Chapter - V
GLOBALISATION AND IDENTITY FORMATION: THE INDIAN EXPERIENCE

The Indian society is a plural society in terms of caste, class, religion, region, etc. The identity formation of various individualities and collectivises in Indian society rest upon these factors in the era of globalisation, which has been discussed in five sections-Indian state and society, civilisational identity and cultural aspect, gender, Dalit and migration. Various Indian scholars have tried to understand process of identity formation on the basis of language, social rituals, community, individual’s achievements and capitalism as open system of stratification, state and political ideology, state, culture and cultural region, movement, advertisement and media, Dalit subjugation and oppression, migration and religion, etc.

Globalisation: Identity Formation in Indian Society

Yogendra Singh is of the view that the process of social change in Indian society has entered into qualitatively new phase. He focuses on the culture and its significance in social changes, globalisation and local culture issue and perspectives, threat to regional and local identities, rise of popular culture and social change, culture and nation building in myth, history and reason, language limitations and identity, economic reform and political leadership, community, change and alienation, leisure and social change and emerging challenges in contemporary India. He talks of some of the significant process of change in the domain of culture in India and deals with the various studies of Indian sociologists in the areas of culture, the new challenges that these studies may have encountered due to new process of culture change through emergence of ‘information society’ and its consequences leading to resurgence of consciousness of identity among ethnic groups, minorities, and weaker sections of society. It also refers to various facets of relationship between culture, its pattern and process of economic and political

institution building in the Indian society.\textsuperscript{2} Y. Singh focuses upon the contemporary themes of culture change in India into two categories: One is concerned with substructure of culture, its relationship with social institutions, and the other refers to the process of change in culture specially engendered by the forces of globalisation, telecommunication revolution and emergence of market economy. The structural issues of changes refer to the impact of globalisation upon local culture in India, the nature of the cultural identities of the local, regional and national levels and the extent of their inner resilience to withstand the force of globalisation.\textsuperscript{3} The emergence of popular culture, its impact upon the lifestyle of the youth, other social categories in rural and urban population, and the extent to which impact upon the changes in lifestyle threaten the cultural identity of person exposed to popular culture.\textsuperscript{4} The rise in popular culture in the process of globalisation has direct bearing upon the cultural identity and its felt crises. The process of nation building, language as the marker of cultural identity, economic development and desired role of political leadership, the relationship between modernity and ethnicity, the changes in community structure and its cultural implications, the impact of changes in social structure upon leisure activities, its institutions in rural and urban India, have been examined in the context of their significance to culture changes at both institutional and ideological level.\textsuperscript{5} He has discussed change in culture in social, psychological and ideological context, and also influences the formation and crystallisation of identities. The process of cultural conflict, feeling of cultural domination, movements for seeking legitimacy for one's cultural practices and tension in values in the process of adoption to the new cultural traits are not confined to intercultural or inter-societal or international domain but such conflict also occurs within society among local, regional and levels of cultural globalisation process expands the scope and speed of cultural interactions across boundaries migration and emergence of cultural diaspora bring about intense cultural, social and economic interaction. This may become possible due to telecommunication revolution and cultural process set into motion for acquiring significance related to the possibilities of cultural assimilation.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., pp. 25-37.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., pp. 40-104.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., pp. 106-127.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., pp. 128-238.
adaptation, integration or conflict in course of such cultural contacts. The cultural globalisation posses threat to the cultural identity, local, regional and natural level. What are the dimensions of social conflict; resurgence of identity consciousness and to what extent historical and social cultural dimensions of a society provide resistance and dynamism to the local, regional and national cultures to meet the challenges. The globalisation of culture contributes homogenisation of its styles and practices. The evidence in this regard suggests that several cultural field of a fusion of style, content and forms of culture is taking place for example in the field of language, music, painting, architecture, and several other field of culture. It does not mean that traditional or original forms and styles of cultural continuity and creativity cease to evolve and there is no replacement of original forms with experimental ones that attempt to fusion and harmonisation being into being. Instead of original cultural styles and eroded forms, there assumes new meaning and significance since globalisation not only bring several cultures and their institutions together but it also enkindles sharper consciousness of cultural identity.

Anand Kumar (2007) analyses emergence of Indian identity with modernity, nation-building and globalisation concepts in discourse and focuses on modernity, globalisation, political parties, ideological roots and anti-globalisation response and campaign. He told that Asia and Asian countries are associated with Europe and European counties with resistance to colonisation and adaptation to modernisation. The significant factors in the change of intellectual relationship of Europe and Asia was French revolution doctrines of liberty, equality, fraternity and European contribution in the reform movements, and development of capitalism in Europe and exploitation of Asian colonial resources in later phase of such relationship. The development of nationalism in Asian countries grew directly through resistance to imperialism and sense of recovery of historical sense and pride in cultural achievement as Asian civilisations have lived by important features of cultural, social, religious and philosophical spheres. Apart from nationalism, the European impacts on Asian countries are witnessed in modern framework of states, legal system and modern laws, modern constitution for

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governance, and growth of cities as centres for economic, political, social and cultural activities. There are different trajectories of modernity in Asian countries, which necessarily harmonises with history and cultural tradition. China and Japan had a predominance of familism, low status for mercantile class, centralised political structure and tradition of xenophobia. The need to recognise the presence of Islamic believers in Asia, and Islam as a religion experiencing conflict and tension between reason and tradition are also under noticed. There has been much space for the concept of Asian modernity and Asian modernity has been forced to deal with the hegemonic presence of European modernity but the urge for modernity in Asia in co-mingled with the urge for identity. The sharpening of the choices for India between Marxism and Gandhism and in the pragmatic synthesis, India also experiences cultural narcissism, assertion by Dalit and Backward caste, and mobilisation for justice, which make common path of modernisation difficult. It also promotes social conflict and lack of mutuality along the lines of caste, religion and gender identity in Indian society. In such context spiritualising of modernity A. Pathak, (2001) view is important for understanding progress of modernisation. And poorer section and lower middle class are two genuine carriers of modernity as other upper class and upper middle class are westoxicated, self-possessed, without respect of rule of law in and their role as citizens as D. Gupta, (2000) has described and analysed in Indian society context.

The discourse of globalisation and its meaning for understanding the dynamics of nation-building in the post colonial societies and since the implosion of Soviet Union (USSR) and Berlin wall decline, the state and rediscovery of nation-building and policy making social mobilisation and political initiatives are playing important role in such relationship and understanding. Kumar suggests to ask three question in the present scenario: political sociology of nation building, major features of globalisation and its pathology and finally how both can exist in the coming times. However, human family has been experiencing four phases of nation-building - the capitalist phase dominant and prominent in the West European experience, opposition of imperialism or anti-imperialism of Asian and African people; post colonial nation-building directed by politico and cultural policies of countries of Latin America, Asia, Africa after the end of

\[\text{Ibid., p.524.}\]
Second World War; post cold war nation-building taking place in central Asia after USSR debacle and eastern Europe.

In all these phases journey to nation-building has been undertaken in two phases of liberal democratic and authoritarian government and institutionalisation of freedom, citizenship, modernity in presence of linguistic, religious and territorial specificities in conjunction. Political Sociology of nation-building suggests a complex process of creating a variety of interfaces between intended external, local and global, ethnic and universal factors of interest and identity. It is rational construction of socio-political space through citizenship around centrality of state. Social scientists have been dealing with contemporary life setting of individuality, community, nationality and globality and hyphenation of civilisational, societal, ethnic, regional, national self consciousness, tension between local and global and simultaneousness of homogenisation, heterogenisation and hybridisation with increasing intensity of globalisation. The homogenisation has increased and leading to loss of identity and in anti-imperialist nation-discourse the relativisation of national, regional and global agenda has come in focus. In India since 1990s, Government has been taking privatisation, and liberalisation, and the Gandhian, the Marxist, the nationalist, the Ambedkarites, and the Maoists all have been disfavouring such processes because they give new hope and favour to big farmers, entrepreneurs, neo-rich class of society of India. And others see it as a threat to Indian freedom and Indian democracy and launch anti-globalisation campaign in coalitions and networks with Bharat Jana Andolan, Sarva Sewa Snagh, Swadeshi Jagran Manch, Asian Social Forum, Azadi Bachao Andolan, National Alliance of Peoples Movement, with other trade unionists, writers, advocates, social activists and others. The political parties' position in India have been in various ideological position and ultimate zone of convergence is pragmatism and all political parties are found in two big political alliances – National Democratic Alliance (NDA) and United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and since last two decades coalition politics has been the dominating feature of Indian polity. These two alliances claim making hard decisions for long-term interest and in making India a superpower along with security of interest of backward regions and weaker sections of Indian society. In many states like Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal,
Orissa, Bihar, Maharashtra, political command of the states is in hands of local parties. All these local parties have put pressure to appear pro-people and also provide conducive environment to entrepreneurs for investment and employment generation as they have twin imperatives of their orientation towards reforms. All major political parties show confusion between and with regarding reducing agricultural subsidies, privatisation of social sector like health, education, encouragements of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and increasing the cost of investment. And farmers, artisans, salaried employees, employed and unemployed youth, small industrialists perceive parties and groups not favourable to their interest. Intensification of globalisation connotes rising global economy around the world and bypassing traditional localities, which has been the habitat of men and women, this process give rise to the promotion of politics of identity instead of citizen based politics of nation building. The meaning of exploration of modernisation and globalisation is a call in different local settings to make sense of their response to the imperatives of being in the era of modernity, nationality, and ethnicity and globality.

K.L. Sharma (2007) claims that the process of globalisation is somewhat hazy and ad hoc as since 1990s the concepts of westernisation and modernisation, development, etc. are being sidelined by this process. He analyses the impact of globalisation in Indian society in terms of caste and class in the wake of growing opportunities in economy, industry, trade, culture and polity. With the increasing internationalisation of trade and investment in developing countries the relation of developed and developing countries has come to be regarded as superior and inferior entities and the process goes beyond transnationalisation of capital and shows profound reorganisation of manufacturing, trade, capital, services with reference to mega organisation or transnational organisation on the one side of reality and on the other side it refers to destruction of diversity and marginalisation of democratic rights, culture, environment by external implosion. In Indian society opposition to globalisation, as a new hegemonic development, is seen in micro movement with a view to check onslaught on the interest of farmers, women,

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9 Ibid., pp. 528-531.
 artisans, poor and it has raised a new discourse on democracy, i.e., participatory which is beyond conventional institution of election and political parties. However, India is confronted with the dilemma of joining global race, on the one hand, and retaining its distinct national character, on the other, as transnational activities of globalisation process touches almost all aspects of Indian social fabric including religion, media, migration, economy, polity, gender, labour family, culture, community etc. The local or micro movement in India or localisation does not mean necessarily obstructing modernisation of the economy, migration and mobility of people and its benefit to the poor depend on how the strength of local and indigenous economy provides security and employment to its members. To understand impact of globalisation, Sharma has taken Amartya Sen (2000) formulation concept as individual, development, freedom, opportunities, market, state, etc. Sharma told that Sen puts social behind all endeavours and his concept of social opportunities has got implications for Indian polity, culture, economy in wide dimensions/range. The development, freedom, equality, social equality and opportunity are inter-related and depend on the social arrangements and an effective social arrangement alone can ensure all these things, and Sen talks of substantive freedom.11 Here questions like what happens to social arrangements, marginalised groups, reproduction of old middle class, continuation of the old middle class, dominance of upper and upper middle castes in the phase of globalisation. Several states like Bihar, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, etc., which have witnessed caste wars which tantamount to 'class wars' between landless and landed people in general and caste attacks and encounters have been frequent in Bihar, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, in particular. Various modern institutions such as universities, factories, mass media, courts, have become caste feud phenomenon and anti-Mandal agitation phenomenon for representation in Government jobs by urban middle class, which provide really security and social status to the formally deprives castes like Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in Indian society. Caste division in the universities, colleges, factories, hostels, in urban areas has become usual phenomenon. Since 1970s, with the growth of English-speaking intelligentsia, growth and diversity of middle classes and their share and engagement in jobs, professions and

11 Ibid., p. 254.
middle-class entrepreneurship, white collar jobs, aspiration has enhanced with expansion of trade, industry, commercialisation of agriculture. In the wake of globalisation the gap remains un-bridged between upper and middle castes, between traditional middle classes and new aspiring groups of people who look for new partners and possibilities. This process of globalisation calls for new aspiration and alteration in our society and culture but the new hiatus between the upper and lower social segments remain despite very basic change in economy and social milieu and the resilience of Indian society becomes a perpetual focal point as almost a similar position India witnessed a few decades before when lower castes tried to move up in the light of Sanskritisation, M. N. Srinivas, (1954) and upper castes opted for desanskritised new and secular jobs and practices. Middle class in India, of whom the majority are from upper castes and only a minority belongs to the middle and lower castes and scheduled tribes, due to new state formation have grown enormously. In India caste is certainly a means of identity as caste is in the minds of the people. In Indian class structures, landowners, landless labourers, traders and money lenders are existential structural entities and not conceptual constructions and mode of production and production of relations in caste and family and kinship, and caste and class represents the same structural reality and class operates within the framework of caste and caste conflict tantamount to class conflict in India.

Avijit Pathak (2006) talks about generating or evolving /regenerating spirituality quoted modernity, which creates a true space for making asymmetrical globalisation more humane and egalitarian in nature. It needs a high degree of inner strength to strive for a culture in which one sees to elevated mind and limits to segmented identities such as Tamil/Dalit, women, men, Muslim, etc. Generally we are driven by and tend to determine on politics and world views by all sort of limiting identities emanating from caste, language, religion, gender, ethnicity and nationality in Indian society. As a result this world becomes the sites of identity conflict, racism, colonialism, ethnocentrism, castism and parochialism. He says we are all living with the memories of history, language, local tradition and cultural specificities. Since we are situated in time and space and

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12 Ibid., pp. 254-255.
13 Ibid., pp. 243-246.
identities are unlikely to escape. He tries to reflect on the inescapable social identities as fluid, inclusive complex, dialect-formation and transcending these identities. The matrix of social relationships is the rooting sites for the human consciousness, feeling, thinking, and acting. He has quoted G. H. Mead to understand self as Mead distinguishes self into ‘I’ and ‘Me’. ‘I’ is never entirely calculable, it brings elements of novelty, gives sense of freedom and innovation. ‘Me’ is socially constructed, it is conventional habitual individual having those habits and responses, which everyone had and his concept of ‘generalised other’ can made us understand me clearly.15 Pathak thinks of the implication of these identities in a multiethnic, multi-religious, multi-linguistic Indian society. In Indian society, 4635 communities and 325 languages families are found.16 In such a multiple and complex he asks about existence and relevance of segmented and identities in India by exploring several quest like a truly collective and shared cultural heritage, India as a merely state executing dominant community, these identities in global society, or new experience emerge in such differences and forging for alternative experience of unity through the use of perpetual process of dialogue conversation, assimilation and accommodation. The author tries to find out the answers for his enquiries of how identities are constructed, it its role in shaping life and politics, what are the limitations of these identities, striving for a culture in which differences emanating from multiple identities posing obstacles and creating a conducive situation for process of assimilation and syncretism under complex domain of identity formation, hierarchy and conflict, and dialectics and identity politics in Indian society.17

Pathak says that identities often appear to be natural but the fact is that identities are constructed through socialisation and cultural practices in a complex domain. He has given the example of gender to understand it as gender is not sex and it is essentially a cultural construct and a process of growing up as a ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’. He argues that biological factivity is transformed into an attitude a belief, an ideal through family socialisation, school curriculum, religious practices and beliefs and finally acquires a ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ identity. The above mentioned socio-cultural practices play a role in the formation of identity. He quotes a famous work of Leela

13 Ibid., p. 113.
Dube, which focuses on the process of socialisation of Hindu girls through rituals and ceremonies, use of languages and practices within and in relation to the family. However, author cites role of various puja and vrata celebrations like Durga puja, Gauri puja, Shiva and Vishnu puza, Navaratri, Annapura, and other such kind of puja and vrat for demarking husband wife relation, acquiring good husband, mark of puberty and prosperity. Moreover, such practices constitute femininity. Here, a woman should internalise feminine ideal of being polite, tolerance, self restrained, etc. Identities are often given or ascriptive but it is generally acquired through cultural and social practices. The identity of a Brahman is socialised and trained to separate from 'non-Brahman' is a rigid criticism of inclusion and exclusion. Likewise the ethnic identity depends on the intensity of cultural practices. The individual from various ethnic group grows with the self perception of celebrating cultural practices is allowed by his cultural /ethnic groups and this acquires his/her identity.

In India identities often exist as asymmetrical, differences, ranked and graded, hierarchical, which cause severe anguish and pain. In socio-political life of democratisation inferior and low ranking identities group began protecting and contesting entire ideology that legitimises such hierarchy and conflict in Indian society. The social environment is characterised by hierarchy unevenness and asymmetry, limiting identities, privilege, exploitation, domination and marginalisation. The question of identities for various groups began to matter. Pathaks wants to reflect upon the principle of hierarchy Indian society. The striking feature of hierarchy is varna and much of the scholars have talked about Manusmriti, that scripture santifies this hierarchy. And this scripture has given an elaborate picture of hierarchy principle of vernas, their origin, assigned duties and responsibilities, their status and order of things. And these all character inherited the characteristic of grading, ranking and hierarchy. He talks of Louis Dumont’s, a French scholar, book Homo Hierarchius (1970) in which he has looked upon the principle of hierarchy with a great precision and care. For him hierarchy is not only ranking but a principle in which the elements of whole are ranked with the whole. It is not only idea but also value, which is indispensable to social life. The idea of hierarchy is necessary where two opposites 'purity' and 'pollution' are corresponding to Brahmin an Dalit, the two social poles. The hierarchy of varna is not limited to caste but to the other identities, in a
hierarchal manner such as ethnic group and women. In the patriarchal society, the difference between men and women, which is no longer symmetrical difference here men are privileged and women are subdued. Like wise many ethnic identities and groups are problematic, backward, and kept under perpetual surveillance. But the socio-political practices can inspire us to see beyond these differences and also to realise the deep unity in Indian society.

The state of identity politics and recourses of such politics in India are seen hitherto a growing challenges to the dominant ideologies of hierarchy, hegemony, patriarchy, Hindu nationalism, etc in dialectic manner. He describes intensity of identity politics, which is witnessing a struggle in India, for recognition, cultural autonomy, difference, in the various domain over a period of time such as Tamil identity. Sikh identity of Punjab, North-East politics of identity-Assam, Naga, Manipur, caste politics, ethnic and linguistic community, Backward Caste, Scheduled Caste, Dalit, Mandal Commission, women identity, and religio-social reform, etc. Identity politics is politically correct and leads to democratisation of our society, made aware of pluralism and differences and challenges to hegemonic ideology. However, these achievements cannot be overlooked and the limitations of such politics are seen as identity politics that is exclusive in nature, often falls into own trapped of self defeating unintended and challenging in nature. To give the solution of such problems he proposes to humanise modernity, its self perception, make it more humble and reflective, resting on unevenness and asymmetry of cultural globalisation and making it more symmetrical and egalitarian and adoring differences emanating from multiple social identities. And he gives the suggestion to work in the area of education, which is about cultivating the mind and generating immense sensitivity to the world. It is mainly about calmness, simplicity, love and deeper awareness.\textsuperscript{18}

T.K. Oommen, (2000) attempts to locate different modes of conceptualising nation and national identity for understanding their rationale in the region of South Asia. He has categorised seven ways of defining nation and its identity in the Indian society in terms of both pre and post partition's condition. The first three are of pre-partition, fourth

is the impulse creator for condition and rest three are conceptualisation of post-partition condition. These are: (1) ancient civilisational entity, (2) composite culture (3) political entity, (4) religious entity, (5) geographical/territorial entity, with a specific cultural ethos, (6) a collection of linguistic entities, and (7) unity of great and little nation. The ancient Indian civilisation is emphasised the natural geography, pan-Indian Hindu culture, economic self-sufficiency and interdependence of her constituent region. Oommen has emphasised that civilisation is much broader entity than the nation and several nation or state co-exist within a civilisational region. Nation is a cultural entity and it is not natural for nation to establish state. Natural geography or religion both are not necessary condition for a nation to emerge a nation and exist. Those who describe India as a composite culture emphasise the fusion of Hinduism and Islam against the distinctiveness of Hindu culture. This fusion is a product of conflict and synthesis of these two. He suggests that cultural integration of a polity should be measured in terms of the intensity of cultural specialties of the communities which constitute it. The proportion of cultural speciality practiced by religious communities in India is very limited and increasingly diminishing, particularly among the younger generation. This synthesis is resulted into a predictable consequence of the Indian nation, which came to be viewed as a political entity. State and nation became interchangeable. In characterising the Indian 'nation' as a fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures is a civilisational entity. During the colonial era the nationalist expectancy was conceived as a community of would-be citizens; the thrust of the anti-colonial struggle was to transform subjects into citizens.

Although the 'two-nation' theory based on religion came to gain wide currency, during the freedom struggle movement of India. In 1940, M.A. Jinnah, the president of the Muslim League asserted that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nation and demanded a separate nation for the Muslims. The fact is that three religious communities Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs had explicitly invoked religion as the basis of nation for different reasons. All available facts and experiences suggest that the two most critical elements in nation formation are territory and language. These could be ancestral or adopted and adoption is a voluntary act. If people have a common homeland and if they

adopt a common language they could become a nation and such an effort was made and is being pursued in India.

The Indian practice, however, clearly indicates that all major linguistic collectivities with a territorial base are deemed to be culturally distinct entities, that are nations/nationalities. After this initial resistance and ambivalence, the States Reorganisation Commission was appointed in 1955. The commission did by and large uphold the principle of a language-based administrative reorganisation of India. As of today 18 languages are listed in the Constitution as national languages. This in effect is a vindication of the definition of nation as a linguistic collectivity with a territorial base. There is a tendency of referring to tribal and linguistic collectivities as sub-nations or little nations. In this strand of thinking, these little nations and their nationalism are juxtaposed to the great Indian nation and its nationalism. Oommen gives some controversial issues related to formation of nation and language and citizenship in some Asian states: the Tamils between India and Sri Lanka, the Bengalis between India and Bangladesh, the Nagas between India and Mynmar, the Punjabis and the Kasmiris between India and Pakistan. While these collectivities have a common nationality their citizenship differs.

The characterisation of Indian culture as a composite culture is only partially correct. The different religious collectivities of India do share a common layer of culture they also have certain elements of culture specific to them. The product of this sharing process is not a composite but a plural culture. The notion of composite culture smacks of a melting-pot syndrome and it ultimately implies assimilation into an imagined mainstream which in the final analysis is hegemonic in its thrust. In contrast, pluralism implies the very celebration of cultural diversity.

Oommen says that cultural specialties are identity markers of cultural groups—religious, linguistic and tribal group. The cultural specialties of religious groups are concerned with their beliefs and rituals. Rituals in turn are of two types: social and canonical. Social rituals are shared by those who belong to the same linguistic community, that is, nation, irrespective of their religions. There is hardly any social ritual shared by the entire Indian population. That is, the cultural groups which adhere to the
same social rituals are linguistic groups and not religious groups. The latter shares only canonical rituals with the co-religionists all over the world. It is of particular relevance here that the citizens of a polity too share a set of common rituals but these are political rituals linked to the state, such as Independence Day, Republic Day, and the like in the case of India. He advocates that due to the conflation of state and nation, political rituals are wrongly perceived as national. The conceptualisation of India as a ‘great nation’ composed of several ‘little’ nations or ‘sub-nations’ expresses both ambivalence and fear. The little nations or nationalities accompanied by an unwillingness of accepting their specificity completely. This seems to be buttressed by an un-stated assumption that if these little nationalities are recognised as nations they would necessarily clamour for their exclusive sovereign states. This ambiguity and fear evident in South Asia in general and in India and Pakistan particular is found evident that language and tribe have been accepted as the bases to constitute administrative units, thereby investing them with a degree of legitimacy. This means that linguistic and tribal collectivities with a firm territorial base are recognised as ‘nations’. However, some of the linguistic collectivities and tribes which are viable nations are denied the possibility of maintaining their cultural identity. It is because of the state policy and the hegemonic tendencies of the bigger nations. Finally, he analyses that South Asian states should be viewed as collectives of nations co-existing within federal states.20

D. Gupta (2000) says that old systems of stratification, which was closed and ascriptive in character, gave way to more open system of social differentiation. Birth began to be replaced by achievement as a marker of social distinction. Gupta tries to analyse identity formation on the basis of open system that is provided by capitalism with the help of politics of commitment fuelled by the creation of nation state in Indian society.21 Gupta advocates that capitalism has introduced an open system of stratification with its own core values and ethical norms. It introduces something new, which replaces the old. Karl Marx records in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, that old loyalty to preacher, teacher and feudal lord, are being replaced by the sheer power of money.

20 Ibid., p.15.
Money dissolved all these ties that had endured for centuries and replaced them with the ideology of freedom. Marx, however, saw this freedom as essentially double edged. It allowed workers to freely choose occupations or employers, and by the same token, they could also be freely fired. It is difficult then to overlook the contradiction between capitalism, which does not recognise boundaries, and nationalism. Karl Marx sensed this contradiction, but found a way out of it by claiming that the workers had no nation and they constituted an international class. This obviously left behind the impression that the nation-state was typically a capitalist obsession. It is indeed a good idea that the working class should be an international class, but as long as left wing activism did not cleave to nationalist sentiments, it remained a peripheral political option. For example China, Russia and Cuba were spurred by heavy doses of nationalism. And in each cases token gestures were made to internationalism.

The strata in a closed system of stratification mutually repel, or hostile to one another as Gupta has given the example of Celestine Bougles argument that jaties are mutually expulsive in the support. As caste is an extreme form of closed system of stratification and repulsion operating among them put them under hierarchy. Any hierarchy in its workable form must necessarily subordinate these tensions through the medium of power. The power largely decides the nature of hierarchy and identities, and deeply hold loyalties that are mutually exclusive in nature. Thus the principle of repulsion and the character of mutually exclusivity remain through all this. Whenever hierarchy is established it needed to be reinforced by physical power and an instrument of coercion. The closed systems relied on coercion and not acquiescence and this is what separates them from open system of stratification.

The eventual hierarchies arrived at are nearly always internally fragile. This is why they need to be externally imposed. The principle of repulsion and the character of mutually exclusivity remain through all this. It is not as if closed system of stratification cannot experience mobility. History is replete with instances when they did. The crucial fact is that while closed stratificatory systems experienced mobility, they never did allow for it. It is why every time a hierarchy had to be established in a manifest and workable form, it needed to be reinforced by physical power and by naked instruments of coercion. Closed systems relied on coercion and not acquiescence and this is what separates them
from open system of stratification. The strata in closed systems of stratification are mutually repulsed by one another, which tells us why such systems are characterised by discrete classes. These discrete classes are brought in line by power to give the semblance of continuous hierarchy.

He says that capitalism is needed the politics of commitment to survive. This commitment is not offered by locality, caste or by feudal estate because these do not allow the opening of space which is necessary for capitalism to gain ground. Keeping this distinction between open and closed system of stratification in mind Gupta enquires why does capitalism erect discrete classes at the level of nation-state. Does the politics of responsibility need to yield ground and allow politics of commitment to flourish? Gupta cites Ernest Renan and says that all nation-states are built on a grief.\textsuperscript{22} The identity of belonging to a nation-state exits because there are other nation-states to which one does not belong, which may be the source of that grief for example, India and Pakistan, America and Iraq, England and France.

Since capitalism sponsors a continuous hierarchy, it is unable to internally fuel a politics of commitment. A politics of commitment emerges when identities are informed on the principle of repulsion. This is why the capitalism takes resources to create a supra-local allegiance based on territorial attachment to the nation-state. This gives its continuous hierarchies more space to realise themselves, and at the same time fashions an exclusivist identity based on the principal of repulsion. From this identity then, a politics of commitment can be more realistically commandeered. The principle of repulsion has worked itself in without over constraining the logic of capitalism. For the survival of a nation-state the concept of citizenship is important. It is through citizenship that nation-states aspire to undermine previous solidarities breed on the principle of repulsion. In earlier times one's identity was linked parochially to phenomena of private sphere like caste, clan and neighbourhood. Excessive attachment to caste, clan, religion and languages in now considered 'divisive' in character. Because of the partisanship to the nation-state a supra-local community is created. And more localised loyalties haves necessarily to be disparaged and undermined. As it is said earlier the nation-state brought

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., p.69.
forth a larger supra-local community identity that powered capitalism with the politics of commitment. Without this kind of ideological charge capitalism would have found it difficult to assume the position of dominance it enjoys today.

Sujata Patel (2001) has borrowed three elements of idea of community of Williams (1976): (a) commonality of identity, (b) a community of interests, and (c) a notion of locality and studied the Baliapal movement in the state of Orissa, which was focused for the identity formation. For the purpose she collected data for eight months. She discussed the issue by asking three questions: one, how does a community of identity get formed? What role does modernity and the state play in creating a political community? How do we understand identities or subjectivities and see their relationship with communities?

The Baliapal Movement was launched for the liberation of the land (bheeta maai that is their home and hearth), which was planned to occupy for the establishment of a missile test range in an area of around 115 kilometers in this block. The movement was unique in many ways. The people of the area imagined them as a community. This recognition is broadly based on the Puranic myths. Thus, it constructed a historical narrative of self-identification. The creative intellectual’s of the movement uses indigenous knowledge to manage and maintain this movement. Second, the movement use militant non-violence to confront the military. Third, it has used received networks and traditional symbols for mobilisation of the people. She argues that modern political processes provide the playground for the construction of community identities. The state plays an important role in the construction of identities. However, these identities are created within the dynamics of an entire range of relationships with the state, people and ideologies of power. The region, its topography and its political economy is also play important in this context.

This process of consolidation of upper peasantry and the displacement of small cultivators and other castes depending on common property resources received a setback

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in the late sixties onwards with the land of the Baliapal, which is sandy in nature and good for the cultivation and production of *paan*. Thus *Paan* had been cultivated in Baliapal block from the thirties onwards when some Banaras based *paan* traders decided to experiment of using the sandy soil of the Baliapal coastal region to grow *paan*. By then *paan* cultivation had spreaded to various parts of coastal Orissa. This experiment turned out to be a success. The quality of *paan* in Baliapal was much superior to the other existing ones. Given the market, it was easy for *paan* cultivation to spread. In the late sixties, the local traders directly established the contact with the national market. And the moment a strong interface between the local suppliers and controllers of national market was established, the demand for the Baliapali *patta* grew automatically. Soon the local traders realised that if they maintain quality they could control this market. At this juncture the government announced its plan to take over the land for establishing a military project. Immediately, the *paan* traders organised and formed Uttara Balasore Khepanastra Ghati Pratirodh Samiti (UBKGPS) to struggle against this project and reverse this decision.

When the Oriya newspapers announced the government’s decision to acquire land to establish National Missile Test Range (NMTR) then the big *paan* traders initiated discussions to confront this move. The various sections such as local traders, big peasantry and several political parties, of the Baliapal region become organised and they set up the UBKGPS in December 1984. Two political currents represented by Giri and Patra now integrated the various discrete sections of the Baliapal society consolidating into a political and social block defined by a common interest. The Gandhian tactics of non-violence of the movement and emotional affinity with the locals fuelled mass mobilisation of the people, specially the lower sections of the society, the small peasants and fisher people, who were till then mute spectators of the political process. The main demand of the movement was that of withdrawing the project from this area, was considered not negotiable, lastly.

The Baliapal Movement can be considered one of the new successful social movements of contemporary India. The nature of contemporary social power in India makes social movements difficult to impress upon state structures. What is distinctive of this movement is the fact that it was not only able to change the decision of the political
managers but also lobby the defence establishment. The Baliapal region, earlier divided into discrete communities defined by class, caste, gender and tribal identities, between insiders and outsiders, affiliated by regional perceptions, separated between peasants and fisher people and political affiliation, that of Congress supporters and Janta Dal supporters, closed ranks to form a community. This community defined its identity and represented itself through the symbol of bheeta maati. The struggle to define the people’s rights over bheeta maati that is their home and hearth, their land and its environment. This explores the dynamics of representations and ideology in the making of this movement.

In the case of the Baliapal Movement, the identity has been constructed through bheet maati structured at once a collective notion of agency for the people against the state. The Baliapal Movement did not construct a primordial identity. Rather, it built a language of solidarity between discrete castes and tribal groupings. It constructed an identity of itself as a ‘people’ and saw itself as a ‘community’. And the formation of this identity would not have been possible without state intervention and its use of technologies of power such as surveys and techniques of measurement. Patel argues that all identities, whether primordial or not, have been constructed in the attempt to put into place the colonial and postcolonial agenda of capitalist modernity.

S. Deshpandey (2001) tries to analyse the impact of globalisation on regional identity in terms of community in the Bombay Karnatak cultural region.25 He says that much of warmth and persuasiveness of community are due to the deep sense of horizontal comradeship and shared belonging that it evokes. Community is a warmly persuasive word and the aura surrounding the world also seems to suggest a direct and simple spatiality, the intimacy and warmth of personalised, face-to-face contact. The process of globalisation and its technologies of communication have freed communities of all sorts from its spatial constraints. Globalisation has altered the possibility of spatial condition of all the cultural community. It means that in the era of globalisation the material and mechanism which shape the community and also help in its maintenance are becoming

neutral in the sense of spatial character of community. Like for example Sikh communities a militant Sri Lankan-Tamil community are not only limited to the East of Punjab and to Sri-Lanka but found in all over the world such as in Toronto, Sydney or London, as in Vavuniya, Jaffna or Colombo.

He investigates the spatial dimensions of cultural identity in the 'Bombay Karnatak' region. This cultural region encompasses four districts -- Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwad and Uttara Kannada of the British Indian Presidency. The identity formation of the region is described on the basis of the geographical area and the specific social groups present in the region. The geographical area of the region is not coherent in nature and is largely based on the agro-climatic criteria. The culture of the region is termed as cusp culture-- a hybrid transitional space mediating the crossover of more sharply defined cultural identities. This cultural region is divided into 'north', 'south', 'northern culture', 'southern culture' and so on. Apart from this division the informal division of culture into language and music is also evident. Since language is clearly a significant resource in the formation of identity in the region and Kannada speakers are in majority found in all four districts of the Bombay Karnataka region. The cultural ingredient of this region is determined on the basis of language. But apart from it the other languages of the region are Marathi and Urdu. He talks about role of geography in the formation of identity in the region. He considers a very spatial view of the life process of the average social individual such as where a person is born, where he/she grows up, is educated, finds employment, finds a marriage partner, and finally, where he/she spends the last phase of life. It means that information on the geographical spread of these locations provides the materials for fashioning identities of people wherever they live.

The substantive illustrations presented here are drawn from an ongoing project on the Bombay Karnatak as a cultural region. The focus is on the spatial distribution and dynamics of the socio-cultural ingredients or raw materials needed for the formation of identity in its latent or 'in-itself' form. This set of issues is taken up at two different levels, first the geographical area itself and the arguments and evidence that can be offered in support of its claim to be a coherent cultural region; and second, specific social groups in this region and their identity formation. The starting point of this investigation is the region, defined as the four districts -- Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwad and Uttara Kannada --

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of the British Indian Presidency of Bombay which became part of Karnataka in the linguistic reorganisation of states after Independence. These four districts do not constitute a coherent region. At the first step he specifies the implications of the assumption that the geographical spread of social life would define the cultural watershed relevant for identity construction. This is clearly an untenable assumption, which completely ignores the fact that each place/location is not simply a self-contained spot on the map but also has various cultural winds blowing through it carrying materials from distant places and contexts.

A.K. Pandey (2006) views that Marxist theory and social movement is related to bring development in industrial society but this model is not applied in development of Jharkhand state. He analyses it in two ways in his paper. Firstly, he looks at scholar’s works, which support particularity of Jharkhand development. Secondly, it illustrates the Jharkhand movement in individual Bihar in Chotanagpur-Santhal (C-S) pargana region. Various scholars like Sen (1972), K. L. Sharma (1976), Sen Gupta (1980, 83), Pathy (1982, 88), A.P. Sharma (1988), Devalle (1992) and Pandey (1997) have been able to produce an information of economic and social structure in the feudal and capitalist mode of production in 19th and 20th century of C-S region. The capitalism in the region was the result of British colonial and dikus penetration in the mining and agricultural sector. During the early phase of state formation for tribal identity several events took place in C-S region of individual Bihar and foremost of those was the appearance of tribal leader led BJP and tribal political ideology of various tribal leaders. The various different political ideologies like Sibu Soren, Suraj Mandal, N.E. Horo, A.K. Roy, Sadanand Jha, Binod Behari Mahato, and others succeeded in constructing a politically independent tribal state for their identity claim. He analysed various perspectives which tried to interpret social reality with its full dynamics, are relevant for considering relationship between Jharkhand and Marxist theory. There are dualism, i.e., co-existence of modern and tribal sector; inadequacy of bourgeois democracy and struggle for

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socialism, democratic institutions and tribal peasants, tribal industrial and urban workers do not have common interest found in the state.  

First Jharkhand movement started in 1912 with some unity over ethnic cleavages and in 1928 the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj, an organisation of Anglican and Lutheran educated Christian and few non-converts demanded separation of Chotanagpur from Bihar state. The demand also has shown for improvement of social, political and economic conditions of the tribals. It was sought to secure employment for educated tribals, reservation in services and legislative bodies. Active phase in the Jharkhand movement started in 1939 and the formation of Jharkhand Party brought a new turn to this movement. It has become a party based movement rather than separatist movement. The party led organisation before the State Reorganisation Commission in 1955 and in 1963, it had acquired a new shape and direction. The tribals of C-S region took independent action and in 1972 gave birth to Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), a new political party and it mobilised tribal masses. In 1978 during Janata Party movement a separate state demand was put forward on a united front basis. The Marxist theory has not been applied in Jharkhand movement in orthodox fashion as it was not generated by industrial working class force for political change and working class of state subordinated could not generate independent force. And the social basis of the movement was very heterogeneous and all tribals played an important role for this movement. He questioned Marxian revolutionary strategy and claims that it to be revised as it was not organised and developed by individual proletariat. But it can be said that apart from development issue this movement was for creating identity for tribals of C-S region in a form of a tribal state.

Susan Visvanathan tries to explore the relationship between Christianity and Hinduism by suing categories of time, space, architecture and body and analyses the rich cultural tapestry of Hindu, Christian and Syrian life in Kerala. Christian in Kerala can be understood as a unique configuration of two kinds of situations. One, in its historical dimensions, Christianity came to Kerala in the early century of Christian era and sustained by the churches of Middle East. The second is that existed in the domain of

\[\text{Ibid., pp. 370-374.}\]
framework of regional culture. The Syrian Christians are recognised as a unique cultural group in the comparative cultural group of Christian in the world. Kerala society has been traditionally plural and it allows interpenetration of Hindu, Christian and Syrian code. Syrian Christians have been viewed as part of the Hindu caste system. The concept of time, space and body articulated in social use represent the world held in common by Christians and Hindus of Kerala. The ritual time for the Syrian Christians has been its basis in Jewish as well as in Christian traditions. Like Wednesday is associated to the Virgin Mary; Friday and Saturday are days of fasting and associated to the crucification of Christ and his entombment. Time relation to the events of mundane life is conceived by Christians in the same way as the Hindus. The Malayalam Era, which follows the Christian Era by 825 years is used still in marking the dates of the establishment of churches, houses and gravestones. The common ideas of body and maintenance of health are held by both Hindus and Christians of Kerala. Bathing is very much part of the institution of general medicine and practice. The making of Ayurvedic oils and medicines, a gift of Ayurvedic knowledge by father to son in Christian families in Kerala for the use of the benefit of those who are in need, have been in practice. She analyses the category of space by art of astrology, customs, and rules of the building and names for both Christians and Hindus are used by the Hindu *asari* (mortar builder).

The Syrian Christian history of Kerala is related to conversion of Hindus to the Christianity in general and high caste especially Brahmins converted by St. Thomas, the Apostle of Christ. It was thought to be arrived in Malabar on his apostolic mission in A.D. 52. The ritual life of Syrian Christian of Kerala is understood in terms of two aspects: the ceremonies of house and the ceremonies of church, which are inextricably linked and in consonance with the wider Hindu cultural domain. She elaborates domestic rituals of Syrian Christians of Kerala by the concepts of marriage preparation, marriage services, women's wealth or groom price (*Stidhanam*), relations of art of marriage, pregnancy and child birth and restrictions and practice for the expectant mother, etc.31

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29 Ibid., pp. 4-10.
30 Ibid., pp. 6-9.
31 Ibid., pp. 102-121.  

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The ceremonies related to church are canonical and they came in practices of child baptism, baptism service, naming, feasting and gifts, funeral and funeral procession, rituals of church, rites of commemoration, etc.\textsuperscript{32} The identity formation of Syrian Christians in Kerala exclusively done by both rituals of Christian calendar and festival celebration of saints.\textsuperscript{33} Syrian Christian calendar rituals' celebrations involve Christmas Janana peryanaal, Denba Peryanaal, Shubhakona Susrusha, Pakthi Noimba, Hosanna Sunday, the Passover, Good Friday, Dukha Shanyarcha, Uyerrp or Resurrection, Puthiya Nyayarcha, Swarg Arohanam, Pentecost, etc. The main festivals of the saints involved or associated with Mary's, the mother of Jesus, St. Thomas, his apostle, etc.

Rowena Robinson (2001) looks at, in a comparative perspective in the development and negotiation of community boundaries of different regional Christian groups, and Christian as a minority community for identity formation in India.\textsuperscript{34} It is needed to look at the specificities of communities as they are historically formed and the way in which they construct themselves. The Indian constitution is defined as a secular republic, where equality is promoted among all citizens regardless of their belief, faith or patterns of worship, etc. It certainly appears that caste or religion is not perceived as in any way impinging on the relationship of the 'individual' with the state. The constitution itself recognises and defines particular social groups such as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and so on. It is one of its categories that gets implicated in the concerns of her writing. The communities show themselves as fractured or sequestered entities, each is having a different history and social trajectory. It is true when we talk of Christian, we need to talk of communities rather than a community. The conversion in different areas brought them into different Christina communities belonging to various denominations. Thus, there are regional variations in the identity of groups, which are produced in different ways. There is a greater sense of association between separate groups today due to their formation into larger bodies and their distinctness marks the level of everyday living. Different groups,

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., pp. 122-148.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., pp. 183-265.
while drawing on regional traditions and patterns, constituted their identity in unique and complex ways. She talks about the ingredients that enter into the construction of group boundaries and the way of negotiation made with regional cultural patterns. There are differences in the manner and to the extent that continuity and discontinuity implicate in different communities. Some of these elements are the relationship of the missionaries or converters to their own culture and to the state, their both social and material expectations; their own location within the particular regional socio-cultural order and the character of their various economic, social and political association with other social groups within that order.

She says that Indian census merges Christians into a single group, but they belong to different denominations. The Catholics form the largest group, nearly 50 per cent of the total population, 40 per cent are Protestants, 7 per cent are Orthodox Christians and 6 per cent belong to indigenous sects. Catholics are organised according to a well defined hierarchy and they consider the Pope as the supreme head in all religious affairs. Protestantism includes many distinct persuasions and churches. Orthodox groups, such as the Syrian Christian, are affiliated to the orthodox churches of the Eastern Europe or West Asia or to churches dependent on these. Most Indian indigenous sects arose through separation from mother churches in the West and some have broken away from orthodox churches. The conversion from Hinduism to Christianity has come from all the untouchable, lower, backward, and upper caste. It is true that over 50 per cent of all Christians are from the untouchable castes. Those who are tribal in origin constitute 15-20 percent. The upper caste Christians, largely from Kerala and the Konkan coast, constitute a quarter of the total.35

She speaks a little about the constitution of community identity for different regional groups in relations to the cultural patterns within which they are embedded. These cultural patterns include idioms of caste, ritual and symbolic codes, ideas of kinship, matrimony or marriage. It is observed that despite the best efforts of missionaries to eradicate caste, often privileged groups themselves refused to give up their caste entitlements, carrying these across the 'religious' divide in different regions such as in

Goa, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, etc. of India. On of the examples of the Syrian Christian can be seen as a case in point. The Syrian Christian is incorporated into Kerala society as a high-status group or Jati. Their identity hinged on their religious autonomy: the group was able through the centuries to reproduce its distinct religious practices. However, certain community's practices revealed its assimilation of dominant cultural models of the surrounding society. Its outer or public life related is to Hindu kings and shows even now in its adherence to Hindu norms of hierarchy and endogamy.

The Syrian Christians have a long history of prestige and privilege, enjoyed under different local rulers. Syrian holy places were incorporated into the network of shrines and temples which comprised the ruler's domains and to which he made benefactions. It was through their warrior and mercantile skills made them prosperous. They established themselves as a high-status group with the indigenous hierarchy. They negotiated their position through alliance with the local rulers and maintained their status by adherence to the purity-pollution norms of regional Hindu society. Even today the boundaries between the Kerala Syrians and Hindus are blurred. It is seen in the rituals of house-building or astrology, and the ceremonies of marriage. The birth among the Syrian Christians is also manifest in many similarities with Hindu custom, particularly in the use of ritual substances such as sandalwood paste, milk, flowers, areca-nut and rice. Death rituals, however, express Christian canonical themes, especially in the ideas concerning life-after-death and the anticipation of the final judgment. The inner life of the community, is defined liturgically and by it's Christian ethic and worldview. She also talks about the missionaries' hostile attitude for themselves and of group conversion. It is viewed as an important for the maintaining the caste framework in Christian society. But the groups that converted in the mass movements may have hoped to gain a measure of freedom from the oppressive structures of caste.

Globalisation: Indian Civilisational Identity

In the section Indian identity formation has been described with the idea of Indian civilisational culture, civilisational modern knowledge and scientific structure, and ancient legal system. A. K. Sharma tries to understand Indian civilisational identity by
describing basic characteristics of Indian culture and its forms, university in diversity, form of Indian culture, sanata drishti and tradition, village and city, marriage, family, caste and class, education and religious sects in Indian culture, concepts of rasa and Indian culture in 21st century, etc. In general Indian culture and its traditional relations can be seen with kings, priest, rich people, academicians, sants, and others but Sharma gives main place to the farmers, weavers, and sculpturists in Indian culture. Indian culture is inclined towards balance perspective and people’s welfare so that it encourages universality, simplicity liberty, flexibility, and holistic development. He traces some main characteristic which are found in all caste, tribes, sects, religious groups, etc. These characteristics are vaishvic drishti, samanjasya, sahishnuta, sacrifice, change with continuity, joint family, principles of karma, local panchayat and kalchakra (cycle of time), yoga and natural therapy, dance, song and music, its multiplicity, diversity and emphasis on karma. The identity of India rests in unity and diversity. Sharma says that India is not only a nation state but it is a civilisational state and geographically it is a big subcontinent and its process of equilibrium has been mentioned since centuries.

The unity in India comes from growth is its different aspects like religion, region, language, culture, politics, people, etc. The basic root of Indian culture has been found in both traditionality and spirituality. He has described Indian culture with three main elements – classical or elitistic, traditional culture or people’s culture or lok sanskruti and tribal culture. In the classic culture he has indicated different subjects, language, and arts like nitiashastra, dharmashastra, sangeet, vyakaran, ayurved, vastu and shilp. For Indian people’s culture he talks more of oral culture and less of bookish culture. In lok sanskriti differences are found at the language, dialogue, expansion of impression land but unity is found in their ideas, subject matters, values, etc. Indian tribal culture has been different from classical and lok sanskriti. It has been separated and autonomous and exchange happens between them separately. Sharma has described, Sri Arvindo, Anand Koomarswry, A.K. Saran and Vidya Nivas Mishra to understand and describe oral Indian tradition. It is a tradition of giving things to pupil from teacher and from parents. To describe and analyse Indian sanatan sanskriti nine darshans, nine ras, shruti-chakra-

37 Ibid., pp.29-52.
38 Ibid., pp. 53-57.
parivartan four asharam four varna, and four purusharth, sixteen sankar, eight marriages, four parallel padhadities of caste, sects and panth, family and state and religion are important to mention.

Indian sanatan tradition has given more importance to aastha and astikata and then regions, and sanatan and tradition is interrelated to each other. Every existing material is expression of Almighty. The entire word is extension of almighty and like almighty world is sanatan and shashwat and the East and the West civilisation is manifestation of the same shashwat world. A.K. Sharma claims that in contemporary India both village and urban/city culture exists and since 1947 Indian state arrangement has been in competition to the West to establish their dominance. He describes various features like agriculture, joint family, caste jujmani and panchayat, simple life, illiteracy and poverty, slow social change, and social control for village community and in its opposition for urban community social heterogeneity, social control, voluntary organisation, social mobility, equality, etc. have been more dominant features. Both can be distinguished on the basis of social organisation, social relationship, social change, social control, cultural life and economic life.

Sharma describes marriage in Hindu, Muslim, and Christian families in Indian culture. He analyses Hindu marriages of eight kinds – Brahma, Dev, Arsh, Prajapatya, Asur, Gandharva, Rakshas and Pishach. The Muslim marriage is divided into two community basis – Siya and Sunni. They are divided into Asharf, Arjal, and Ajbal, and all these groups are endogamous. A.K. Sharma claims that in contemporary Indian society, philosopher, people’s desire and administrative strategy, there has not been found any living relationship in last 300 years. Our contemporary philosophers do not have any concern with people’s desire and administrative model. Indian academicians in the universities are very enthusiastic in relation to the European Enlightenment and western universities. The several Indian thinkers and philosophers like Vivekanand, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Aurobindo, Ambedkar, Karpatriji Maharaj, Lohiya, Jai Prakash, and others have not developed model to keep philosophy, people’s

39 Ibid., p.96.
40 Ibid., pp.115-146.
41 Ibid., pp.140-160.

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desire and administrative challenge based on civilisational principals and practical methods. The Indian swaraj can bring India's glory only through sarvodaya movement based on civilisational gurukul and sanatan dharma.

Madhav Govind (2006) analyses identity of a nation or national identity with the idea of science and culture. He says that many scientists in developing countries like India feel that western modern values are encroaching upon various old traditions and introducing extraneous traditions into the country. There is an urge to discover a true national consciousness by inspiring both the elite and the unifying nation's culture in an emerging way. As a young nation seeks to explain itself in terms of a self image, which is capable of forging a link with the past and revealing the true genesis of its people. Many nationalists took the project work to explore the roots of ancient Indian science and establish a new scientific culture. Many scientific books and journals were being published in vernacular language, while some organised scientific institutions and associations to bolster the national self image, which will unite the people of India and give them a sense of achievements and confidence. The Panini's work on grammar in 4th century A.D. occupied a high place among scientific achievements. The old work of Indian mathematics are Sulva-Sutras, astronomical work of Vedic, Jyotisha-Vedanta and Jain Suryapranjnapti, the works of Aryabatta, Grahmagupa, the works of Bhaskara, Siddhanta Siromani are considered great work in the scientific knowledge. Arabians borrowed algebra and mathematics from India. During Mughal period, India has acquired, developed and issued useful technology in the area of textile, fancy gold, metal work, silver embroidery, perfume, etc.

In the colonial rule, colonial scientists were no longer explored ancient knowledge tradition, however, majority of scientists in India preferred to depend on Europe and only some wanted to make fundamental scientific investigation in India. After Independence, the leadership in India realised significance and technology as an instrument in the nation building process and Jawaharlal Nehru proposed a scientific policy resolution which was passed in 1958. He says that the scientific and technological research in the country could

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43 Ibid., p.102.
44 Ibid., pp.104-105.
be grouped in six categories of – councils – Council of scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Indian council of Agriculture Research (ICAR), Indian council of Medical Research (ICMR); University research – University Grant Commission (UGC) and others; departments of laboratories working directly under ministries and departments; Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO); Atomic Energy Commission; and Research supported by industries and endowments. In the first generation of Indian science, scientists like J.C. Bose, P.C. Ray, Ramanujam, S.M. Bose and C.V. Raman spent their professional career in trying to build a new Indian structure of science to bolster the national self-image of scientific culture and identity. In this context, physical and chemical sciences provided knowledge and techniques essential for instrumentation, which help in building infrastructure for creation of national life.

R.N. Tiwari (2007) tries to analyse existential identity of India with focusing on ideas related to ancient legal system, and in its absence several discrepancies have been emerging, which are evident in day to day media, newspapers, televisions, magazines, etc. Ancient Indian legal system had not been Utopian but it was based on practical approach, was organized, matured and well-thought, which had been evident in the works of foreign travellers and tourists. In contemporary time Indian culture has been in struggle with constant changeable western culture. He has emphasised on the need of knowing and understanding basic Indian culture. Indian culture is alive with accepted distortion in its traditional aspect but it has not lost its basic forms. Greed, selfishness and lust for post and power were not seen in ancient legal systems because they were not the parts of state. Both kinds of crimes – civil and criminal – and their decisions were described into it. It encompasses witness, gratification and disqualification of witness, judges and their qualification, fundamental works of judges, attainment of officials, and planning, plaint, its kinds of definition, etc in detail. This work has been divided into three parts. The first part discusses about sources of laws and their manifestations, ending of aryā and anāra, inductive and deductive sources of law, dharm shastra, nītisāstra, arthashastra, commencement of behaviour. etc. The fundamental roots of law in śhrīt and it encompasses both natural and human power. Śhrīt is part of Uchchisht and which is the base of entire universe and all materials for human welfare are invested in śhrīt.

Indian culture is thought to have developed and spread in jungle and its thinkers were away from material culture and they had been always engaged in search of knowledge. The ancient Indian philosophers have divided human community into two: aryā and anaryā. Aryā is one who rests and enjoys his permanent nature of ancient tradition, which is initiated and followed by rishis, and try to achieve his holistic development. And in its opposition anaryā show devilish and fickle mindedness and they do not tolerate ancient tradition and their desire and aims are always changing in nature. Both have opposite nature and character and they represent different behaviour and tendency. He views that the aim of Hindu social hierarchy has been cooperation and harmony among different castes, regions, traditions and cultures. And their interdependence and holistic unity form social organisation, which can be termed aryā. In Hindu jiwan padhoti the aim is not natural development but it is always spiritual development. The total devotion brings out peace and satisfaction in society and every individual selflessly shows complete devotion towards legal system and expects to get proper justice. The nigam and agam have been root sources of law. Religion has been understood by justices as ‘law’. The large and universal form of religion has been described and analysed by various scholars. Vidya Niwas Mishra has analysed interdependence of religion and shruti and says that the development of religion is like development of tree, as cited by Tiwari. In puranas, it is mentioned that religion is son of sun. Vedas are self evidence of knowing religion and vedas are absolute evidence because Vedas are root of entire universe. The word nigam has been used for vedas and agam for shastra.

In the second section, Tiwari tries to analyse legal processes and analysis, development of community, evolution and development of legal processes, decision and kind of decision, principles of justice, crime and punishment, method of Dharmashastra in practical ways, etc. And in the last section, he analyses ‘interpretation-principle’, mitakshra (vakya sangati/coordination between sentences), datakadhihkar (concept of adoption), principle of grammar, and lokoktiyna (proverbes). The development of court in Hindu justice process has been analysed and described on the theme basis. These are social situation and social principle of ancient India, political situation and political

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46 Ibid., p.78.
47 Ibid., pp. 25-36.
48 Ibid., pp. 244-567.
philosophy of ancient India and a religion and religious principle of ancient India. In
the evolution of court, he analyses village panchayat, council, organization of council,
relation of king to council, assembly, qualification of councilors, the system of ancient
countries, the forms of sabha in later age, the king as judge, etc.\textsuperscript{49} For crime and
punishment, Tiwari discusses its historical development, fort, punishment, origin and
development, theory of punishment, police, etc. He has described historical development
of crime and punishment in view of Lakshman Shastri, in four periods- religious
dominance, growth of political institutions, the period of complete divergence of law and
policies from religious ideas and religious dominance and the period of restriction
imposed on unfettered growth of law and policies. In the theory of punishment, he mainly
analyses theory of expiation, retributive theory, development theory, preventive theory
and reformative theory\textsuperscript{50}.

**Globalisation: Gender Identity in India**

Maitrayee Chaudhuri (1999) attempts to show the representation of class and gender
identity with the world of advertisement limited to print media, confining herself to the
Times of India (TOI) in Delhi and Mumbai and Cine Blitz, Women's Era, and India
Today. She covers these newspapers and magazines only January and February issues of
1995, primarily on the written world rather than visual world.\textsuperscript{51} These magazines are of
English medium and published from Delhi and Mumbai and having all India reach and
contributing as essential part of development intrinsic to globalisation, a top down
exclusive process, which is uneven and fragmented at the international, national and local
level. The advertisements in the entire process of development play more visible world of
those who are rich, famous, and successful, and mainly focusing on their leisure, public
and private images. The scope of this exercise is confined to the English media reader to
the metropolitan cities of Delhi and Bombay. The newspapers and magazines have made

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., pp. 260-312.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., pp. 354-375.
\textsuperscript{51} Maitrayee Chaudhuri, "The World of Advertisement and Globalisation: A Look at the Print Media", in
R.M. Sethi. (ed.), *Globalisation, Culture and Women's Development*, (New Delhi and Jaipur: Rawat
remarkable increase in the exclusiveness and specialisation of newspapers and magazines in last few years facilitating the catering of advertisements to the likely purchasers and a more careful scrutiny show how these profiles are being cultivated and how the new economic order and globalisation project new images of men and women, of career women, housewives of households, workshops, ethics and lifestyles, desires and fantasies are made. A cursory comparison of advertisements in India Today, Times of India, Women’s Era and Cine Blitze suggest different target groups and their various related themes. There are more advertisements addressing housewives, selling goods, advice to run model family and households in Women’s Era and independent and sensuous women and men than other things in Cine Blitz than in TOI and India Today. To create wide ethics of commercialism newspapers and magazines regularly publish supplements, like Business Times, Entertainment Times, Saturday Times, Delhi Times, Sports and also columns on changing lifestyles, social circuit of industrialists, diplomats, socialites, celebrities, etc. All create entire ethos and beliefs, which compose the ideology of advertising and of its sponsoring system. Advertisements tell us further what to do with our workplace, our leisure, own family and our privacy and also build on feeling of new possibilities to be explored through the bundles of new products that arise everyday. Women get amazed since, here, money gets spent as she gets acquainted with amazing atmosphere of shops, and her mind gets transposed to the magic world of shopping and cannot resist herself and gets involved with her husband and children for shopping. As she spends all the money and wants to go back to the sparing thought of where money will come from and asking her husband to work overtime in order to shop further. Since consumers are familiar with international standards and affirm a culture of shopping and spending. A threat for shopping has become more than a functional necessity but a goal in life and in a globalised India various popular schemes for consumer items are no longer a distant dream. These advertisements spread consumer culture with reorganising households as consumption units utilising marketing strategies for new products attracting to all working, career and housewife women and to all men. These product range from new products of cleaning houses, clothes, household and consumer and food items, drinks and beverages, men’s and women’s wear, health and health clubs, beauty products, beauty parlours, make-up, artistry and wardrobe accessory products, to
sometimes gender neutral to the gender related products, to the transformation and alternation of gender and even to maintain also strict relations products. Many new concepts in almost every sphere of life and society have come to be inducted in practice of individuals like space management and styled with finesse in households, success and achievement and also good large and fit body with openly, erotic and masochistic, narcissistic of male body, tight arms, outstretched legs, curve and cuts, perfect and enviable body for women and female have come to the gender relations and gender identity.

Advertisements play a significant role in creating culture, which prioritise consumption and shifts attention from both production and distribution and people are made identified by what they consume and women here play a central role as consumers and agents for changing households. In the era of liberalisation and globalisation the kinds of values are being projected are desirable and advertisements play a central role in creating needs, desires, and pleasure seeking culture and goals, and also of new sense of work and esteem. In the essence of new economic order, the individuals are privileging of the self-seeking, inalienable essence of the process of globalisation of interdependence and internationalisation of contemporary culture and the grime and filth are pushed outside the frame of reference.

In another article M. Chowdhuri (2001) focuses on the relationship of advertisement in Indian English print media and gender images and the rhetoric of India’s project of globalisation. It assumes that the shift in the economic policy of India is accompanied with the shift in public discourse evidenced in media. It takes to recast gender images both in advertisements and in new consuming Indian middle class in globalised economy and some salient issues in Indian society. She explicitly emphasises on key issues that these advertisements implicitly and effectively eclipse the image of ‘another world’ of Indian men and women – poor and battered, tribal and peasant working class and Dalit from public discourse.52

The focus of the study continues to be on the English medium newspapers and magazines published in 1990s. The newspapers included the Times of India and sister publications like The Economic Times and Business Standard, and The Hindu and the women’s magazines included The New Women, Femina, Savvy, and other popular general magazines like The Week, The Sunday and The Outlook are covered. The article looks into the new generation Indian men and women, Indian men and women: old and new, the new Indian in global and cosmopolitan, gender and advertisements, etc. Chaudhury says that Indian women have been portrayed within a hegemonic, traditional, exclusively upper-caste dominated cultural and gender norm by aiming to create a model of Indian womanhood, which she questions by raising the absence of parallel portrayal of desirable Indian manhood. Chowdhury extensively articulates that Indian woman has an image and she is the cultural emblem of the national and Indian male does not have image but he is then the national. And Indian men are understood in frame of upper caste family patriarch, rationalist, social reformer, nationalist with specific temper, cultural revivalist, desires of the more manly virtues of western imperialist man. She analyses that the media and advertisement has broken with the patriarchal attitudes and shifting from a nature to the politics of presentation in liberal global era with the influx of male commodities such as underwear, cosmetics, shaving cream, colognes, soap, shampoo, hair cream, moistures, deodorant, styling gel, powder colognes, soap, shampoo, etc. The title of branded men having each charts of their hair, glass, face body, ties, shirts, suits, trousers, underwear, belt, shocks, with a list of relevant brand products like Nike, Reebok, Liberty, Bata, Lacost, Louis Phillip, Colour Plus, etc. and they also featuring as ‘catwalking’. Advertisements in media obliterate one trend and depict a new trend and also accelerate it, which makes us to raise contentious questions of relationship of representation. In this connection a central debate among the feminist media scholars is asked that media does not represent the real picture of women. The product advertisement in media has given way to lifestyle and creates a branded self focusing language of advertisements more on the consumer than the object to be consumed and also give the overt profile of new generation. It seeks audiences who are hedonistic, like to spend and having attitude of spending. In patriarchal Indian society a man has to be powerful, an

53 Ibid., p.379.
attribute of power is deeply attached to him and rich and successful. In India the new man has to be caring, soft, gentle, tender, helps in baby caring and rearing, and also helps in kitchen affairs, cleaning and changing home clothes, and endowed with what traditional women are capable off. And these adverts also show that the old Indian men where they have to give their daughter away and they weep when their daughter departs at the time of marriage. About women both new and old image in adverts are found. Indian women know that how to do and dream participating and winning myriad beauty contests, taking parts in athletics, tennis, and becoming stars, and also new women in essence of perfectionists way as the essence of women in motherhood and teaches a man to love and care, rearing and nursing and nurturing and a woman remains the mainstay family. But still she plays primarily in Indian family the centre stage role of mother, sister, wife doing clothing, cooking roles, etc. in and out of family. Though these advertisements portrays both old and new image for men and women, but the new created identification for both men and women in Indian society set a new driving force for identity formation of the new coming generation.

Nilika Mehrotra (2004) tries to raise certain basic, social, political and economic issues, which create difficulties in the understanding of tribal women in social science literature, policy making and their implementation on the one hand and on the other hand the relation of tribal women with the women’s movement in India and changing economic scenario, is being problematised for understanding tribal women identity. She takes the discussion of tribal women in India by taking account the diverse and complex discourses on the first discourse which position tribes at centre stage in Anthropology where objectification of tribe as the ‘other’, the ‘exotic’ pervades the concern. The second questions the invisibility of women’s lives and their problems in tribal ethnographies and third discourse raises the issue of gender and development and viewing women as active conservator of their culture or helpless victims of the forces of globalisation, culture change and modernisation. The early monographs figured tribal women as important social actors like wives, daughters, mothers, lovers, etc. in exotic

54 Ibid., pp. 382-383.
56 Ibid., p. 61.
attires and pose, and objectify them as things of beauty and sexuality but much information on their activities, views and voices had not been given. In Indian context tribals are engaged in varieties of economic activities like hunting, gathering, in agricultural pursuits like Ho and Oraons of Chotanagpur, in the bureaucratic activities and professionals from North-East and Rajasthan, here, contrary to tribal isolation, they exist in mainstream. Tribal women are much better than the non-tribal women, which has been propagated by earlier approach, in terms of enjoying egalitarian gender relations and the major indicators of sexual freedom tribal enjoy, autonomy in choosing spouses, remarriage, and easy to divorce.\(^57\)

For the economic activity of women, studies documented the gradual deterioration of women's potential and declining status and attribute it to the contract with the outside world. Industrialisation was the major factor due to which tribes are deprived of their habitat and subsistence, and migration led them to the economic and physical exploitation. Modernisation played havoc with tribals and Hinduisation and Christianisation were said to affect the values of tribals by introducing new values for imposing more restriction on women in terms of choice of mate, spouses, marriage practice, transition from bride price to dowry, withdrawal of women from work in quest of acquisition of status. Failure of land reform policies, land alienation, indebtedness, forced them to take up difficult jobs, and unequal sexual division of labour perpetuated by modernisation of technological development led to uneven development of women. Some of the works Nanda, 1994, in Orissa and North-eastern states, Aggarwal, (1994) on agricultural tribes like Hos, Santhal and Oraons, Chatterjee, (2003) outside contacts tribes led to wife beating, abandonment of women in tribes, Menon, (1995) on large scale ecological destruction of women in Bihar and Orissa due to industrialisation and migration in search of employment, Boserupes, (1972) debates on the role of women in economic development, Kelkar and Nathan, (1991) on Korwa tribe in central India have shown lack of property right for women marked her dependence on men, all these studies have beautifully registered women's position in the market, agricultural activities, decision-making and control over income and have, various activities of women engaged

\(^{57}\) Ibid., p. 62.
in animal husbandry, fire wood collection, marginal farming, dependency of various sorts of tribal women on men, etc.\textsuperscript{58}

Mehrotra claims that the relationship between tribal women and state has been never straight and clear-cut. Article 14 of the Indian Constitution grants equality between sexes and makes obligatory for the state to undertake all the steps to remove disability with which women suffer. The central tribal development policies in India, failed to recognise its gender implications and gender inequalities within family were not recognised and family continued to remain the focal points of the development. Women and men are allowed to keep their affinities and loyalties with their communities and even expected to be governed by customary laws in case of tribals and by their personal laws in case of non-Hindus.\textsuperscript{59} Tribal women even do not matter in states planning and their interest are assumed to be taken care of within the tribal development programme as their interest are not considered specific and supposed to be benefited by other special programme launched for women like special nutrition programmes for pregnant and nursing mothers and children. In the 6\textsuperscript{th} plan women and development programmes are documented, but official document does not distinguish between needs of capability of tribal and rural women. Mehrotra has quoted T. Nongbari (1998) that national development for women through five year programmes undergoes changes from welfare-oriented policies in the early fifties to the production-oriented approach in the seventies, to the emphasis on the women's legal rights and their empowerment in early nineties and education is considered as one of the only state-sponsored programmes, which is benefited tribal women in the North-east region and Christian missionaries have played greater role than state role into it. The discussion of tribal development and their relation to the development process need to be recognised in the historical and cultural context has contributed to the women's bargaining power with regard to benefit of the plans and policies. The debate of tribal development in the context of history over their status of dependency, subordinated status, and reasons for their exclusion from mainstream matrix of development, tribal women's access to resources depends on the cultural and historical context and to the regions they belong to. Many studies have ignored the heterogenisation

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., pp. 63-65.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., p.65.
of land ownership, education, and access to utilisation of institutional resources in this regard.\(^ {60}\) Tribal women are gradually entering into education, jobs, political bodies with the reservation policy but the male dominance in politics restrict their movement in politics. But 73rd Amendment was a positive step towards women membership in local *panchayats* and enabled them to inform and influence the decision at village level. Tribal women struggled against environmental destruction for instance in Narmada Bachao Andolan, Chipko Andolan even trial women as a category not taken note of and activity and professionals attack as anti-women policy of the state extensively but they fail to recognise the gender specificities in culture and historical context. Though some women’s movement recognises the differences of culture and history but the homogenisation process creates problems in understanding how and why tribal strategies are framed to survive and resist in the complexity of class and status and politicisation of tribal women and identity problem is paramount in it.\(^ {61}\) It currently allows for the planetary development of an economic realm for the simultaneous manufacture, misappropriation and reciprocity of conscious social action.\(^ {62}\)

Renuka Singh (1997) explores the lives of contemporary urban women of India and their experience with spirituality and they have got compelled to steer in this direction on their personal experience of spirituality which is perhaps airy-fairy for many not academically fashionable. Many urban women have attempted to develop their lives by drawing power through polity, finance and society but now new patterns have emerged to seek and empower themselves. The scholarly literature on women’s spirituality is confined to religious aspect of women’s lives such as rules, roles and rituals of various religion, superstitious behaviour, myths and symbolic representations in arts, music, dance, cinema, television, literature or to the religious practitioners such as yoginis, gurus, and renunciates. Her work in contrast, presents a modern secular woman for the purpose of understanding of nature of power of their minds, thoughts and feelings. It also explores women’s interpersonal relationships in families which have not been hitherto explored in depth. The objective of the work is to present, describe and understand the pre-occupation of women with their spiritual transformation. It examines

\[^{60}\text{Ibid., p. 66.}\]
\[^{61}\text{Ibid., p. 71.}\]
\[^{62}\text{Ibid., pp. 156-164.}\]
spiritual evolution of women through family relationships, mother-daughter bond, work and education, sexuality and their interaction with gurus. Women are creative and belong often to a second or other family and it is based on spiritual and social conviction not on the biological and social ties. For the self development, women must identify first, the area of interest and conflict. In 1995, ‘The Beijing World Conference on Women’ identified areas of woman’s development such as elimination of poverty and armed conflict, education, health, access to political and economic rights, career advancement, nourishing and girl child, etc. The UN suggests the key to social empowerment of women in century and beyond empowerment, opportunities, action at family, and at the community level, health care, family planning, education are also desirable. Various governmental and non-governmental efforts have been made to access women’s needs and problems to enhance their status. Various academic writings have been highlighted scarcity-syndrome experienced by a majority of rural and marginalised rural women in India and life struggles are limited to secure food, fuel, water, minimal control over their labour and condition with a very passive role in decision-making. Renuka Singh in her initial phase of the book tries to look at women, in modern professional setting and their various roles of caring and curing, compassion and nurturance, counsellors and doctors with their desires to heal with narrating several incidents and studies happened in the city of Delhi such as doctors as practitioners and doctors as students, a child guidance, sex education, marriage counselling and other related problems, Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS), breast cancer, public kissing, physical intimate relationship, pregnancy without marriage in early age, etc. She keeps on exploring the new roles played by women in the modern professional set up like business, beautician, singer, teachers, gurus, freedom fighters, writers, beauticians, librarian, scientists, house wife, for/by engaging women in various activities and roles, in freedom and creativity self reflection, change and stability, desire to heal, cause and activism, etc. It is not in a stereotypical and traditional fashion but in more open, liberal, democratic, secular, educated and modern, post-modern and global style for the urban Indian women, who are not performing only traditional and patriarchal role but newly

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64 Ibid, pp. 2-173.
needed and created role and responsibilities leading to an other aspect of new path, for formation or construction of new identity of women in her idea and form of women reborn.

T. Nongbari views to relate gender and ethnicity with providing sufficient sociological evidences covering a wide repertoire of issues on ethnicity ranging from ideoculturological construction of identity and its relationship with race, class, nation and state, and also claims a rare work on gender implications of rising ethnic consciousness on global scale. She examines the rising effect of ethnicity on Khasi tribal women, as a matrilineal tribe of North-eastern India, within the context of women’s gender identity, which is synonym with the ethnic identity and ethnic politics having detrimental effect of reinforcing women’s subordination and supporting men’s coming up with the steeping effect of fundamentalist and patriarchal ideology. She goes on showing the tribes’ accession to the Indian Union, political modernisation of the North-eastern region, unequal pattern of development, and tribal exploitation in the hands of outsiders. Nongbari primarily focuses on her arguments on the Khasi customs of Lineage Bill, 1997 - a proposed legislation to preserve Khasi matrilineal system, in turn to redefine and reconstruct ethnic identity with elaborate it into ethnographic context, content and analysis of the Bill, gender and the normative structure, emerging debate and the assertion of control over the woman’s body, social and political factors contributing to the Bill, and identity, sexuality and the state.65 People believe that Khasi is indigenous to the land located in erstwhile united Khasi and Jantiya Hills in undivided Assam and in four divided districts of the East Khasi Hills, the West Khasi Hills, Jantiya Hills and Ri Bai district of the new state of Meghalaya. People are bind by-people and a common culture and Khasi themselves define in oneness as the children of U Hymniew Trep, a name derived from myth. The clan/kaur is matrilineally related and exogamous social organisation and nucleus of the Khasi social organisation and provides group identity to its members as membership of clan is crucial for a member of society. The clan has a special significance to the women members of the Khasi community. The female members provide perpetuation to the clan with getting married, producing children and

incorporating them into clan and ensuring its continuity. If a woman in the Khasi society fail to produce children, which is a great concern for both family and women and barrenness and sterility make valid ground for divorce. The other smaller units kpoh and ing are below the clan. The kpoh is literally womb and is an extended kin group comprised of a group of households whose members are traced by a single great grandmother and its members are traditionally bound together by shared sentiments of genealogical connectedness, joint landownership and shared cromlech/ mawabh where the bones of the dead are deposited. The ing at micro level emerges as the most significant unit, refers to both the dwelling unit and the members of the immediate family who are descendents of a common ancestor. It is not only the residential unit within which tasks of production, consumption and reproduction are affected but also act as centres of family rituals, which exclude non-kin members. The ing focuses on mother and premises on the principal of ritual unity of sibling group and rests upon the cooperation between the youngest daughter/sister (kakhadduh) who inherit property and elder brother controls the authority over the affairs. The advent of British education, administration and religion, i.e, conversion to Christianity, the ideological/ritual base of Khasi family has been eroded. With the spread of new education and knowledge, communication, service and trade and employment opportunities brought change in stable and placid tribal society, otherwise. The presence of Dkhar clan tells the story of absorption of non-Khasi offsprings into the Khasi community. The social recognition given to the children born of the unions of Khasi father and non-Khasi mother depends on the acceptance and practices of Khasi customary laws. In the recent years the acceptance of the incorporation of children of Khasi father and non-Khasi mother into Khasi society has acquired a new dimension.66

After two failures in 1980 and 1992, the Khasi Hills Autonomous District Bill as passed by Khasi Hills District Council on 13th March 1997 is yet to receive Governor's consent to become a law. It is felt to provide it a law status for strictly following the prevailing Khasi social customs of lineage in order to keep and preserve the traditional matrilineal system of society of Khasi as large number of people have been witnessing for misusing the Khasi social customs of lineage for their personal advantage and self

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66 Ibid., pp. 231-236.

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interest and jeopardizing and seriously disturbing the social and cultural life of Khasi people. Khasi Hills Autonomous District Council (KHADC) a representative of the Khasi people established under 6th Schedule of Indian constitution is empowered to make laws on marriage, divorce, social customs and among others by proposing a new legal regime in the form of a codified law to strengthen the existing customary arrangements of the traditional Khasi society. In this process of codification, the traditional norms and practices get subjected to interpretation in the light of the new and emerging sensibilities, experiences, needs of given society involved in substantial adjustment and accommodation. At the very outset, the Bill refers to explain and elaborate legal definition of the term Khasi, which goes beyond traditional categories of mentioning Khasi, and a person belonging to Khasi tribe who may be a Khasi, Jaintia, Pnar, Synteng, Klar, Bhoi or Lyngnagam or who is recognised or demanded as such under the prevailing Khasi custom or this act. Nongbari talks of issues like gender and normative structure, debate of control over woman’s body, social and political factors, and identity, sexuality and state for ethnicity and gender in the Khasi society. Dealing with gender and normative structure a sharp understanding of bill on women life examines the gender relation that exists in society, which excludes women from politics and other key areas of decision-making but also treated primarily as reproducers. Despite the fact that Khasi society is characterised by matrilineal system of kinship in which descent, inheritance, residence are focused on Khasi women, who have no role at all in the political domain. Not only the Khasi makes a sharp distinction between the political and domestic domains but women are traditionally excluded from politicised men. These domains are clearly demarcated as former belongs to the sphere of the family and kinship and the later to the public realm in both structure and functional terms. Even in the family it is men who control over entire matter of importance like lineage and clan, which are headed by a male (u rangbah kur) and never by a female. The task of administration of clan, settlement of disputes and conduct of rituals are all male roles, management of property, and even property is inherited by woman but they are only custodian and actual control rests in the hands of women. The central defining feature of Khasi is matrilineal system and women are the bearer of the tradition. Hence, to preserve their identity it is vital that

women's sexuality and the products of their body remain under the control of community. To restrict and regulate the control over women and their body men have lost no time in coming up with strict normative code. The state and its role is such that it produce and perpetuate an ideology that subjugated and marginalised women. For example, Land Reforms Commission and KHADC had no any woman representative and this marginal position of woman aided men in this regard. In female sexuality and valorisation of ethnic identity, the current debate is centred around the role of the state in degradation of woman. The cases of inter ethnic marriage happens due to state sponsored development with individualisation, urbanisation, infrastructure development, etc but in Khasi society inter ethnic marriages contributed to women’s impoverishment by appropriating their land and forest resources, hence exposing them to economic and social exploitation. It would not be far wrong to say that had the state been sincere in its intention to restrict misuse of benefits by non tribal it could have used anti-benami law to root out this practice.68

S.M. Patnaik (2007) takes anthropological perspective on ethnicity and identify issues for restructuring cultural identity in the case of the Idu of Arunachal Pradesh on two major points of view. The first point of view regards the core cultural characteristics of community as they provide both continuity and identity to the concerned group. The second, as quoted in Dube (1993), claims the dynamics of boundary maintenance for crucial study of ethnicity and identity.69 By quoting Bhagabati (2002) in North-East India, he claims that among tribal and non-tribal community mobilisation of cultural resources has been basis for ethnicity and ethnic movement and various social formations and societies have come to grips with the issues of ethnicity and identity movement. He seeks to explore Idu group’s cultural identity of Arunachal Pradesh in terms of fluidity of cultural meaning gets articulated in global order.70 Idu is inhabitants of Indo-Tibetan border on the river’s bank of areas of confluence of Lohit and Debang of Arunachal Pradesh. Idu is segregated in various sections and field work is being conducted in Idu

68 Ibid., p. 260.
70 Ibid., p.171.
Muslims who are forest dwellers, practising shifting cultivation, patrilineal descent and the most common form of marriage is polygamy and each wife enjoys a separate home/house with her husband. And Jdu worship Sun as the supreme God, who is considered as the creator of all things.

He says that Reh is important festival, and is celebrated in expensive mode at the family level and reinforces Jdu identity. It is marked by Sun worship and number of sacrifices or mithun are offered and ceremonial gifts are given to the sisters. Jdu believe that their legend sister Rukmini eloped with Lord Krishna and Jdu fought him but got defeated. And to teach them lesson Lord Krishna cut their hair from front in firing which looked like ‘Sadhana Cut’ of Bollywood of early 1970s and their neighbours identity them as Jdu, as it is one of the body marks. They mark distinction between the Keya, the Jdu themselves and Anno, the outsiders. Anno is practiced wet rice cultivation in plains and Keya is practiced shifting cultivation jhum cultivation in the mountainous forests. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) were not allowed till 1980s, and Ramakrishna Mission are doing commendable job in the field of education in the state and Hindu and Christian missionaries are in upsurge in activities. Jdu have availed educational opportunity and got highly educated, economically well off, widely travelled, and market activities and globalisation has also affected this part of the country. The external influence to the areas by agencies having roots outside the state has forced Jdu to go back to their roots, back to their faith and look for their own identity and form Jdu cultural and literary society (ICLS) in 1989 by taking the responsibility of strengthening and reviving the rich cultural traditions of the community. ICLS recently has prepared an ethnographic film on their community and highlighted traditional features like Reh festival celebration, worship of Inni, the supreme God, role Igu (priest) in different ceremonies, significance of mithun, birth and death rituals, for reinforcing their cultural identity. K.K. Birla Foundation in 2000, has conducted a study in the central parts of Arunachal Pradesh and revealed that 300 Arunachalese who earlier converted to Christianity have now rejoined Donyipoloism, a traditional religious movement. There are efforts to create new meanings and new cultural space for contextualizing their identity. For example, Reh,
earlier was being celebrated at family level, now the modern *Idu* decided to celebrate it at the level of community as experience of celebration can be shared. *Idu* is known by their patriotic feeling and during field work, most of the informants referred proudly as Indian and by the efforts of Hindu missionaries, *Idu* is attributed to the mainstream of Hindu culture.\(^{73}\)

Ajailiu (2006) aims to underline both the increasing trade relations and social mobility in both with and across South Asian nations and South East Asia for overall economic integration of the region on the one hand and on the other hand it tries to examines the debate on the matrix of relationship between development and discontent in the North East involving cross border movement and social mobility vis-à-vis the policies and strategies of the government into three sections – Policy: Dramatic Turns, North East as Business Hub in South Asia and Discontent and Its Impact.\(^{74}\) North East India is land-locked region with seven States: Manipur, Mizoram, Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagland, Sikkim, and its 98 percent borders are shared with neighbouring countries like China, Bangladesh, Myanmar and Bhutan. The North-Eastern region has been rich in bio-diversity, natural and mineral resources and North East region’s development are tackled through Five Year Plans, Ministry of Development North Eastern Region, North Eastern Council (NEC) with the objective of streamlining strategies of development. The region is facing difficulties of absence of economic and industrial infrastructure and a crucial issue of rewinding phobia. All the funds are allocated through NEC.\(^{75}\) India’s Look East Policy (LEP) facilitates promising opportunities and challenges for the future and North East is hot spot for flora and fauna, tea and rice, producing and exporting region and it can bear fruits in a desired manner. It can be advantage of the geographical location of markets of Association of East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the areas of horticulture and medicinal herbs, tourism, information technology, gas, oil, minerals, education, health, downstream industries, etc. NEC will be instrumental in taking holistic view in taking policies and their implementation in liaison with the concerned ministries. It is suggested to take development strategies forward with

\(^{73}\) Ibid., p.174.


\(^{75}\) Ibid., p. 17.
ASEAN countries for peace, stability, prosperity of the wider Asia Pacific region. And NEC has been given the responsibility for drawing blueprint for socio-economic upliftment through ‘North-East Vision – 2020’. A major initiative to seek international cooperation for development of North Eastern region under five core sectors – Integrated Road Project, Urban Development Project, Trade and Investment Creation Initiative, Water Resources Development and Integrated Energy Project. It is important to point out that while formulating this policy, Indian Government did not consult people of the North East, who will get more affected and this policy needed to be more examined before implementation.6 Ajailiu Niumai looks at North East as a hub for trade partnerships with neighbouring countries with India’s changing economic policies since 1991 in the aftermath of economic liberalisation and it can be a positive effect on Indo-ASEAN relations. The political instability in the country for sometimes was a matter of concern for ASEAN observers. The North East region has a strategic geographical location for trade relations. The road and rail input to connect Thailand and Myanmar with Manipur and other States of the region would bring prosperity and stability to the region. The major discontents are problems like ethnic conflict, unemployment, poverty, HIV/AIDS, insurgency, massive illegal influx from Nepal and Bangladesh, are significant indicators and act as critical insulator for development of the region.77

**Globalisation: Dalit Identity**

Nandu Ram (2008) analyses Dalit in contemporary India with their social discrimination, and discontent along with their assertion and movements from a wide range of timeframe from later part of 19th century to the present day. Dalit is recently an identity coined term and demonstrates pride, self-respect of untouchables and scheduled castes on the one hand and, and on the other, it exemplifies the ill treatment given to them by others in Indian society. The pride and self-respect of Dalit is rooted in their socio-economic and political achievements, who were earlier being untouchables subjected to untouchability, discrimination, exploitation and subordination. He tries to unfold two specific

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6 ibid., pp. 17-20.
77 ibid., p. 22.
connotations of the term Dalit: One speaks of those who were earlier being grinded, suppressed, oppressed, voiceless and the other broad connotation commensurating with deprivation, exploitation, subordination, etc of the larger segments like Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, minority and poor segments of the upper castes. The second category resembles with class, which is said to be in making. But he refers to the fact that now Dalit exclusively used for the ex-untouchable castes – Ati-shudras or the SC across the country. He has stated that Dalit has history of their origin and various forms of social discrimination, which include untouchability practiced against them by the touchable castes or non-Dalits. In the other theories the Shudras are extended the fourth of four Varnas and divided into Sat (with substance) and Asat (without substance), i.e., ati-Shudras category. Dalit today have gained tremendous degree of confidence and realisation of significance of their strength compared to the past. Today, Dalits have required confidence, self-pride and become more assertive in both collective and individual ways, for assertion and social movement. The social consciousness and assertion of Dalit and has been nourished by a number of legislative measures enacted after Independence for their welfare, empowerment, protection and development. Now, Dalits have started sharing in the governance of the country as successful political leaders, bureaucrats, educationists, professionals, etc. The legislative measures in India fall mainly into two folds: First Dalits have little faith of these measures and schemes and they bear the worst forms of the maximum brunt of the direct resentments and relations of upper castes especially in rural areas. Dalit movements in India in the caste, class and gender paradigms can be claimed within the perspective from the below, has put impact on both planned and unplanned social change among Dalits. The last few decades of previous century, Dalit movements mainly addressed prime issues like untouchability, social disabilities of Hindu caste system, sharing of political power, privilege, self-respect, liberation of social-economic exploitation, and bondage and dignified social identity.

In the early 1970s, Dalits in Maharashtra have realised and established literature of Hindu culture and social system portrays negative image for Dalit in the pretext of their literary expression. Dalits have organised separate movements in all parts of India for gaining self-respect and dignified social identity in both within and outside Hindu religion. In Indian society, a combination of numerous contradictions of visible forms of corporate social categories of caste, class and gender, class is not a hierarchical system, gender has an ordinate attribute and demarcated the role domain of females but also put them in most vulnerable condition and their problems got aggravated especially when they belong to lower caste and class background. Dalits continue to oppose it in various forms of movement over a period of time. It is easily understood and seen that a sizeable section of Dalits involve in organising various types of movements for achieving their identified goals.

J.K. Pundir (2008) says that the term Dalit in contemporary uses conveys several meaning and evokes different images. In broad way it refers to all the oppressed, depressed and downtrodden sections of society and in operational terms it refers to the segment of society, which has been placed at the bottom of caste hierarchy in Hindu social order of Indian society. He proposes Dalits in India in past identities and present scenario into several sections – Dalit social identity into the pre-British period, second includes their identity into British period up to 1930s and Dalits identities during the period of Independence and in the last part their changing socio-cultural identities and emerging scenarios.

In the various works on castes the term Dalits have been referred to achhuts (untouchables), avarnas, panchamas, atishudras, antyajas, etc. and during freedom movement, Gandhiji called them Harijans (children of God). And since Britishers enlisted such castes, later these were recognised in the Indian Constitution and are named as Scheduled Castes. In the pre-British Indian society, it has been divided into four varnas and sizeable numbers of population are away from this four-fold division of

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81 Ibid., pp. 40-49.
82 Ibid., pp. 49-61.
84 Ibid., p. 133.
society and known as outcastes like Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra and outcastes as the fifth. This isolated culture and socially, economically and politically deprived status marked the identity of Dalit in this period. In the period of Independence in India, the SCs have undergone various changes and acquire different significance against the background of traditional status of SCs in three different avenues: First was related to reform movements, sanskritition i.e. lower castes people adopt life style of upper caste people in social hierarchy, and third inspired by the process of westernisation. In the last he concludes that the identity of Scheduled Castes has not only remained a social and cultural identity but also a political and cultural identity in Indian society.\(^8^5\)

Vivek Kumar has attempted to understand exclusion of the Dalit from institutions of governance and politics of development in contemporary Indian society in the socio-political context of globalisation. He takes one of the most important elements of social structure of Indian society for deliberating dominant role of caste in shaping of Indian administrative structure in past and even now it continues to influence. He depicts the status of Dalits during globalisation along with privatisation and liberalisation and the issues of emergence of NGOs as an administrative issue and reservation in the private sector in relation to amelioration of condition of Dalits and Dalit diaspora as positive impact of globalisation.\(^8^6\) It is true that traditional social structure of Indian society influences modern social structure and it has a direct impact on the Indian administrative structure and upper castes dominated Indian social hierarchy in bureaucracy and judiciary. However, the untouchables, tribals and even Shudras were left out of the institutions of governance in the Indian society.\(^8^7\) He emphasises various definitions and concepts of Dalit and globalisation. In defining governance, sociological principles of policies, programmes, formulation and implementation, and distribution of social and economic resources among the masses on the universalistic principles institutions of governance like bureaucracy, legislature and judiciary should have fair representations of all social groups without monopoly of one group or the other. Vivek Kumar has shown

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\(^{8^5}\) Ibid., p. 154.


\(^{8^7}\) Ibid., pp. 303-330.
relationship of governance and Dalit in the past and present in high courts, judges, class one government jobs, Indian High Commission offices, educational profiles of Dalits in different Indian states, central universities in different periods of time. He has raised doubt on a dialogue on affirmative action for reservation in the private sector for Dalits under the Congress-led UPA Government, in which Backward and Minorities Communities Employees Federation (BMCEF), the biggest group of Dalit employees which has not demanded this kind of reservation. In the wake of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation, job opportunities in private sector are spreading and in public sector it is shrinking and Dalits have doubt and apprehension about it being only a policy gimmick or government's serious intention about it. He raised doubt on various central and state governments after 6 decades of Independence have not been completely filled in the vacancies under allotted quota of SCs’ 15 percent, STs’ 7.5 percent as in Article 335 of the Constitution and OBCs’ quota newly inducted on the one hand and on the other hand he demanded reservations for Dalits and OBCs in key offices of the country like the Judiciary, Army, Rajya Sabha and Vidhan Parishads, which never seems rational. He went on explaining whole ideas of opposing reservation on the issue of merit and efficiency by giving examples of critically evaluating the performance of privates sectors in terms of efficiency and competitiveness and rejecting the idea of merit resting only on the side of upper echelons of society and others are devoid of it, and supported the idea that educational, economic and occupational attainment are related to family background rather than talent and ability.

The systematic discrimination in recruitments in the private sector appears because of the high percentage of Indian population has been thinly represented. The percentage of upper caste hegemony through perpetrating atrocities on Dalits has proved detrimental for them and such nature of atrocities on Dalits has been divided into two – Firstly, traditional, where Dalits are denied every rights whatsoever in Hindu society and the secondly, atrocities emanating from modern forms of resistance on the part of the Dalits. He says that in global era civil societies like NGOs and voluntary organisations

88 Ibid., pp. 306-314.
89 Ibid., pp. 315-317.
90 Ibid., pp. 319-321.
(VOs) are working with national and international aid to fight against such atrocities but upper caste domination still exists in government jobs.

He has mentioned Dalit diaspora and their patterns of mobility, which has been important in current process of globalisation, into two ‘old’ and ‘new’. The old has been comprised of indentured and assisted labour and new includes semi-literates and professionally trained Dalits immigrated to UK, US, Canada, South Asian and African countries. There has been several evidences of showing caste discrimination of traditional forms like exclusion in food-sharing, worship, marriage, etc. Dalits in UK, USA and other countries have established various organisations like *Buddha Vihar, Gurudwaras, Voice of Dalit International (VODI), Federation of Ambedkar and Buddhist Organisations (FABO), Volunteers in Service to India’s Oppressed and Neglected (VODION)*, various internet and websites to address various sorts of discrimination and atrocities on Dalits in both inside and outside countries.  

Sunita Reddy Bharati (2001) studies attitude of Schedule Caste (SCs) university students for reservation policy and its implication in India. She took SC students for sample from both the universities-Hyderabad Central University (HCU) and Osmania University (OU), Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh and used both the primary and secondary data for her study. The primary data is generated through intensive interview, case studies and questionnaire. Indian society has been hierarchal generating inequalities passes by generation to generation which has led to serious social, psychological, educational and economic deprivation among subaltern groups and caused irreparable harm to the society. To bring this subaltern group at par with the privilege group in the society reservation should be allowed as a compensation measure for bringing lower caste social mobility in upward direction. This reservation has two opposite side effects. One, rather than dissolve caste boundary, it strengthens caste boundary and second it also ignores individuals merits and equal opportunities to these individuals.

SCs representing in central government services (CGSs) in 1995 in group A, B, C, and group D, are 10.15 percent, 12.67 percent, 16.15 percent and 21.26 percent

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91 Ibid., pp. 323-329.
respectively on the one hand and on the other SCs working as sweeper are 44.34 percent. Majority of the SC students are around 55 percent from both rural and urban areas feel that SCs have improved their status but they also view that their status is still inferior to other upper caste students. Most of the students feel that only a section of SC population in India is getting benefitted by social welfare scheme and reservation policy and majority of SC population living in rural area are still poor and deprived. In the entire work 66.7 per cent respondents are of the view that reservation should be given on the economic position and 33.3 per cent told that it should be given on caste basis, who favours, caste based reservation. Those who favour reservation opined that upper caste people are economically deprived and they are not socially backward. But SC caste, who are economically deprived, they are both socially and economically deprived. Those who believe in economic basis of reservation say that caste reservation provides barrier and stigmatised identity for SCs students in India.

Globalisation and Migration

Indian society in pre-British and pre-colonial period was considered self-contained and homogenous and rooted in small scale production and people were living broadly in rural areas stable and static and had strong bonding with home milieu. Inland migration was rare and occurring in natural calamities at the time of marriages leave aside overseas migration. But anthropological studies and historical investigation have negated this view and claimed that high rate of mobility was observed during colonial period from deserted village, which was founded by groups and later was abandoned. And other new group controlled the existence of land of abandoned land, which showed and confirmed openness and pluriformity of rural social and economic order. The Indian rural social order and Indian peasantry lived in state of flux and landless servants ran away and took the protection of landlord elsewhere especially when they were instigated by others. Pre-British Mughal period Sultanates, Rajadoms and the Mughal empire spent very huge amount on their armies, whom they recruited from marginal peasants like Grasiyas and

93 Ibid., p.31.
94 Ibid., p.36.
Kolis from Gujarat, Sayed from Punjab, and various Rajputs from various States of Rajasthan, U.P., M.P., Maharashtra (earlier these states were known by different names) moved out their territories to join Sultanate and the Mughal armies and even they liked to shift loyalty from one army to other army in search of security and god wages since no single army provided them security and wages.96

In contrast to such above mentioned emigration 19th century migration has been creation of British colonialism and emigration from India began in 1830s to British colonies of Mauritius and Caribbean and such new emigrant Indian population co-existed with other ethnic groups under one political state. R.K. Jain has delineated three broad categories of migration in terms of history and political economy: Emigration started in the 19th century; migration to industrially developed countries in the 20th century and recent emigration to the West Asia. A total of 8.6 million of the South Asian people, which is fewer than 1 percent of current combined population of 1000 million in 1987, belonged to five countries: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal. There are large numbers of overseas Indians in Trinidad, Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, and Surinam, which constitute more than 40 percent of their population and in the second category of countries include Malaya, Sri Lanka, Uganda, USA, UK and Canada where substantial numbers of overseas Indians come and contribute to the latter category of socio-political importance.97 Jain focuses more on Indian emigration in colonial and imperialist expansion in 19th century to the three oceans, geographically: In Indian Ocean in the countries like Mauritius, Uganda, South Africa, Malaysia, Sri Lanka; in the Pacific Ocean in Fiji and in Caribbean Sea in Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, etc. The Indian communities faced complex and varied social situation from initial emigration from India to contemporary countries of their adoption along with other ethnic groups but they face diversity in terms of ethnical, social and cultural frame. The large-scale migration and settling down in new territory in other parts of the world or overseas has been considered surprising phenomenon and overseas migration, i.e., crossing the seas has been regarded as crossing ‘black water’ or kalaapani, traditionally considered as complete peril to Hindu’s soul. European imperialist expansion in the 19th century has created large-scale

emigration through its both pull and push factors. With new industrial and commercial venture and especially plantations, free and progressive prohibition of slavery in the first half of the 19th country, India and China have become obvious and alternative source of labour and this was the main pull factor in the peasantry of these two counties. European influence and dominance has created severe social and economic disturbances and was regarded as push factor. When western capitalist economy interacted with indigenous rural economies and created several low level of development of commercial and industrial opportunities and this lead to the cash-conscious peasantry to retail trade and manufacturing trade but not produced foreign business concern. The native population has shown a lack of entrepreneurial skills and caught only limited lucrative opportunities and again India and China provided entrepreneurs who got settled in nooks and corners of colonial economies.98 Emigration to various countries was organised into two ways: emigration to Caribbean, i.e., to British, Dutch, French, West India and Guiana, one the one hand, and the other to Ceylon and Malaya.99 The emigration in 19th century was organised by indentured labour, Kangani system and free migration. In 19th century at various periods indentured system was introduced in several countries like in Mauritius, started in 1834, in Guyana started in 1838, in Trinidad in 1845, in Surinam in 1873, in Fiji in 1878 and in Natal in 1860 and the great majority of these emigrants did not return home. Indenture was a contract by which emigrant agreed to work for the period of 5 year for a given employer and after performing the task assigned to him for a specific wage. The emigrants were free after that 5 years period to re-indenture or to work elsewhere in British colony. The emigration was contract and fulfilled and governed by the Immigration Ordinance enacted in the country of destination.100 The Kangani system of emigration was found in Ceylon and Malaya. The emigration to Ceylon (1830-1950) was mainly from the South India and it took only 2-3 days to reach Ceylon from India but to the West Indies from the north-western part of India it took an average of nine days. The migrants to Ceylon were recruited by the headmen known as Kangani. Each Kangani recruited more men belong to his own caste and kin group. Often, the Kangani was a man with capital and offered some capital to his followers, the

98 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
99 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
100 Ibid., pp. 6-8.
expense of travelling and settling down on a plantation. He negotiated with managers about wages and work condition on behalf of his group and could remove his followers to another plantation if the terms were not satisfactory. The Malaya Kangani was borrowed from Ceylon and followed the practice of indentured recruiting for sometime. The plantation labourers in Malaya Kangani kept contact and strong connection and ties with India even though they had home in Malaya. This was the main reason that they were not absorbed in Malaya's wider society. The South Indian plantation labourers in Malaya were proletarianised but they developed penny capitalism, i.e., rotating credit associations and labourers with entrepreneurial skill became more affluent. ¹⁰¹ The emigration to the East Africa present a third pattern of traders and skilled artisans, who did not settle but went for building Mombasa railway and most of them returned but few of them remained and the present Indian population of Kenya and Uganda had arrived when railway had stimulated opportunities for trade.

Migration in the 20th century from India was different than the colonial migration in 19th century, the main types of migration in the contemporary period have been more sequential. The major influx of Indians to Britain occurred during emptying cities and expanding economy called for more labour but the first trickle of Indians to Britain occurred during the period of the Raj, which involved sailors, students and emissaries. During this period male came and found work and lived in shared houses and brought their family members and re-established their families and accumulated material assets in new environments. A trickle of Indians entered in the USA from 1820 and till 1900 their numbers were only 700. ¹⁰² And as a component of American ethnic mosaic, Indian immigrants were enumerated as an ethnic group for the first time in 1980 in USA. In the post-1965 era American pull factors became more important than the Indian push factor and the kind of emigrants who came to the USA belonged to American professional groups like engineers, scientists, college teachers, accountants, businessmen. Some of the skilled and semi-skilled workers and in many of the cases wives and adult children also worked. They belonged to almost all parts of India but majority of them are Hindu. Indians are the largest component of the peoples of South Asian origin in Canada and

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 8-9.
¹⁰² Ibid., p. 71.
they are presently one of Canada’s most rapidly growing ethno-cultural populations. Around 5,200 Indian immigrants arrived in British Columbia, Canada from 1904 to 1908 and 80-85 were Sikhs, who came from either Punjab or Hong Kong and the remaining rest were Muslims and Hindu Punjabi. The immigrants belonged to the different language-speaking communities of Indian origin, Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Bengali, Telugu, Gujarati, etc. Indian immigrants in contemporary times because of their comparative affluence and worldwide improvement in communication maintain extensive ties with India. Marriage arrangements, kinship networks, property and religious affiliations keep many migrants well linked to their place of origin in India. It is interesting to see that region, religion, caste, language, family, etc. still play important role in their identity formation in all parts of the world. These lead to the growth of larger social network and associations on these ethnic lines of caste, religion, region, language provide a setting for meeting and helping people coming from the same region who speak same language, belong to same region and religion and practice the same socio-cultural life-style for maintaining a separate Indian identity.

The economic and social aspiration have been noticed as driving force for migration of various sort of professionals to the western countries - Europe, America, and also for others like African and Middle East nations. The migrants seek to transplant/transform cultural boundaries and recreate new representation of their selves and their past in their new milieu. In the contemporary movement of people between nations, transnational cultural exchanges the identities and culture get delocalised but the memories of past places and times rarely detached and finally the desire for newly constructed identities arise out of such migration. However, in such reconfiguration of global cultural map scholars like to question about value of roots and ‘abnormal’ metaphors are used to explain culture and their images of ‘disjuncture’ and ‘rupture’. As scholars have described that the immigrant communities face crises of epistemological nature, changing legal and political system, ruptures in families, tensions between older and newer social and cultural values and struggles for economic mobility. A. Rayprol (1997) talks of religious identities and gender relations in the context of

Indian diaspora settled in USA, with special focus on gender relations after migration. To compete with the process of acculturation, immigrants carry out imagined cultural role with them in the alien environment. And they prefer to retain their ethnic distinctiveness and they cope up with the alien environment by remaining allied with them on the one hand and on the other hand they also try to integrate with host and parent culture as it provides opportunity for development of self esteemed and identity. Immigrants whatever strategy adopt, they are primarily concerned with ‘cultural reproduction’ or the process by which they seek to transmit their knowledge, value system, belief system and behavioural norms to the next generation. The process of immigration involves crisis of epistemology that focuses people attention on tradition and narratives in order to establish ‘known world’. To resolve this crisis Hindu immigrants build temple and establish indigenous social and cultural activities in the new society. But the middle of the 20th century religion was firmly instutionalised. However, several studies have shown that Indian immigrants have retained religious values and other forms of cultural expression regardless of the community they have emerged. The religious institutions of immigrants have not been only centre of worship but they serve various cultural and social activities, which bind them in a close nit community. Various studies depict role of temple in the process of reaffirming cultural heritage and shaping identities of the children of South Indian women. People immigrated out of India in the pursuit of professional success, and the South Indian immigrants, have had enough resources for reconstructing identities of their children and of themselves and engaging in reproduction of their past. For Indian diaspora the idea of return is not a physical but a cultural phenomenon and building of temple can be understood as expression of nostalgia that symbolises an act of cultural act. In the case of South Indian immigrants visiting Tirupathi temple in USA made them ‘authentic’ and feel as they were in India. And women with their traditional role are transmitters of culture and take more active apart in giving them memories in a concrete shapes in the forms of festivals, ethnic food, traditional dress and religions and language classes. Women more often than men tend to serve unpaid keepers and embodiment of memory. Women are expected to stay in past culture and men more on the fast track of individualism. In late 20th century nostalgia serves as a ‘consumerist’ frame as for as Indian immigrants desire for latest ethnic fashion, jewellery, spices and specificity of
food, which they can acquire through global capitalism, which are embedded in a consumerist culture. All expression of nostalgia among Indian immigrants in the group or subgroup form, share a common ancestry, a common history, a common pursuit, a common immigrant situation. Indian immigrant is merely a moral community in the sense of religious group but in a sense is known as a 'community of memory.' In Durkheimian view the idea of religion performs social function as a mode of social reality, as both system of communication of ideas and sentiments and as a mode of specifying and regulating social relationship. Immigrants in the USA stay in nuclear family but when they visit temple at the occasion of festivals worship, etc they feel they are like one big extended family and also behaving in that manner. This clearly shows the desire for identity formation.

Summary

The chapter analyses identity formation in the context of globalisation in Indian society. It has been explained and narrated by various scholars mainly in societal, civilizational, gender, Dalit and immigration aspects. The scholars have taken different aspects such as caste, class, religion, development, nation building, modernity, advertisement and media, hierarchy, hegemony, community and movement, tribes, gender, Dalit, migration, etc. for their deliberation.