. In this framework and conditions, Haraway argues, all identities are fractured. There are no essential and transformable into something else. Fixed identities are kept in place only by systems of domination and difference, then, is the principle of radical alterity and it refuses all of dominative modes of thought. She insists, 'one must not think in terms of essential properties, but in terms of design, boundary constraints, rates of flows, systems logic's, costs of lowering constraints'. This requires going with the flow of a new paradigm, the paradigm of networking and becoming rather than of separation and essential being. In this context, 'the cyborg is a kind of disassembled and reassembled, post-modern collective and personal self.' Haraway believes that the dislocations and fractures wrought on a global scale, there are grounds for hope in the dissolution of older boundaries and identities and, also, in the search for new solidarities to be forged across classes, genders and races.

The British cyber feminist, Sadie Plant (1996) has talked of the peculiarly of female qualities of computer-mediated communications. If this once apparently masculine technological mix was previously a turn off for women, no longer is that so. The development of computing from the centrally controlled mainframe computers to the popularly accessible desktops and laptops since the 1980s, plus entry to the decentred Internet, provided women with opportunities to break into the masculine preserve and to

75 Ibid., p.162.
76 Ibid., p. 163.
expansion and self-controlled ego, which can realise itself just as capital. The space of
growth in space of control is opposed to the realm of primitive and the realm of infantile
desire. It harbours all the uncontrolled such as aggression, sexuality, pleasure,
cannibalistic fantasy, impulsive and compulsive superstitious reality, religious fetishism,
fanatical beliefs, the repressed side or aspects as negative to both tradition and culture
and to nature and culture set to correspond to the specificity of modernism. This version
of culture can be called uncivilisational modernity.

Traditionalism, neo-traditionalism and neo-conservatism with same universe of
meaning pose a reaction to modernist pole and tradition must has to dissolved or
repressed if the civilising process has to be proceeded as an aspect of culture. It is a
system of rule and etiquette, which provides ultimate meaning to men’s place and
significance to their activities. It embodies a structure of legitimate authority, belief,
values pertaining to the world of personal relation. It is opposed to modernity, which is
defined from universe of emptied meaning, alienated individuals, a system of abstract
roles and functions.\textsuperscript{80} Postmodernism as a total dissipation of values and meanings,
opposes as the ultimate outcome of the modernist onslaught on culture. The post-
modernist pole accentuates the opposition of nature, natural forces, libido, unchanged
human creativity to the fellers of modernity, which is seen as structure of power and
control. It defines the primitive as ‘all that freedom from civilised control is meant to be,
the confusion of the sexes, the liberation of infantile desire, and its capacity for merging
with the other, the expression of immediate feeling, a social existence based on
communion rather than social distance. The conception here is that of culture as a set of
imprisoning constraints, culture as opposed to nature, and repressive of nature. As such
this position is also opposed to traditionalism, which is conceived as an expression of
increased control, a reaction to the false freedom generated by modernity.’\textsuperscript{81}

The conception of modem culture is understood as opposed to tradition, nature
and repression of nature. Tradition is an expression of increased control and reaction to
false freedom of modernity. Post-modernism is more symmetrically opposed to
modernism. It emphatically challenges the obliterating effect of modernity on culture via

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 92.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., pp. 92-93.
feminize the matrix, which was, in any case, already to some extent potentially feminist. Plant also comments upon pervasive crisis of masculine identity, including the undermining of the father’s authority, the home, changes in working patterns that favours female labour and girls’ greater educational success than boys. As she says, ‘These crises of masculine identity are fatal corrosions of everyone: every unified, centralized containment, and every system, which keeps them secure.’ However, she does not see a new ‘authentic or essential’ womanhood arising from the masculine crisis of identity. That idea of a perfectible, coherent and unified self is gone forever: such a judgement is integral to the optimistic appraisal that Plant makes of present techno-cultural developments in global era.

Global Process and Identity Formation

Jonathan Friedman (1994) aims to shift question of viewing modernity to post-modernity preserving them within culture of capitalism to external perspective on the transformation of the identify structure and its effect on the production of culture. In his view, modernism, postmodernism and traditionalism are described as three poles of capitalists identity space. This identity space presents in all commercial civilisations and its social world, which is automised into individuals in such a way that they neither conceive nor experience themselves a part of the larger realm. For having a grasp of the logic of such structures a brief understanding of all three are required. Friedman cites the Goethean ideas of modernism as a continuous process of accumulation of self in the form of wealth, knowledge and experience, which is a dangerous state and a person must be in constant movement for maintaining his survival. It is an identity of having no certain or fixed content, which is not used for develop capacity, movement and growth as a principle of selfhood. The realm of control and formation of self merges into the sphere of self-control and beyond the self, no universe of meaning exists. The universe is an arena of

78 Ibid., p.181.
its absolute relativism and it praises highly the value of all culture and all nature, in this way modernity is denatured and decultured. Post-modernity represents a return to both and a return to concrete. It must not be confused with cynicism of attitude born of the dissolution of any form of identity. These polarities of modernism, post-modernism, traditionalism and primitivism mark the extreme of cultural strategies in capitalist civilisation. An individual can combine various aspects of different poles like he is modern in education and traditional about his/her daughter's behaviour and here the problem exists of consistency and strain towards consistency is a function of crisis situation that affects identity. These poles are logical marker of modernism, exhibits normal identity of capitalism civilisation. Modernist identity depends on the existence of an expanding modern sector of a global system that is an expanding hegemonic centre, which is expanding various possibility of individual and social development, mobility and liberation from the fixed and concrete structures of non-capitalism forms such as family, community, religion. When hegemonic centre’s expansion turns to decline or end, then modern identity becomes increasingly difficult to maintain. In such circumstances, polarisation and function of spaces by non-modernism reforms occur and one might call it, capitalist identity space. The dissolution of modernist identity trifurcates towards traditionalist, primitivist and post-modernist space and it is a constant defining characteristic of capitalist civilisational movement within such space, which depends upon the specific political and economic processes in the world system. As modernist identity dominates in the hegemonic expansion and in the period of crisis or contraction gets trifurcated, which is heavily weighted in the favour of traditionalism since it provides roots and values, necessary to maintain identity.

Friedman talks about certain pre-requisites for the establishment of modern identity for individuals as they envisage their lives in terms of developmental scheme and they experience selves in an autonomous bounded totality, and they do not bond or integrated into a larger network, which ascribe to them as personal identity. And in the world system such persons, community, kin, and family networks get dissolved by penetration of capitalist sector and heterogenous and incomplete nature of capitalism, commodification, commercialisation processes in the world provide saturation where above identity space is not applicable. In the crisis of hegemonic situation the essential
capital flows in the world towards decentralisation is delineated with the help of structural plight of west, increasing capital accumulation in the hands of multinationals, increasingly fragmented cycle of production and reinvestment of capital, increasing export of capital to export of manufactured goods, in the central nation-state. This situation leads to the accumulation of capital import and economic growth in some regions like India, Brazil, Southeast Asia and South China with the concomitant emergence of new pattern of peripherisation of regional and specific level, which becomes entrenched peripheral status. It means some sectors and regions decline, others ascend. In configuration of change of material logic the world’s cultural logic finds its expression in ethnicities, religious cults, various traditionalism tinged with racism. Friedman (1994) has delineated tentatively non-modern sectors of the world systems in an open continuum rather than closed set and also suggested some ideal population or critical position for such continuum. 82

1. The populations, which are neither full nor partially integrated into world systemic reproductive processes. And here integration of reproductive processes means disintegration of its/their prior kinship and community forms of reproduction. The group of populations integrated as political regions and their territory and resources are in demand of larger polity but their local reproduction processes are not directly articulated to the larger social network. Such population groups are Amazonian Indian societies, tribal minorities of Assam, Burma and other Southeast Asian states, China, etc.

2. Some groups or populations integrated into larger political units but they maintain local distinctive structures of reproduction and subsumed but not eliminated by larger system. Their local reproduction processes are subsumed by cash cropping, specialisation, systemic trade in vital socially valuable goods, labour, etc., but their local reproduction or social strategies are still intact. This situation exists in the populations of Africa, Melanesia, Western Polynesia and Asia.

3. This existence of distinct models of identity and specific cultural strategies, which are different and external to the capitalist space and integration or capitalisation of

82 Ibid., pp. 96-97.
such population in has not been completed. And they maintain numerous, highly transformed elements of non-modern culture. Several things like stigma, ghettoisation, socialisation coming to reinforce a network of interpersonal relations creating subjects that are unlike modern ego in tier dependency on the local group and without a conceivable strategy of local reproduction.

The population of above first example is confronted with a situation, a relationship of control, conquest and potential integration, but no real social integration is found there. But in the global systemic term many such populations are located in the capital areas have been exported and accumulated and which are continuously expanding like India and Brazil and their populations are living in danger of absorption. The cultural strategies characteristics of peripheral populations are closely related to their positions, nature and degree of their integration into the global system. The cultural identity of these population is the outcome of identification by greater powers and is achieved by the internalisation of the identification by others. Their leaders might have partially assimilated into the modern sector and represented by western organisations and in strategy they maintain their resource base and to continue to practice their ways of self-determined life. Their struggles are characterised as ‘fourth world’. The second group of population focusing on the modern sector and dominated by traditional goals, is exemplified by the strategy in which the objects of modernity are symbols of power and a power defined in traditional terms, always coming from external source. The modernity is subsumed by traditional strategy itself expressive of a clan or kinship network. In the negative strategy implied in this group of population might be classically termed as ‘third world’. The cultural logic of this group appropriates modernity in terms of ‘traditional’ premise. The power of these groups of big people is defined by western style house, household goods and furniture, house behind garage packed with refrigerators, parts, airplanes, motors, electrical equipments, radio, television, etc., and his capacity to fund the network of kinship and alliance, social fecundity, the source of authority and control over their clients. Here, modernity is transformed into prestige goods and bride wealth. The third kind of strategy is more transformative version of ‘fourth world’ model and its people are on the margin of their own culture and they have lost identity to such an extent that they can represent it to themselves. Individuals of such system are integrated into
such larger system of world economy and their reproductive systems are destroyed and population are stigmatised, marginalised, such as Hawaiians and North American Indians and they might maintain elements of primitive culture in the form of values and knowledge they imparted in socialisation. Their low status is the result of incomplete capitalisation process and the values of family and community legality of local culture are singled out for low rank and prevent the mobility of individuals. The fourth world strategy consists of the idea of efforts of those people who have lost a culturally unified way of life on the part of people who have lost reconstruction of socio-cultural totality and people. As an ideal type this strategy is equivalent to the traditionalism. Such culture exists in the form of text and strategy appropriates tradition in terms of modern premises and peoples and their cultural strategies and identities are not completely modern and one place them in middle as some of their elements in socialisation and local community forms are in fact with them. They participate forcefully in the capitalist sector but psychologically bound with kinship affection, whose goal is to maintain equality and solidarity in the local group. The fourth world strategy dovetails at first step of strategy, it is a defence against encroachment by larger system of hegemonic growth, which occurs in contraction phase. The second is an attempt to recreate the distinctive form of life of population who have lost it, and these two strategies come together in a single political identity such as the world council of indigenous peoples.

There have been several debates on the question of modernity, post-modernity, in the transformation and disintegration of modern identity, which are couched in moral or political axis. But Friedman has argued for an objective understanding of crisis of modernity that places current transformation of world cultures and identities in the context of transformation of world system and this can be understood as a more cyclically sinister history of civilisational system. This crisis of modernity is a specific phenomenon of declining centres of the world system which had triggered a threshold effect of decentralisation of global accumulation of capital generating contradictory conditions in different parts of the world. In new areas of concentration of capital, one finds centres of modernism, new expansion provokes resistance and accommodation of tribal people, ultimate turn of peripheries into hegemonic spheres, absence of capital accumulation and existence of matrix of non-capitalist relations in the areas of stable peripherilisation. The
elaboration and restoration of former cultural identities is on rise in the areas of thorough
capitalisation with declining of modern identities, and these identities contain material
reproduction, and identified as fourth world strategies to maintain or reestablish separate
existence. In certain perspective we are witnessing cultural pluralisation of the world or
globalisation of culture, a formation of single world culture. The western cultural
products like coke, tourist, T-shirts, transistors and other things have diffused into our
daily lives as they appropriate things, which are vastly different and the cultural mix is
not a product of current world system, which is indeed much older than spaghetti and the
creole hodgepodge that one calls in English language. It has been the product of
colonially induced ethnic differentiation maintained by exclusionary politics so that
European-imposed identities have become local social realities, as Friedman has
observed that all cultures are plural but creole neither appeared nor experienced until they
identify themselves. The plural concept of world is distinctly western mode of
apprehending the current fragmentation system or confusion of identity space and when
hegemony is increasing cultural space, similarity gets homogenised, a plural set of
language become national language and cultural differences are translated into continuum
of correct to incorrect or standard to non-standard. This cultural content of emergent
power on world scale turns world cheap clothes, glass beads, transistors, tin cans into
focal point of power in periphery, which have been produced in centre. This power has
tone to such extreme condition that the local identity in periphery has been produced in
centre and cultural pluralism in the western experience of real post-modernisation of the
world, the ethnicisation and cultural pluralisation of dehegemonising world is incapable
of a formerly enforced politics of assimilation or cultural hierarchy. Contrary to culturist
view the production and reproduction of culture depends on the changing constitution of
identity space and their concomitant strategy and construction of identity is very much
part of the historical dynamics of the global system.

Jonathan Friedman (1994) likes to suggest some of the ways to understand
process of global phenomenon, which are necessary to the process that has seriously
affected our conditions of existence, our interests, values and desires. He has been
grappling with the process of marked cultural change in the cultural state of world, which

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83 Ibid., p. 100.
would not be understood in the 'progressive years' of the 1960s. The world system has been witnessing crisis-ridden centres with increasing an implosive loss of faith in the progress of civilisation and corresponding explosion of new cultural movements from revival of cults and religions to primitivism, a new traditionalism, and a strive for the reestablishment of a new culturally defined identity. These activities are accompanied by increasing national and ethnic fragmentation in centres due to culture based political movements such as from Basques and Catalans to the Irish and Scots, Amerindians, Hawaiians, the Melanesian Kastom movement, etc, which are collectively referred to as the 'fourth world.'

Jonathan (1977) has witnessed his earlier work regarding a large scale cycle of expansion and centralisation in both the present and previous world systems. He has discussed an apparent cyclical pattern of oscillation within civilised cosmologies between evolutionism, materialism and collectivism, on the one hand, and primitivism, collectivism and individualism, on the other hand. Friedman describes that today's themes are characterised by emerging culture as text, culture and identity ideologies, culture and histories, etc and these were different than those of 1950s and 1960s, those were dominating with development of dominant cultural materialism, a new archaeology, a development anthropology, a Marxist Anthropology, etc. Anthropology is knowledge of the other civilisation as an ideal reflective surface and it gauges transformations in its identity, and also assumed to be fundamental way of its own self-construction. These changes in objects are not limited to Anthropology but have swept all social sciences literature, humanities, art, pop culture; youth movements, etc. He has cited Daniel Bell (1976) who has brilliantly captured the gradual shift from the political left to right, from class politics to ideology, to the end of ideology, to post-industrial society, to the cultural contradiction of capitalism, from class to ethnicity, from class to culture, from rationality to the need of religion, on the one had, and on the other the need of regaining cultural past and a traditional identity lost in the emergence of post-modernity of today's capitalism. These are emergence of a new primitivism, an interest in discovering cultural roots, and a renewal of interest in exotic. Here the attempt to see the search for primordial meanings, find the past, have an authentic culture. This shift towards intellectual culture

\(^{84}\) Ibid., p. 78.
has been coincided with very widespread emergence of a cultural politics, a politics of local autonomy, a reassertion of individual autonomy, tribal values, protest against homogenisation of state bureaucratic capitalism, against creeping mediocrity mass culture and unisex society.

Friedman has quoted Birmingham school, which has done very much to popularise the idea of cultures of opposition, notion of class-based cultural expression with advent of punk, overall revolt against civilisation, post modernist symbolism uses, identifying self with a los primitivity, movement of 'urban Indians' of Italy, squatters of the major European cities where we have noticed two kinds of primitivity: one a cultural traditionalism, which is searching roots in the past or for models from periphery and other a more libidinous-aggressive soul of man awaiting its freedom from chain of civilisation and is rooted in the pre-capitalist past or in the contemporary primitive societies. 85

Civilised Identity: Crisis and Fragmentation

To understand reactions and oppositions to this present crisis, post-modernism, traditionalism, modernism and developmentalism, have sound grasp of their structure and matrix of increasing self definition. 86 In terms of culture, civilised identity might be conceptualised as structure of behaviour, manners, rules and ideas as properties of centres as opposing to periphery having more primordial characters. The civilised culture is specified in terms of formality and abstractness of system of impersonally defined roles, contract, wage, position and market, persons as self-developing independent agent, role players focusing on the future. It represses the human traditional culture a more primordial stratum, where life is organised on the exclusively direct personal relationship, and social world is rooted in a community of personal relations, exists on the periphery of civilised world. It appears to be longing for its ethnic autonomy, traditional values, self-determination, fundamental religion. In this model capitalist civilisation seems to negate culture, as the latter exists at periphery defined as concrete, face to face, communal, and

85 Ibid., pp. 80-81.
86 Ibid., pp. 81-85.
traditional. The civilised stage is defined as repertoire of abstract rules, formal etiquette, culture as repressing nature. The post-modern, primordial is the primitive, non-civilised, non-repressed, non-adult but culture is identified with power and is synonymous with the super ego of civilised man. The primordial is located 'out there' or 'back then' the nature founded in basic human needs for full expression and elaboration of human desire in the sense of pre-linguistic, pre-logical for concrete for concrete of dream work for communion (not community) in the sense of obliteration of individual boundaries. The traditionalism and post-modernist structures of identity tend to oppose modernist position and civilised identity. The abstract state and self control gets dissolved into rational and progressive thought. Authentic culture is seen as blockage and superstition, irrational, savage and juvenile. The authentic culture is relegated to the time and sphere of periphery of civilised identity.87

Friedman has summarised three variants of the structure of civilised identity such as traditionalist-culturalist civilisation, modernist civilisation, and postmodernist culture as civilisation. In traditional authentic culture, social categories are based on blood, age, and sex; natural direct personal relations are dominant, and traditionally bound social process are evident. In postmodern elite bourgeois culture, production and repression, middle class morality, meaning organised round autonomous individuals, mentality of individual are based on success, competition, status seeking, abstract roles and impersonal roles. And modernity is the civilisation of new, sophisticated, capacity to change, rationality and development, which are its dominant principles, and its culture in base on individual liberty and future of liberated self upliftment, meaning lies in movement, progress, etc.88 In other technological version of modernist model the primitive and traditionalist are equally rational modern and civilised. The two states of existence differ only with the degree of techno-economic development. It denies the identity of rationality, development and civilised states and it opens up the door for cultural relativism.89

87 Ibid., pp. 81-82.
88 Ibid., pp. 82-84.
89 Ibid., pp. 84-85.
Three kinds of self-definition form a coherent structure of oppositions. The opposition of traditionalist to the post-modernist is based on the opposition between the need to return to culture and to nature. The post-modernism opposition might define itself as future-oriented and the traditionalist has more definite past for defining. The self-definition of modernism is opposed to both nature and culture. And traditionalism and post-modernism has been reactions towards modernism, though the structure of these poles are overlapping. The emergence of traditionalism and post-modernism in identity space emerges out in dissolution of civilised identity and modernism is ritualised and reinforced by those who believe in maintaining former identity. The civilised identity has a specific construction and builds on the opposition between a self in the centre and a self in periphery. The identity crisis surges out in a search for meaning and roots in wider sense and in the process of peripheralisation within us and outside of us.

The crisis of identity in the centre is general expression of global crisis which consists of emergence of new identities and weakening of former national identities. The national identities are dissolving abstract meaning of citizenship in a state governed society and its replacement by the identities based on primordial loyalties such as ethnicity, race, language, local community and other concrete culture forms in cultural fragmentation. This cultural fragmentation does not occur in response to the process of development, emergence of post industrial order or information society but begins with the shifting in hegemony in the world system such as decentralisation of capital accumulation, increasing competition, tendency of creating new centres of political and economic power. The process of fragmentation has been seen in the form of movements for cultural autonomy, national movements, ethnic movements and focusing generally towards local autonomy and community self control. A rapid increase in the movement of national autonomy has been observed in the centre and periphery of the world system and, this situation, Friedman has summarised as follows:

1. A national autonomy implies, here, political and economic autonomy and in such situation local culture is falling apart of total organisation of life activities and the population in question is weakly integrated into a larger national state and world system. The groups such as Shans and Kachin of Burma, the Iranian Kurds, the Naga of India, lowland Indian groups of
South Africa, etc face such problem as they are expected to be found in the periphery of the world system. In these groups historical discontinuity between present and cultural past is not found and their local and cultural identity movements are taken for granted.

2. There are groups fully integrated in the larger system and their identity essentially dependent and defined broadly on ethnic, such a colour, language, common shared cultural practices, objects and beliefs. These nationalism are desired to have establishment of a culturally distinct nation state essentially identical to the other state society except in their composite ethnic distinctiveness. Such kind of ethnic nationalism is referred as 'sub-national' and is typical to the European situation where culture plays a crucial role in their major activities but does not play part in material reproduction of the group. In such situation entire population is integrated in a more or less homogenous economic process of capital accumulation and can occur anywhere in the world where cultural sphere is separated from the process of reproduction.

3. This type of movement occurs in the situation where both cultural continuity and cultural discontinuity exist and a cultural identity has been preserved in transformation or repressed in favour of an alternative identity imported from the centre. This exists in a Hawaiian model of a total society or a variety of North American Indian models of total ways of life. Such situation we expect to find in peripheral areas where a pre-colonial and pre-civilised past is preserved in the form of local tradition, European-constructed history and anthropology. This kind of nationalism is not comparable to the notion of nation state as their cultural model implies a political organisation of a completely different nature. These groups in question can be fully or partially integrated into larger system. Their identity is dependent on a set of common symbols and posses a cultural model of total life process including material representation which, in turn, becomes central focus of the movement. These nationalism movements are the strongest form of cultural crisis that can be expressed.
and they are the most lethal to the current large state organisation of the political units of which they are part. They express the desire of reforming socio-political identity along the lines of primordial loyalties at the very heart on the one hand and on the other a tendency to withdraw from the larger system at the very most.

Culture plays tremendous role in the process of identity construction and deconstruction and in a preliminary way it is necessary that Friedman has differentiated them in three ways that culture is implicated by referring following culture-1, 2, and 3. 90

1. The Culture 1, refers to all cultural concepts discussed by anthropologists since the inception of the discipline, and which refers to everything from agriculture to Philosophy, the symbolic to the mental orientation of society. But it is not as important as the anthropologists representing centre and their objects. Culture 1, refers to an objective description of the content of the lives of population ‘out there’ by its distance from us. This notion of culture is a product of the larger system and it can be understood as the observation of periphery by the centre. He demarcates the notion of Culture 1, as ‘objective’ culture, and the culture of social analysis. It also refers to the specific properties of another society’s system of meaningfully organised repertoires of social action, which may include anything from dialect, gestures, style of production and consumption to religious behaviour, symbols of identity and social values.

2. Culture 2, refers to the set of elements used by population in its own self-identification meaning their identification to themselves. It corresponds to what is usually known as the culture of ethnic identity, exclusively based on notions of commonality of language, blood and descent, irrespective of the notions of social condition in which it is grounded. This culture is equally prominent in both global expansion and global contraction. In the explanation, the formation of larger ethnic or minority blocks that can defend or advance their interests in the larger system and its economic success clearly weakens

90 Ibid., pp. 88-89.
the ethnic identity as in the growing national society individuals find new and rewarding identity with the expanding career possibilities. In the period of contraction the ethnic minority identity fall back upon economic defense and advantage and cultural and psychological security. The Culture 2, with definitive character restricts the function of identity making it fundamentally adaptive to the national or global reproductive process.

3. Culture 3, is defined as fundamental opposition to the larger system and acts as organizer of total life processes including material production. Though it contains essential elements of cultural identity of Culture 2, it also harbours the model of a different society that can only exists external to the present system. The movements organised in the Culture 3, do not aspire to stress jobs, welfare, and equal rights, but they demand a separate land base to reinstate and practice their culture as an exist from the system not advantages. It flourishes in the period of contraction and as a political identity it combines cultural identity with culturally defined resistance to civilisation. It might flare up in the period of expansion, which is the period of marginalisation, ethnocide, and cultural collapse for those population in question. It happens in the period of civilisational decline but appear superior ideology to the centre itself and can gather massive support for its goals. The ideology of such movements notions close to those of culturalists or traditionalists having local community view, close to nature, founded on control of its own control of existence, based on direct personal relations, extended family or kinship networks, an absence of capital, money, state, abstract form of contract and wage. It has strong appeal to both post-modernism and traditionalist viewers.

Global System: Identity Formation in Cultural, Social and Individual Frame

The construction of identity has been discussed in relation to cultural creativity, which involves local, social and individual mechanism and their importance in production of
culture with reference to Hellenistic period in one context and in the other the rethinking of notion of culture, its redesignation as phenomenon and it has accounted for considering active process of cultural constitution in which positional identity plays active role in relation to culture and identity in multi-society system. The shift from discussion of culture to the problem of attribution of meaning one tries to see relation among power, identity, construction of culture and how culture is diffused in the process of imperial expansion and the way in which cultural identities assert themselves in the period of decline. For evidence in the Hellenistic period, the expansion of Greek colonies, maintenance of Greek identity and Greek superiority took the form of implantation of Greek language, religion and legal code with forced or liberal tactics, which were documented in historical and ethnographic literature. For example, African culture has a deep knowledge of Bible but it is quite congruent with its own cosmologies and it has been assimilated in Christianity in entire array of symbols, building of church in its own world. In Hellenism, the culture of imperial expansion, is not only about spread of Greek cultural form, but also about conquest, establishment, transformation of political and economic structures leading to cultural change. The notion of acculturation and assimilation are common in anthropological literature and dealing with external and internal colonial relations and with immigrants and tend to reduce a complex social reality to the neutral question of learning and also a problem of asymmetrical power relations in which the phenomenon of decision, control and submission play important role. Friedman admits that the main problem of acculturation is primarily a process of change in identity and not a question of learning codes and, in other words, social control of cultural change is instrumental to an understanding of nature of that change. The colonial phenomenon has been witnessing import of Greek wares, Greek temples, architecture and other variety of complex cultural and social phenomenon must be taken into account to understand cultural process in global system. The Greek element in the colonial situation was to be maintained on foreign soil in a massive way of language, writing, sculpture, architecture, education, etc. But such kind of identity expresses in a separation of the person from that with which he or she identifies.

91 Ibid., pp. 27-39.
92 Ibid., p. 28.
The conditions for establishment and maintenance of cultural identity and ethnicity are closely tied with the ways in which personal identity is constituted as the kind of identity marked to the body is defined as internal and others are external to the persons and marked by the form of social practice or symbols employed by the population. The cultural identity is generic concept referring to the attribution of set of qualities to a given population as experienced by individual and commonly known as ethnicity. It is expressed in the concept of race or biological descent which is not practiced but inherent, not achieved but ascribed. It is expressed as heritage, or as cultural descent, learned by each and every individual precisely at the level of individual behaviour. In the weakest form such attribution is referred in terms of life style, or way of life, which may or may no have basis in tradition.

Traditional ethnicity is based on membership defined by the practice of certain activities including relation to descent. Ethnic affiliation is early changed with change in or complemented by geographical mobility or change in reference. When a member of group changes residence he adopts local ancestors and Gods and becomes practicing member of new community, but it does not mean that identity is more a question of social roles or membership externally and does not relate to inner selves. In such societies, personal identity is not independent of social context but it is entirely defined by it. In the kinship based societies the network of kin connection acts as a network of distinctive spiritual forces that form the locus of cosmological activity in specific combination with person rather than forming of self-definition. In the archaic states more abstract spiritual complexes exist and granting freedom to individuals and encompassing them in a large cosmological rules. In such system different cultural groups are culturally integrated into larger totality in a form of mosaic. In the modern social systems various culturally defined groups exist in void defined by space of nations constituted by the sum total of identical individuals. In cultural identity, individuals have basis of certain kind of social identity which has never been the content of social institution of society and constituted the roles taken on by the abstract individual. And cultural identity is concrete pluralistic and has no constitutional role in modern society.

Two kinds of ethnicity, i.e., traditional and modern ethnicity are being illustrated by B. Kapferer (1988) with the help of excellent comparison of nationalism in Sri Lanka
and Australia. In Sri Lanka national identity is embedded in the hierarchical structure of the Buddhist state and Sinhalese identity does not exist independent of state and all the groups, castes defined their position in the larger structure of hierarchical order. And Tamils are subordinated and encompassed within the Sinhalese order to maintain their integrity. Australian nationalism is based on the strict separation of cultural identity and state. The nation is defined on the bonds of blood, common substance and traditional system is distributed in the larger social network. In the modern system the identity is concentrated in the body and when such cultural identification proceeds, these differences are bound to be produced. With the expansionist or imperial process, the European expansion generated idealised modern style all over the world. The difference is epitomised in the differences between imitation of western life style and values as goals to be attained in order to be modern and the cargo cults and other religious expression of the external life-force in which western objects are encompassed by indigenous strategies, which is not for changing identity but for the reinforcing of a certain aspect of the local model of existence. The question of diffusion of culture from centre to margins must be understood as an imperial system in which different cultural strategies articulate with one another in the hierarchical structure. In the first place, kinship-organised and segmentary system is stronger and weaker variants of the system and subordinate population becomes segments of large empire and in the structure where ethnicity is identical with social position. In the stronger variants live ethnicity is reduced to the order of caste, cultural specificity is translated into relative purity or rank in relation to the other population, in which local population tend to get integrated into a larger economic and political network and losing their identity as societies. In the weaker variants, local group maintains their identity as societies as the large appears more like a hierarchical federation of separate societies than the more homogenous political entity. In the second place, the expansion or replication of segmentary system operates the expansion of similar structure in a kind of stereotypic expansion. The expansion of segmentary system into commercial expansion, displays a tendency of subordinate population to be thoroughly integrated into a growing market sector as individual or as family. Here, ascribed ethnic category does not play constitutive of social order as accumulation or

possession of abstract wealth play central role in defining social position. Ethnic
categories cannot function as categories of social structure and social positions are
economically and politically achieved. It is in such position ethnic and cultural identity
become salient since it is separated from social position. ⁹⁴

Numerous relations are seen to be existing in the process of expansion of centres
and subordinates. The formation of colonial systems in commercial environment may
lead to the combination of nationalist revolt and assimilation and cultural identity
formation from both side of colonial barrier. In commercial empire, traditional economic
dynamic of subordinate groups get demented, as difficult to maintain, and a stronger form
of ethnic identity embodied in the individual and independent of political and economic
change and with the destruction of subordinate social order and process of social
integration cultural diffusion occurs. In the colonial expansion into traditional or kinship
based society/ region is of segmentary or colonial in character and colonialis may be
associated with powerful external forces and there may be struggle against powerful.
And in either position conqueror is placed in higher position of cosmos and power is
placed in the ancestors and deities and local elite member defines himself to the
conquering group. Various literature of ethnographic and historical nature contains
strategies of such cosmological mobility.

Friedman suggests that the way of construction of cultural identities are
dependent upon the way of construction of individual selfhood and the difference
between more traditional and kinship-based systems and commercialised system are
related to the differences in the existential situation of the relation between social identity
and body, and between individual and social category. ⁹⁵ These categories are not absolute
and concrete realistic form but they represent positions in continuous tendencies. The
social identity is seen in terms of cultural category of phenomenon and culture represents
specific content of social form. He tries to highlight these categories into universalistic
and particularistic form/criteria. The term citizenry, as social identity, pertains to the
formal membership of larger political unit and in general it is identical with respect to
ethnicity, religion and tradition. The large nation state unit contains with individual

member who need no other social identity than citizenry and logically corresponding to modern individual as a structural type.

Friedman uses Louis Dumont's category of Homo Aequalis and Homo Hierarchicus and in Homo Aequalis concept he designates "ethnic" and "life style", two broad types of cultural identity. "Life style" is not least ascriptive and refers to the practice of cultural specific scheme and makes no claims to the historical legitimacy and can be freely chosen by individual subject. It is modernist as it maintains the autonomy of subjects and necessarily relativistic since there is no high order cultural criteria, which can be used for comparing different lifestyle. It maintains a minimal cultural identity in broad cultural pluralist framework, within larger domain of non-cultural citizenship of nation state. The ethnic identity is necessarily substantive and creates subdivision within the large culturally identical citizens, which can be accomplished by redefining individual culturally specific on the ascribed properties to each members of the cultural segment as 'substantive identity', which is 'in blood'. This can be interpreted in two ways: either in common tradition, history and descent or as race and they too have tendency to share substance of community, cultural endogamy, and endogamous self-image. Ethnicity, here, is of the same order as nation, not as abstract state but as a community of shared substance. And neither in the form of nation state domain multiple ethnicity take the form of ethnic pluralism, which is defined exclusively on membership. There are extremist attempts to turn such pluralism which are seen in South Africa, Asia, Nazi Germany and the group identified with state first ethnicised nation, which later become equivalent to state. Ethnicity and ethnic pluralism, as cultural categories are usually included as alternative identifies, within the nation state and it is only in circumstances permitting the political imposition of ethnic categories on the larger population that cultural category appears to merge with social categories.

In the other Homohierarchicus category personal or social identities are defined by their encompassment in higher ranked categories and in Home aequalis category the different socio-cultural categories can be defined with respect to one another in terms of relation of complementarity. Segmentary identity is defined in terms of relation between person, ancestors, gods presiding over a given territory or between sub-castes defined by a complementary division of functions. Individual identity, is primarily positional and is
not chosen freely and is defined by one’s place in larger network of relationship and mobility does not change it as moving from one to other social or geographical area as to move from one pre-defined and pre-determined position to another and identity is defined in terms of a set of social and cosmological relationship that extended beyond body. The holistic refers to encompassing aspect of identity and it makes possible a segmentary organisation enabling local groups to become embedded in successive higher order units. Local gods become the god of dominant group as local segmentary organization is neatly fitted into larger realm. This larger organisation is referred social pluralism as cultural categories, which are directly social and ethnicity in the content of social order. This kind of pluralism is inclusive not exclusive and identities are embedded in inclusively larger segments and ethnic relations are internal relationship among groups whose identities are defined positionally with respect to one another. The purpose of such classification is to show continuity rather than delineating number of types. Any particular tendency may display a variety of tendency as there is always conflict between ethnic vs. non-ethnic identities. It is difficult to assess the nature of cultural identities in the Hellenistic period, and for Greeks it might be argued that the entire ‘Hellenistic’ project has been expressed in a relation to culture as a set of behavioural rules, literature, language in order to maintain Greek identity. One might call it simply the result of colonisation process in which Greeks found themselves enclaved among a vast majority of foreigners and the notion of paideia, a corpus of identity made Greek urban culture accessible to a great many Asians. In relation to cultural identity the emergence of the notion of Greek individualism, theatre, secular philosophy, notion of social roles with transformation of Athenian society into commercial power were continued and got amplified in the Hellenistic period, which were establish already in classical era of Greek. With the rise of cultural movements of new identities and national entities with cultural homogenisation, concomitant current decline in western hegemony and decentralisation occurs on the world scale. Similar process can be noticed in the earlier civilisational system integrated into the Hellenistic empires. Friedman cites Belde (1991) who suggests that establishment of new world market for goods, ideas, social transformation and new political economy eroded traditional order of life and represented a threat to all kinds of traditional, local, attitudes, ideas, static structure and this destruction of Hellenistic
civilisation has created a crisis for urban individuals because it eroded his traditional basic identity and symbolic universe. This crisis has opened up all new Hellenistic developments in culture, philosophy, literature, art and religion that occurred in cities. The Hellenistic period was appeared an explosive increase of ethnic identification and religious mysticism and this phase was characterised by warfare, strife, instability, and disaggregating. In the modernisation period of Europe, Friedman quotes Cohen (1991) that with the commercial economic growth Jewish identity became ethnic, the notion of Jewish code of law, model of life became an abstract corpus one to distinguish between ascribed Jews and achieved Jews or converted Jews. In both cases, the conflict was seen in identity of individual existed prior to and external to his membership in a social or cultural group. In the western modernity the growing empires lead to increasing cultural homogeneity, relationship of elite and its effect on the subordinate population and loss of traditional identity occurred with the capitalist development. A dominant, civilised, capitalist, modern identity no longer fulfils its own demand and people seek alternative identity/identities that can be found among cultural traditions that were repressed and suppressed by dominant modernity. Within the sphere of cultural modernity or Homo Aequalis, the expansion of modernist hegemony is moved from culturally strong ethnic identity to the weaker forms of lifestyles and modernist identity. The latter is epitomised by the notion of self-developing individual, rootless and constantly evolving to new heights and it is in a general way, applicable to society. In the decline of hegemony, cultural identities became increasingly accentuated and societies drawn into periphery, developing at periphery a cargo like relationship with the disintegration of kinship and segmentary holistic social order and in the local crisis period new movements for reestablishment of tradition and renaissance of cultural identity started.

Global System and Modernity in Hegemonic Structure, Identity Space, Treacherous and Decline Frame

The nation states, regions, ethnic groups, etc are commonly understood as social construct aspects of social processes and considered as constituents of global social reality and institutionalisation and culturalisation in creation of rules, codes and models,
etc. are two necessarily practises for stabilisation of social process and its establishment and replication. The various organisations and their practices make up global process in the global system and the order in global systems is relation of individual subjected to the pervasive larger macro-processes and where convergence is not found, which pave the way for disorder and at the process of forming and creating order at the local level may also generate disorder. Some global examples are European slave trade in relation to Africa, America and Europe, which is creating economic expansion and an industrial order and displacement and disorder in rural sector, collapse of the Central Africa with massive warfare and depopulation, plantation of South America creating havoc with indigenous population, have both integration into global system implied displacement, disarticulation of local structure and increased level of conflict, temporal new stabilities in global integration in the form of imposition of hegemony at the lower levels. It is having both integrative and disintegrative effects, increasing local-regional systems collapse, disorder increase and is also followed by reintegration of local structure as its transformation into larger system in a global hierarchy as dependent unit upon the larger system. The disorder in global system means national order, ethnic order; and religious order transform throughout the system. The contributive variables of social fields in global phenomenon/system are at different levels such as state, city, town, village, household, kingdom, regional clan, maximal lineage and legal family, which show that global constituent of various local and regional processes, are represented sum total of various localities in the world. Jonathan Friedman tries to explain details of formation, expansion and decline of identity space of modernity with keeping aim of increasing disorder and dehomogenisation of a dominant cultural form relating with dehegemonisation of dominant global arena. The term hegemony indicates a tendency towards assimilation to a dominant identity, corresponding use of the term ‘homogeny’ and homogenisation has been always limited to the product of this process, which is ranking of identities with respect to dominant and dehomogenisation is the dissolution of that hierarchy in this respect.

The UN took worldwide official recognition of the emergence of indigenous movement across the world and declared 1993 to be the year of people. The discovery of Columbus of the new world in 1492 has become recent cultural identity aspect of
centralisation and decentralisation in the modern global system in the non-western and local world and the 1993 had become fast perhaps the decade of North, Central and South American Indian, the Australian Aborigine, Hawaiian, the Micronesian, etc. In Hawaii, a strong movement as witnessed to launch reestablishment of Hawaiian nation as politically autonomous entity, a tourist saturated state, in the height of economic, political and cultural Americanisation. On the mainland USA, powerful movement for elimination of course in the western civilisation and courses in non-western culture and society were in demand of university curricula. In Canada, discussions are underway regarding Maori of New Zealand, to be regained large portion of island state of their own. The same year of 1993 is considered the year of Dances and Wolves, Kevin Costner thanked Indian brothers publically at the Academy Award to cheers the audience as the Lakota-speaking Indians were involved in buffalo herds to economically self-sufficient and independent of USA. In Sweden, the indigenous people of the county with a historical narrative of the situation of Sami, a potential is the nation state have burst on the TV and in the parallel with above the fundamentalist religious movements, forms of ethnic nationalism, local warfare in the seams of a weakening of world order, which have been instrumental in the ethnification of large ethnic populations in the major centres of the global system. The gaining of perspective on the global phenomenon situation of sub-nationalism, ethnicities, emergence of indigenous movements including fragmentation of the Soviet empire and western hegemony with strong cultural identities have been seeking autonomy from larger realm of nation state of which they were part previously. In the formation and expansion of old imperial structure are breaking up in Asia and in East Asia emergence of new modernities in the form of neo-confucianism in the transformation of global order the emergence of global financial and political classes and displacement and impoverishment of large population have been witnessing widely. The cultural identity refers to those social identity, which is based on the specific cultural configuration of a conscious nature and history, language, and race are socially constructed realities of all possible base for cultural identity. In the contemporary situation, J. Friedman has identified three linked situation for processes of cultural identification in the western societies: 96

1. The western societies as host societies are becoming more ethnic as immigrants are gaining strength of identity and finally it leads to a direct confrontation known as racism.

2. The United Nations brings indigenous people on its agenda as they live on the margins of national states such as the Sami, the American Indians, the Maori, South and Southeast Asian tribal minorities slowly find their right land, for political and cultural autonomy.

3. The process of older ethnic subdivision in both East and West Europe has come to the life once more as in the Western Europe – Bretagne, Oceitania, Lombardy Cornwall, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Catalonia, the Basque County, and Corsica has overshadowed in media in the wake of the dismemberment of the empire in the East.

Ethnification is a more powerful and broader global process forms the multicultural ideologies and works from the bottom to ignite and politicise cultural identities among minorities of immigrants, sub-national regions and indigenous peoples on the one hand and on the other hand about decline of hegemony, disintegration of the centres model of identity, modernism, global proliferation of identities, locally rooted conditions of mobility in the large social arena. The network of communications and multicultural state polities instrumental in reification and creation of ethnicities and because of ethnic consolidation formation of new elites, leaders and representatives of new groups, who might early integrated into cocktail party syndrome of new international political and economic change.

The process of globalisation has been the form of western technological imperialism and equated with cultural homogenisation. The raw materials for new local variations have been provided by Dallas, Coke and Pepsi, T-shirts, with the same designs in the sweat shops, representing Acapulco, Rio, Blaikiki or Mauritius and Gucci clones, using international business machine (IBM) and Mac Clone, mixture of world music but has not produced homogenisation. The decentralisation of capital and multinationalisation process have fostered the globalisation of services, products and even classes but the cultural transfers such spaghetti, medical systems, science,
mathematics and clothing have been around for a very long time as essential elements of world history, but has not been often realised, since the first commercial civilisation of the old world. The integration of large proportion of world population, into hegemonic culture and imperial systems, disintegration of former and cultural fragmentation, local renaissance in declining expires are age-old and violent phenomenon but globalisation has not been identified as movement of people and things as relatively identified as constant phenomenon by world participants. The current decentralisation of the global system is experienced by many as dangerous and threat to ongoing existence and while others experience it as the opportunities for cultural expression, different positions and different perspectives.

The structure of modernity could be seen as an identity space, which can be used as foundation to understand present state of affairs. The dominant structure of this space is called modernism emerged on disintegration of former holistic structure of identity in which subject is integrated in a larger filed of structured forces that constituted selfhood. The self is separated from larger cosmological structure due to modernity which emerged in previous commercial civilisations and appeared in 18th century with the breakdown of older ascriptive hierarchies of aristocratic Europe, expressed in parallel process, as J. Friedman described in Europe.97

1. The commercial revolution was based on the idea of freeing of appearance from fixed status to unfixed status as anyone could appear as baroness, king, actor, player and the complains of this century are life with anarchy of identification.

2. The coffee house has become the arena for people’s interaction whose identities are not socially marked/fixed. Thus alternative identities can be practiced and ascription can be replaced by achievement. Here, univocal relation between self and social identity cannot be created or practiced.

3. Theatre becomes place increasingly dominated by professionally corps of actors and where new socially defined crowd can go and experience other

experiences than their own and can practice otherness and in such spectacles extreme emotional engagement of audiences is found.

4. The novels appear as popular form of culture and their aloud reading was limited to public arena and private reading was incorrect, which became ultimately outlet of private fantasy. It is an experiment of alterity as one could engage oneself entirely in another subject matter in life.

Modernity provides alternative as a permanent situation and it opens up always other possibilities of identity and resistance as self is not strictly defined. This is a world in which notion of civilisation is equivalent to artifice and private becomes the real and the public the artificial or constructed. The term 'alterity' in turn implies social life is achieved, developed and constructed and social self is neither natural, necessary nor ascribed. Thus alterity is a tendency to develop or to change. Alterity in combination of trial and error yields progress, evolution, learning, efficiency and becoming wiser and better. The dominant form of modern is considered modernism, which is dependent on external context and all the development in this regard is consisted in the expansion of the west in 14th century as centre periphery, commercialisation, consumption, urbanisation, individualisation, etc.98

1. The exploration and domination of large part of the globe emerging into European centre leads to the formation of periphery simultaneously and this transformation entails to disintegration of previous political and social structure of the new periphery or their adoption to peripheral state.

2. The commercialisation and industrial transformation of centre, and emergence of workshop of the world complex occurs where centre becomes and acts as the major supplier of the consumption goods for the larger world.

3. The traditional life forms in the centre get disintegrated with increasing industrialisation, and urbanisation, are experiencing often both liberation and alienation.

The modern social and economic world is characterised by the formation of hegemonic centre/periphery structures and modernism is dependent on maintaining a strategy of mobility of individual and social in a secure future. But when economic and political conditions for modernism weakens development appear more like disasters, accumulation in the centres with the generation of new industrial zones, capital export, multinationalisation, decentralisation with relocating production, and problem of competitions, cheap labour, lower taxes and more lucrative financial conditions. Various forms of capital accumulation like bonds, stock markets, speculation inland, in cultural industries, in the work of arts and non-arts continues till the financial crunch, bankruptcy, collapse of such fictitious market may acquire more or less violent form and begins to search for alternative identities. In such crisis a tendency towards neo-traditionalism due to security and salvation provided by traditional identity is witnessed. It is fixed and ascribed, provides a medium for engaged in larger collectivity and provides a set of standards, values and rules for living. Here, traditionalism is expressed in the desire for roots, ethnification of the world, rise of the ‘fourth world’, return to religion and stable values. All the polarities becomes more polarised and primitivists engage in total destruction of civilisation. Proliferation of new age and primitive cults including rapid increase in devil worship, witch cult and black magic are seen. And post-modernist favours the fragmentation of modernist universe of discourse and general instability of intellectual identity. It is usual to find them adopting intellectual evolutionism whereby they envisage post-modernity as a development from modernity and all three reactions do not appear on the surface as they are all part of the same space of potential identification. They are contained with modern identity what is specifically repressed. The decline modernism in the centre has been accompanied by fragmentation of larger social identities and dehegemonisation and hegemonisation can be appreciated in exhilarating liberation of cultural differences, a veritable philosophy of human variation. The deeper issues of cultural identity is not limited to those engaged in it but a deadly serious issue of psychic and social survival of cultural identity in its ethnic form is a matter of sacrificing self to a greater social project not to a mere question of infinitely exchangeable lifestyle.99

Approaches about Social Change in Indian Society

Social change in Indian society could be understood with the concepts and approaches like Sanskritisation and Westernisation, Little and Great tradition comprising of the process of particularisation and universalisation, cultural performance and organisations of tradition on the one hand and, on the other hand, dialectical model, cognitive historical or ideological approach and integrated approach are relevant to understand social change in this regard in this regard.\(^{100}\)

Sanskritisation was first used by M.N. Srinivas to describe social mobility in caste hierarchy of Hindu social order. In his study in Coorg in Mysore, M.N. Srinivas found that lower caste people adopt higher caste customs and practices and also gave up some of their own considered impure like meat eating, drinking, sacrifices to their deities. It is an endogenic change and culturally specific case of anticipatory socialisation to the culture of higher group in the hope of higher status in future. Sanskritisation implicitly shows two levels of meanings – historical-specific and cultural-specific. The historical-specific sense of Sanskritisation refers to the process of change in status of caste, leadership and its cultural pattern in different periods of history and cultural-specific denotes the contemporary process of cultural institution of upper castes by lower castes or sub-castes.\(^{101}\)

Again, M.N. Srinivas defines Westernisation in simple terms as the changes brought to the Indian society and culture during the British rule and these changes occur at different levels of technology, institutions, ideology and values. The establishment of scientific, technological and educational institutions, rise of nationalism, new political culture and leadership in India are considered by products of Westernisation. Both the term Sanskritisation and Westernisation focus and analyse on cultural change rather than structural change in Indian society.\(^{102}\)


\(^{102}\) Ibid., pp. 49-88.
Little and Great Traditions

Robert Redfield used the approach of Little and Great traditions to analyse social change in his study of various Mexican communities. The basic idea of this approach is civilisation and social organisation of tradition. It is based on the evolutionary model that civilisation or structure of tradition grows in two main stages: orthogenetic or indigenous evolution and second through heterogenic encounters or contact with other culture or civilisation. The social structure of civilisations operates at two levels: First, at the folks or unlettered peasants and the second, the 'elite' or 'selective few'. The cultural processes in the former or first comprise Little tradition and cultural processes in the latter constitute the Great Tradition. The constant interactions between two traditions have been observed. The unity of civilisation is maintained by its cultural structure, which perpetuates through cultural performance of their products. The cultural performances are initialised around social structure of both little and great traditions. The social structure of little tradition consists of its own role incumbent such as the folk artists, medicine man, tellers of riddles, proverbs and stories, poets and dancers, etc. Those people who are in the important arrangement of roles and statuses appear in the corporate groups as caste, sects, teachers, reciters, ritual leaders of different kind, which are concerned with civilization, inculcate Great tradition. The pattern of change is considered generally from orthogenetic to heterogenetic form of differentiation or change in cultural structure of tradition. It is assumed that all civilisation starts from orthogeneic level of cultural organisation and diversified through both orthogenetic or internal and external or heterogenetic process or contact with other civilisational process.

Indian society has been too complex and consists of hierarchy of tradition and it could not be described through dichotomy of little or great or sanskritic or western traditions and SC Dube advocates an alternative six-fold classification of traditions, which could be studied in rural and urban Indian context to evaluate change. These are classical traditions, the emergent national tradition, the local tradition, the western tradition, the local sociocultural traditions of social groups. These various levels of tradition offer a wide scope for the study of social change.
Dialectical Approach

In India dialectical approach did influence some scholars like D.P. Mukherjee and A.R. Desai. D.P. Mukherjee focuses on mainly on the encounter of Indian tradition from the west. On the other hand it unleashed many forces and of cultural tradition and give rise to middle class. This gives rise to forces generates a dialectical process of conflict and synthesis, which give a push to converge the class structure of Indian society. A. R. Desai argues that Indian nationalism did not exist in pre-British India. The British rule led to economic disintegration and economic reforms, which released new social soncsiousness and class structure from which all industrialists, farmers, workers or labourers, press etc. wanted to protect their interest for complete independence.103

Cognitive Historical Approach

Louis Dumont proposes this approach and conceives that Indian society can be understood not in terms of system of relationship but as a system of value pattern or ideational pattern or cognitive structure. The focus of study of has been done on social change with relation to Indian mind to revelation of western culture and how the cognitive Indian tradition rejects or accepts the cognitive system of western culture as individualism, freedom, democracy etc. The Indian and western cognitive system lies in holistic character of former and individualist attribute of the latter, i.e., a tension is tradition and modernity. The traditional structure of India in cognitive sense is based on holistic, historical, inequality, purity, pollution, priest-king alliance, etc. The primary theme of Dumont focus is on change in the theme of Indian culture structure not on the dynamics of social groups or structure.104

Integrated Approach

Y. Singh has given an integrated approach after working the pros and cons of each approach used for understanding social change in Indian society. And he says that non of

approach provides enough comprehensive perspective to understand social change in India. In this integrated approach he gives integration of orthogenetic and heterogenetic change as source and to understand cultural and social change. He professes Little or Great tradition for cultural and micro and macro for structural changes in Indian society. The Great tradition focuses on the impact of Islamisation society and westernisation or modernisation in heterogenetic tradition and in the orthogenetic tradition cultural renaissance and in the Little tradition primary impact of Islamisation and westernisation and sanrkritisaion or traditionalisation are important to mention. However, for understanding structural changes micro and macro impact are to be seen carefully. For macro structural changes political innovation, industry and bureaucratic and elite development, and in heterogenetic perspective, and for the orthogenetic changes rise and fall of Indian cities and trade centres are necessary to count. And in micro structural changes legislation, role differentiation, caste, family, migration, etc. in both heterogenetic and orthogenetic perspective are mentioned in Indian society.\(^\text{105}\) The integrated approach has been more suitable for understanding change and identity formation in Indian society in global era because other mentioned approaches provide only one side of change. As it provides scope and space for heterogenetic and orthogenetic tradition in both the micro and macro scale in structural and for cultural changes Little and Great tradition in Indian society.

**Summary**

This chapter deals with the process of globalisation and how it impresses upon individual or collective identity by development of global culture, local culture, third culture, community in terms of local and nation's dynamics, denying others and identifying self, civilised identity facing crisis and fragmentation in global process and identity space in traditional, modern, postmodern and hegemonic structure in treacherous and decline frame in global system and also discusses identity politics considering dynamics of order and disorder, private and public identity and historical frame. It is believed that transformation of identity happens in late modern world in complex and radicalised ways.

The globalisation process has become sensitive towards differences and its economic and political domination leads to the development of global culture, provides thrust to its hegemonic nature in and across the world and in opposition to global culture local culture is perceived and refers to small and bounded space with repetitive and habitual habit of life. The idea of identifying self and denying others is discussed with individual life practice and cultural importance, civilisational understanding, modernity and its consequences in contemporary global process. The rise of discourse of fundamentalism can be better understood in the two frames: one is relativisation of various stand points and other is related to the proliferation of orientation to the global situation. The two universalisation and particularisation processes are central dynamics of globalisation and help in understanding global fundamentals. The universalisation of particulars and particularisation of universalism refers to global universality of particulars and global concretisation of problems respectively. In the quest of fundamentals, community, values, beliefs and other nostalgic aspects are important and relevant for identity formation. In the global process traditionalism, modernism and postmodernism are considered identity space, which can be clarified in terms of accumulation of self in the form of wealth, knowledge and experience in modernity; rule and etiquette provide place and activity significance in tradition; and dissipation of values and meaning opposed to outcome of modernist onslaught on culture in post-modernity. The civilised identity in cultural term is understood by structure of behaviour, manner, rules and ideas in fundamental, universal and particular dynamics, by deconstructing and reconstructing ways, and expresses into various forms of movement like gay and lesbian in a post-modern sense. The combination of machine technology and organism raises issues like we and they, western and non-western, local and global, individual and collective in the late modern or global era. The later part of the chapter deals with the emergence of global culture along with local culture and identity along with the process of globalisation. The chapter delineates upon various approaches for understanding socio-cultural changes in Indian society.