However, study argues that the recent changes in the livelihoods are also becoming instrumental in creating certain potential for the Paniyans to challenge the day to day domination,

**CHAPTER II**

**THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL: THEORY AND CONTEXT**

Increased interplay between the global and the local has been getting greater attention from social science researchers and academics of late, courtesy the processes of globalization. Communities, individuals and livelihoods, which are very much placed in complex interrelations, are undergoing tremendous changes due to the forces, processes, institutions and imaginations at global scale. Realms of these forces, processes, institutions and imaginations are understood as different dimensions of globalization which are often clustered or overlapped in their empirical manifestations and are in constant interaction with the local. Our attempt in this chapter is to interlink the macro debate on globalization split into four major dimensions i.e. social, economic, cultural and political, juxtaposed with the relevant fields of livelihood practices and social interactions in the context of present research. This is being done with an understanding that the process of globalization is marked by a new global regime of capitalist development, which gets manifested specifically in varied local contexts.

In the first part of this chapter, literature on various dimensions of globalization has been critically surveyed in order to understand the complex interrelations between the global and local. In the second section of this chapter, theoretical debate is contextualized with the regional specificities of Wayanad in national and sub-national contexts. Drawing from the macro debate on globalization, it is tried to explain how the global–local interconnections are manifested in Wayanad and in our study village in the overall context of Kerala and India.

**Differentiating the notion of Globalisation**
The global and local interface has been mediated by various interconnected processes on different scales. Scholars across disciplines have been trying to encapsulate these processes, i.e. globalisation, from various perspectives. Understanding of these various theories and perspectives on global changes would enable us to study the local realities in much more interconnected ways. Macro understanding would also help us locally to identify the flows, structures and linkages which are shaped and reshaped at the confluence of the global and the local. Globalisation has been widely accepted as a shorthand for describing these multi-dimensional changes (Fig.1).

There are strong tendencies to reduce these complex processes into the polemics of economic logic alone. While one of the reductionist tendencies is based on a neo-liberal project for globalization controlled by the powerful economic institutions at the macro level scale to transform the world into more globalised and liberalized, allowing the capital to flow freely across the national boundaries with an expectation to expand the market space and deepen the market relations which alone is considered to be the facilitator for opportunities.

Opponent school, represented mainly by Marxian orthodoxy, also tries to reduce the entire processes into an economic one in the efforts to negate the globally dominant neo-liberal project and its discourse. Although there is a political correctness in this, it is highly flawed in reducing the complex processes into single-dimensional and uni-directional one. They fail to see a social field in which various actors actively respond to various processes at differently in different contexts. In the present study, we would rather argue for a social analysis which goes beyond the binary economic orthodoxies and see globalization as multilayered as well as multidimensional processes which change the localities in intricate ways within the capitalist regime of development.

Globalisation is viewed as multidimensional in the sense that the changes are neither confined to any particular facet of society nor are determined by economic processes alone. It is multilayered also because it is primarily a process, secondly an awareness and thirdly also a project (Hamel 2001). Different projects of globalisation, which include advocacy and pursuit of particular forms of globalization including that of neo-liberalism, attempt to manage and steer globalisation in a particular direction and sometimes even
take the form of anti-globalist movements from below and are often concurrent, overlapping and interactive.

Different dimensions of this complex process described as social, economic, cultural and political are discussed briefly in the following part. Though there are differences in

![Diagram of interrelating global, national or sub-national and local contexts]

**Fig 2.1. Interrelating global, national or sub-national and local contexts**

details most of the authors admit to an ushering in of a new phase in the social life of humanity which is qualitatively different from the past. Difference among these theorists is basically political which can be broadly classified according to their underlying conceptualization of capitalism as a system. Some of them, for example David Harvey (1990), try to explain how capitalism as a distinct structure of relations is getting changed in accumulating profit under the process of globalisation and changing the local in
intricate ways, while many others like Giddens (1992) take it for granted as being on par with modernity.

**Social dimension of globalisation**

The social dimension of globalisation is viewed largely in connection with the modernisation project started two centuries back. Increasing interconnectedness among people and places is seen as the result of modernity (Giddens 1992). To Giddens, industrialisation of modern societies and the accumulation of material resources are closely linked to the process of globalisation. He describes globalisation as the continuation of modernity rather than a break. He considers modernity as getting inherently globalising. The contemporary period, according to him, is a phase of high modernity. By this he means that modernity has now moved into a global stage where individuals are confronted by globalised social institutions in a world society.

He identifies three factors in the 19th century which have resulted in contemporary globalisation: first, the invasion of European nations on “tribal” societies and the subsequent colonisation through the establishment of ruling colonial communities; secondly, the comparative peace that prevailed in this period which allowed the British, in particular, to invest resources in advancing colonial ambitions; and thirdly, the European bureaucratic skills which enabled them to develop diplomatic networks and transnational political and business agencies.

Giddens views the dual processes of the compression of time and space as the main characteristics of contemporary globalisation. It is through ‘distanciation’ that time and space are organised in order to connect presence and absence. Social relations are lifted out of their local contexts and thus ‘disembodied’ and restructured across indefinite spans of time and space. Time/space distanciation is the measure of the degree to which the friction of space has been overcome to accommodate social interaction and, globalisation is essentially action at a distance, predominating absence over presence. As such, globalisation can be defined as the “intensification of world-wide social relations which
link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens1990).

David Harvey also has pointed out the fact of time and space shaping social relations and events. Referring to the class characteristics of the process he noted the absolute freedom to move capital whenever and wherever it is required which gives the capital –owning international bourgeoisie a decisive advantage over the mass of workers who are restricted in their movements and migrations. Analysing the contemporary nature of capitalism in the context of greater temporal advantages through the technological revolution, he finds that the profit for the capitalist is greater with greater speed with which it is launched into circulation and recouperated. The time of production together with the time of circulation of exchange are referred to as the turn-over time of capital. This turnover-time of capital is much less under globalisation.

Roland Robertson (1992) presents contemporary globalisation as pre-dating modernity and the rise of capitalism. He argues that globalisation in our time is qualitatively different from the earlier manifestations. Tracing the origins of globalisation he identifies five phases of Globalisation in Europe from 1400 to date. Accordingly, the present phase of globalisation started from 1969. Thus Robertson sees the relationship between globalisation and modernity quite differently from Giddens. While claiming that the problem of modernity has been expanded to, or even in a sense, subsumed by the problem of globality, Robertson also warns that the present concern with globality and globalisation cannot be comprehensively considered simply as an aspect or outcome of the western project of modernity. Last decade witnessed an unprecedented acceleration of the longstanding process and presently it has moved to a level of consciousness of the people. There has been compression of the world because of an increasing interdependence and the possibility of events and happenings in one part of the globe, influencing and shaping the lives of people in other parts of the globe (ibid.). This compression of the world intensifies the global consciousness.

Globalisation is arguably changing the very nature of the social with shifts in the pattern of consumption as well as the informational mode of production (Beck 1998). It redefines the way individual actors cope with professional and interpersonal networks. It also
contributes to a deep revision of the sense and experience of spatial belonging that social actors once underwent in industrial society as it has a great impact on the lived experiences of social actors too (ibid.).

Axford (1977) has defined globalisation as the historical process through which the world is being made into one place with systemic properties. He argues that globalisation is a complex, contradictory and multidimensional historical process. For him, it is a convenient shorthand for a number of complex processes which are serving to compress the world in terms of time and space, and to redefine all sorts of borders – to taste and imagination as well as to territory and identities.

While Axford perceives a compression, Held and McGrew (2002) see globalisation as denoting the expanding scale, growing magnitude and speeding up and deepening of the impact of transnational flows and patterns of social interaction. To them globalisation refers to a shift or transformation in the scale of human organisation that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world’s regions and continents. In its nature it is deeply divisive and vigorously contested also, since a substantial proportion of the world’s population is largely excluded from the benefits of globalisation. The unevenness of globalisation makes sure that it is far from a universal process experienced uniformly across the entire planet (ibid).

**Economic Globalisation**

The opening up of the national economies, especially erstwhile socialist countries and other developing nations, forms the major characteristic of economic globalisation. Uninterrupted expansion of world capitalism and creation of a world market became possible in the wake of the collapse of Soviet Union and its satellite countries. It was in this context that countries like India became compelled to open up the economies. Transnational agencies, like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, have become important players in determining the domestic policies of the “developing” economies, mostly comprising of the Latin American, Asian and African countries.

The contemporary period of globalisation is marked with the widespread introduction of liberalisation policies across the developing world since the early 1980s. With the disintegration of the Soviet Bloc, global polity has received a boost and increased the
importance of international organisations and the regimes in organising a new global political space (Short and Kim 1999).

The most important aspects of economic globalisation are, hence, observed as the breaking down of national economic barriers; the international spread of trade, financial and production activities, and the growing power of transactional corporation activities and international financial institutions (Khor 2001).

It is argued that globalisation as an uneven process, with trade and investment being focused in a few countries, creates impacts on almost all countries. Even a low-income country, though it may have only a limited world trade, has to face different socio-economic impacts of the process because of the changes in demand for or prices of its export commodities or a policy of rapidly reducing its import duties (ibid). National policies and policy-making mechanism have been increasingly globalised, which is observed as one of the unique features of the current phase of globalisation.

Most of the decisions are taken by national governments in tandem with the obligations and commitments made to the international bodies in connection with the free trade policies. So, most of the policy-makings, which were under the jurisdiction of the states until recently, as well as people themselves, have increasingly come under the influence of international agencies and processes.

National governments are seen at the receiving end of the whole process as they are at a disadvantageous position in the negotiations compared to the rich countries, and hence, often incapable of protecting the national interests. “The uneven and unequal nature of the present globalisation process is manifested in the fast growing gap between the world’s rich and poor people and between developed and developing countries ….the south’s weakness in the international negotiation also stems from its lack of bargaining and negotiating strength in international relations. Being heavily indebted and depended on bilateral aid donors and multi lateral loan organisations, developing countries have been drained of their capacity to negotiate” (ibid.). Competition among the unequal partners in the world market is feared to be detrimental to the weak economies by leading to the complete domination of powerful nations over others. In this sense, globalisation process is a re-colonisation process (Patnaik 2002).
Developing countries are said to be losing control over their trade and are often unable to determine on their own the speed at which their exports grow, though they may be able to control the pace at which their imports and thereby, the inflow of the products increase, mainly because of the Agriculture Agreement in the WTO, which is supposed to result in import liberalisation and reduction of domestic support and export subsidies for agricultural products (Ibid). Developing countries have also suffered from serious declines in the price of their export commodities and their terms of trade.

Empirically, international agribusiness is noted to reduce formerly independent farmers into agricultural workers or to serfs in their own lands (Starr 2000). The development of capital-intensive production systems results in many farmers losing their land due to debt. As a result of the reforms, formerly self-sufficient rural people are found to be leaving their villages to urban areas in search of wage labour. They are compelled to depend on corporate jobs for meagre amounts to fulfil their basic needs. Pushed out from traditional communities and livelihoods, people around the world accept consumer culture as the definition of `good life’, which increases their dependency on cash wage and urban economies.

International agencies are relentlessly criticised for their obvious role in supporting the unjust trade practices inherent in the current process that helps powerful nations and multinational corporations to take advantage of economic globalisation. International trade and investment policy, from the formation of the IMF in 1944 and the World Bank to the creation of WTO in 1994, are organised to facilitate and subsidise transnational corporate activities, giving them advantage over small-scale, locally based, owner-managed enterprises in every country of the world and forcing open those economies, with huge subsidies to corporations (ibid.). Meanwhile, when the third world countries started defaulting on loans the IMF and the World Bank stepped in and gave loans to repay the private banks, especially in the Latin American countries in the 1980s. Correspondingly, these institutions started imposing structural adjustment conditionality on loans which include freezing the minimum wage at current levels, repressing labour organising, cutting social services, devaluing the currency, privatising the state-owned industries and state services like transportation, and enacting free trade
policies. Structural adjustment policies direct these countries to focus much on debt payments.

In the case of world trade, there has been an informal mechanism since the 1950s to regulate trade controlled by the international bodies representing the governments of the economically most important countries. Formally the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has regulated the system, in a contentious series of negotiating rounds in which the poor countries of the Third World generally considered themselves to have been badly treated by the rich countries of the First World. In April 1994, 125 governments signed a global trade treaty in Morocco to set up the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (Sklair 2002).

WTO is often accused of protecting the interests of the economically powerful countries and unable to control the trade manipulations in the global market, which strengthens the position of MNCs, mostly based in developed countries, against the interest of the third world farmers.

“..... Mono crop economies are particularly vulnerable to the instabilities in the world market directed not by some hidden hand, but by the actions of profit maximising capitalists, based mostly in the First World countries and often acting in unison through cartels. Despite fluctuations, the prices paid to producers in the third world for

Table 2.1. Primary commodity price in 1990 (In US $)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coffee,Robusta(cents/kg)</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee,Arabica(cents/kg)</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa((cents/kg)</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton (cents/kg)</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea, average,3auctions</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
most commodities have declined since the 1980s, notably for coffee, cocoa, cotton, tea, sugar, and rubber” (ibid:17). (Table 1.2).

Most of the scholars of globalisation analyse these policy changes and reforms historically and try to see the process as a continuity. Many of them view capitalism as a driving force behind the transformative changes that happen globally today in an unprecedented scale. It is often referred to as capitalist globalisation which is observed as the rise of massive globalising corporations, the rapid spread of so-called free trade, the oft-cited weakening of states and governments, the penetration of mass media to all corners of the globe and the denationalisation and privatisation of former state monopolies. This is seen in the context of the emergence of a global system since the second half of the twentieth century (Hoogvelt 1997).

It was in the 16th century that the new economy namely capitalism bloomed especially in the European geographical region. Capitalism and a world economy are the two sides of the same coin. World economy is characterised by a single division of labour but multiple polities and cultures. Agricultural capitalism developed in the entire Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century within the framework of a world economy with a single division of labour and a hierarchy of occupational tasks yielding different rewards for labour (Wallerstein 1974). Expansive initial stage of capitalism was characterised by the extension of the fundamentals of trade and productive investment, even further into more and more areas of the globe. But the current phase of globalisation has now superseded its earlier manifestation by a phase of deepening, but not widening capitalist integration (Hoogvelt 1997).

In the modern world–system, institutionalised primary consideration of those who own or control the means of production is the endless accumulation of capital as the world production has been carried on by the rules of the capitalist world economy. According to
the world-system theorists, a network of commodity chains across the globe linked production activities across multiple political jurisdictions. National governments are not seen to be neutral in the process; instead, they have regularly claimed to be both effective managers of ‘national interests’ and guarantors of the long term stability of the world system and its overall capacity to ensure the endless accumulation of capital ((Hopkins and Wallerstein 1996).

The essential feature of the capitalist world economy is stated as the production for sale in a market in which the object is to realise the maximum profit. It is only with the emergence of the modern world economy in the 16th century Europe that the full development and economic predominance of market trade was seen. Long distance trade in the old period was administered trade and not market trade.

Current phase globalisation is also viewed as accelerated globalisation to distinguish it from long term trends, which are interwoven with many of the contemporary trends and referred together as globalisation in academic as well as public discussions. Contemporary accelerated globalisation comes in a package together with informalisation, flexibilisation and the reconfiguration of state and regionalisation (Hamel2001). This accelerated globalisation, which is driven or conditioned by technological changes, coincide with the prominence of neo liberalism, leading to free markets. Structural adjustment in such a scenario means the alignment of economic regimes and standards of accounting to Anglo-American standards.

If previously global integration was driven mainly by the economic logic of capital accumulation in terms of the growing unification and interpretation of the human condition, today it is the unification of the human condition that drives the logic of further capital accumulation (Hoogvelt 1997). Some other scholars distinguish the current phase of globalisation or global “transformation” as revolutionary one without much parallel events in world history. Only comparison for this transformation from “industrial society to information or post-industrial society” is with transformation of Europe two hundred years back from an agrarian society to industrialised society. Accordingly, this socio–economic transformation of ‘revolutionary proportions’ is impacting most communities around the world (Solbrig 2001).
Globalisation is also seen in terms of the socio-economic flows into the depth and breadth of the world and it is considered to have brought about a greater degree of interdependence and economic homogenisation (Sclair 2002). It has been observed that a more powerful burgeoning global market, financial institutions, and computer technologies have changed the traditional economic practices overwhelmingly. The trajectories of several national, regional and local economies have become even more enmeshed within a network of global financial flows and transactions. This is seen as a new geography of centrality cutting across national boundaries and across old North – South divide.

Some rigorous critiques of economic globalisation (Hist and Thompson 1996) do not permit any distinct feature for current processes of globalisation. Going to an extreme, they find that all hype about the globalisation is hollow and describe the whole process as precisely a myth. They do not agree with the argument that highly internationalised economy at present is unprecedented, instead according to them the current international economy is less open and integrated than the regime that prevailed from 1870 to 1914. According to their analysis, capital mobility is not producing a massive shift of investment and employment from the advanced to the developing countries. Rather, foreign direct investment is highly concentrated among the advanced industrial economies, and the third world remains marginal in both investment and trade, a small minority of newly industrialising countries apart. They arrive at a conclusion that the level of integration, interdependence, and openness of national economies in the present era is not unprecedented.

Considering the two extreme positions on globalisation, a great majority of scholars follow the position of Harvey who takes a middle path. He classifies two polemic stands regarding the ongoing process; the first is globalist, which sees a transformation that is so radical, related to every dimension of social life, and the second is the conservative position, which sees nothing new in globalisation.

As for the Globalists, they see this transformation as so radical that none of the old ways of doing and thinking can be applied to any dimension of social and political life.
Conservatives opine that there is nothing like radical change about capitalism and in its search for increased flexibility of or locational advantage.

Adopting a middle ground Harvey argues that there is a transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation, a mix of highly efficient Fordist production in the US, Japan or South Korea and more traditional production system in other regions. Accordingly, such a situation has changed “the nature and composition of the working class” and the conditions of the consciousness formation and political action. As he comments, in the current phase of globalisation, unionisation and traditional left politics are very hard to ‘sustain’.

The uneven nature of the globalisation process has been discussed by many scholars (Held and McGrew 2002). Many see the powerful developed nations as the beneficiaries of the entire process. Overtime unequal exchange among the countries, retained by the political interference on the part of strong states over weak ones as part of the global capitalist system, results in not only the appropriation of surplus value from a labour, but also the appropriation of the whole economy by the “core” areas (Wallerstien1996).

Beyond the disparity among the countries, especially between the core and the periphery, inequality within the countries has been given focus by many scholars. Zygmunt Bauman (1998) offers a spatial image of the wealthy who globe-trot freely searching for adventures, whilst the poor and the globally disadvantaged are chained to place. This is similar to the view expressed by Ulf Hannerz and Bauman about the global cosmopolitans, the new travelling middle classes who privilege an identity based on mobility and fluidity rather than territory (Bauman and Hannerz in Mamel 2001). Places of exclusion can even appear in areas that are command centres for economic globalisation, such as global cities, where there are low income areas starved of resources and spaces disconnected and excluded from the circuits of globalisation (Kim and Short 1999).

**Cultural Globalisation**

Many anthropologists are much more concerned about the cultural globalisation which is supposed to be reshaping the identities and cultures across the world, especially of the communities with local distinctiveness and cultural specificities. It is considered largely
a result of the market driven and technologically mediated production of desires in tune with the big bang of consumerism in the recent times. Theories regarding the homogenisation of culture and creation of a global village have been discussed widely even in the early 1990s owing to the greater penetration of electronic media (McLuhan and Powers 1989). But in the recent debates on globalisation, it is emphasised that the changes are not unidirectional or simple as it was thought to be but demands a comprehensive understanding of local responses within the framework of the dialectic of the local and the global (Appadurai 1996, Robertson 1992, Tomilson 1999).

Contemporary cultural globalisation has to be seen as the latest manifestation of a set of historical processes (Held, et al. 1999). Historic migration of people, the global spread of the major world religions, the influence of powerful western nation states and modern nationalism, including the outward expansion of Europe from the sixteenth century and the transnational flows of capitalism are exemplified as the instances of the historical processes. But it cannot be reduced to any single causal process as it involves a complex configuration of casual logic of politics, military, economy, migration, ecology, and culture. However, ‘local’ people and cultures can no longer stay away from the global processes. Even though most people remain related in a local or national culture and local place it is becoming increasingly impossible for them to live in that place disconnected culturally from the world within which it is situated (Fisk 1989).

While analysing the cultural dimension of globalisation almost all authors emphasise on the role of media and advertisement. Consumerism has made an impact on people all over the world due to the global proliferation of products like coca-cola, Mc Donald, and a wide range of consumer goods using the electronic media. Newly created consumerist culture is not confined to any particular country or geographical region, but supersedes the national boundaries. Cultural locals are hence absorbing the elements of mass-mediated global culture which produce insatiable demand for new cultural products (Cretkovich and Kellener 1997, Fisk 1989).

Global consumer capitalism appropriates aspects of the local with profit potential; repackages them in idealised, de-contextualised forms; and then promotes them in terms of their novelty values (Fisk 1989). Cultural globalisation is also a global ecumene of
persistent cultural interaction and exchange through which the world is increasingly becoming one not only in political and economical terms but also in terms of its cultural construction (Hannerz 1991).

Total commodification of human life is considered as a central feature of the connection between contemporary culture and economy. This is closely related to globalisation, particularly because transnational corporations have to sell their products in a variety of different cultural contexts in an age of consumerism (Bourdieu 1998).

Arjun Appadurai (1997) sees cultural globalisation as a process, ‘a largely unsettled one witnessing complex movements of people, ideas, finance, technology, labour and culture’, rather than outcome or impact. Analysing the global processes, he puts forward the innovative notion of different flows. He identifies five dimensions of major global cultural flows which are found useful to explain the contemporary processes, namely ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes. His flow model offers more mobile, dynamic and fluid framework for exploring the process, dispensing the centre-periphery framework due to the deeply disjunctive relationships among the human movement, technological flow and financial transfers. By ethnoscape, he means the landscape of persons, especially moving groups like tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers etc, who constitute the shifting world. Technoscapes means the global configuration of technology, which moves at high speed across the ‘national’ boundaries. Global capital flow is now more mysterious, rapid and difficult and is referred in terms of financescapes. Mediascapes refer both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information and to the images of the world created by these media. Ideoscapes refer to images, but largely are confined to the ideologies and counter ideologies related to state power and politics. Different types of flows are carried on by a variety of agencies and are “inflicted by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors, whether nation-state, multinationals, sub-national groups and religion, political and economic movements, villages, neighbourhoods and families (ibid 35)”.

The homogenisation of culture is also discussed in relation with the process of globalisation. It is a major argument of many scholars that emerging global consumerist
culture would endanger the very existence of regional cultures and result in a levelling up of cultural differences. The fear shared by many scholars is that local cultural difference is eroded by the onslaught of mass-produced western goods. This ‘coca-colonisation’ is interpreted by some as a re-colonisation of the non-western world by fetishised western goods. Re-colonisation theorists see the homogenisation of cultures as a result of the neo-colonialist agenda of American imperialism. But many scholars of globalisation want to demarcate between globalisation as a process and imperialism as a project (Tomilson 1991). Accordingly, globalisation is a far less coherent or culturally directed planned process. The idea of imperialism according to Tomilson, contains at least, the notion of a purposeful project: the intended spread of a social system from one centre of power across the globe. Instead, the idea of globalisation suggests interconnection and interdependencies of all global areas, which happen in a far less purposeful way. These happen as a result of economic and cultural practices which do not, of themselves, aim at global integration, but which none the less produce it. The effects of globalisation are accordingly, to weaken the cultural coherence of all individual nation states, including the economically powerful ones (Tomilson 1991).

But dispensing the worries of cultural homogenisation, Hannerz points out that while some local cultures are self-sufficient and can resist global influences (for example, Japan), less developed (or long colonised) countries may have weakened cultures and less economic power to resist global cultural influences (Hannerz 1991). He uses the concept of hybridisation of the local cultures as a result of the asymmetrical interaction between cultural centres and peripheries.

But Axtman (1997) argues that recipients of media texts attribute their own meanings to them and interpret them in line with their own cultures, modifying cultural products in tune with personal needs and making it impossible to create a global culture because of this reason. He concludes that globalisation will result in the proliferation of cultural “particularisms”, collective identities, and the political creation of “otherness”. Accordingly, cultural globalisation also reinvents ethno-nationalism and religious fundamentalism as attempts to reconstruct traditions in the face of homogenisation. Besides, as Robertson (2001) observed, globalisation does not necessarily lead to
increasing social homogenisation, because “distanciated” relations are frequently engaged in a dialectical transformation.

**Political Globalisation and Decentralisation**

Globalisation also has a political dimension. In the ongoing process, a section of society is able to make use of the opportunities and accelerate accumulation as they are already in an advantaged position. Consequently elites continue to connect and make alliances; the poor and the dominated remain largely excluded, by virtue of relative immobility and exclusion from communication technologies, from the possibility of making equivalent counter alliances (Ossella 2001).

Political dimension of globalisation is also discussed in connection with the weakening of the states and vanishing of the nation. While economic globalisation necessitates the downsizing of the government by withdrawing from the public provisions and investment, the major characteristics of political globalisation are the end of sovereignty; re-orientation to serve supra-territorial as well as territorial interests; downward pressure on public –sector welfare guarantees; increased reliance on multilateral regulatory arrangements (Scholte 2000). These factors are more or less about the reorganisation of the state. It has been noted that the centrality of the state is being hollowed out from above as well as from below (Schuurman 2001). Process of globalisation has given a new focus on locality. It is argued that the importance of the state has been reduced in favour of either global governance or local governments. This broader paradigm shift in the case of governance emerged from different directions with different reasons. The Bretton Woods Institutions try to reorganise the state for an effectively functioning global market. Specific areas and issues are demarcated for governance at the global, national, regional and local levels (Schotle 2000). It has been often accused of compelling nations to withdraw from welfare activities and also economically and the state is seen disappearing as an economic actor through privatisation supported by deregulation. There is also
growing importance of the global financial markets, where daily about $US 1500 billion are shifted around the globe, which weaken the centralised state economies (Schuurman 2001).

There is a remarkable shift in interests and concern today in favour of democratic decentralisation and to the local self-government institutions. Decentralised governance has become a motto of policy makers, academicians and administrators of our period (Jha1999, Stoor 2000, Issac and Franke 2002). Greater participation of the people in governance and the need to deepen democracy become the major interests of the experts, irrespective of their differences in contested political issues. Decentralisation means that different solutions may be relevant for different areas depending on their respective historical conditions, resources and problems (Stoor 2001). Good decentralised governance is defined as the “forms and procedures that allow a society to achieve at the subnational and local levels the goals of poverty reduction, sustainable livelihoods, environmental regeneration and gender equity” (Robertson 2001; 23).

Globalisation and decentralisation are perceived as linked in ambiguous ways (Dahrendorf 1995). While many countries introduced decentralisation for more flexible and adaptable decision-making, it has created individualisation, atomisation and a loss of solidarity. Meanwhile, globalisation is in one-way centralisation and the competitiveness in the world markets result in the destruction of local communities. Accordingly, this can be resisted by the empowerment of local communities and the strengthening of the public domain on practical basis (ibid).

A shift towards decentralisation is also seen because of the impact of world capital market and economic globalisation that affect the lives of the people on which centralised and decentralised governance has to make vital decisions. This changed context demands greater understanding on the imperatives of decentralised governance. Newly emerged commitment towards decentralisation is seen as an end product of a given historical process (Jha and Mathur 1999). Decentralisation is also suggested as a potential tool for resisting the current economic globalisation driven by global capitalism and proposed as the democratic empowerment of common people (Issac and Franke 2002). But, those who admit decentralisation as a neo-liberal project undertaken by
transnational institutions believe that though it seems paradoxical, both globalisation and decentralisation are overtly and covertly managing the society, government and the market (Palanithurai 2002).

Decentralisation of powers is being perceived as yet another course of action in the ‘development process’ within the society. Accordingly, decentralisation of powers is oriented towards building the capacity of the people to administer development and social equity by using a new device, though it takes place at different levels in different countries. The major difference between these two thinking of decentralisation is obvious; on the one hand, it is largely an administrative reform to make governance more transparent and sensitive in the context of structural adjustment programme. On the other, decentralisation gives stress on local empowerment of people as a political action against the larger systemic inequalities.

**Interlinking the Global and the Local: Emerging Anthropological Thrust**

Generally, studies on globalisation have brought about a new thrust on locality among contemporary anthropologists, who show much more concern about the changing nature of the concept of locality in the context of global changes (Appadurai 1992, Kerney 1995, Eade 1997, Nash 2000, Eriksen 2003, Jackie and Fuller 2005). Anthropological revisiting of communities, with a focus on global dimensions of social movements, cross territorial migration, environmentalism etc., has gained momentum in recent years. This genre of studies, looking at the interpenetration of the global and the local is starkly different from the conventional ethnographic accounts of bounded cultures and communities. Anthropological documentations of the contemporary processes also show how the abstract ideologies circulating at global scale – neoliberalism, political democracy, development, modernization, all are transformed into the common sense within the historically and culturally specific local contexts (Rankin 2003).

Recent works in social anthropology have challenged the assumption that the flow of influence, power and cultural products in the global system are all in one direction, that is, from the core to the periphery. It has been pointed out that there is a relativizing of both the core and the periphery under the impact of globalising forces and a preference for an interpretation of the relationships between local and global in which local identities
may be confirmed and even intensified by global process. According to Appadurai (1993) three critical forces bear upon local reproduction: the nation state and nationalism, diasporic flows, and electronic communication.

Robertson claims that globalisation entails the reconstruction and production of ‘home’, ‘community’ and ‘locality’. Rather than the local and global constituting analytical opposites, he treats locality as an aspect of globalisation, albeit with some reservations, and suggests that “glocalisation” might be a more accurate term to describe the global/local relationship (Robertson 2001). Glocalisation refers, in the subjective sphere, to the construction and invention of diverse localities through the global flow of ideas and information.

Globalisation is also seen in association with a new dynamics of re-localisation (Morley and Robins 1995). It is about the achievement of a new global-local nexus, about new and intricate relations between global space and local space. It is considered as a matter of inserting a multiplicity of localities into the overall picture of a new global system. The global-local nexus is about the relation between globalising and particularising dynamics in the strategy of the global corporation, and the local is proposed to be seen as a fluid and relational space, constituted only in and through its relation to the global (Morley and Robins 1995).

The ‘local’ no longer exists purely as local, but is embedded in historical sediments of extra-local influences and practices. These processes are very much relative and different in their manifestations from country to country and region to region (Luke 2001). They often pull in different directions and are locally engaged and translated in ways not always predictable.

But localities are also considered as an ensemble of people and their networks that devise practices to attract, retain, boost, and otherwise resist the forces that seem to be beyond their control (Taylor et al. 1995). Thus, one can see resistance from below, which emerges as a feeling of anti-globality, being an aspect of globalisation as well. Such resistance can be stronger when the changes brought in by globalisation are perceived to cause threats to livelihoods of people. But even when livelihoods are threatened, responses of various
populations can differ. This implies that the confluence of the global and the local is also
differential and context specific.

So, the local obviously becomes more important not merely because of the time and
space compression but due to the fact that a good proportion of the people all over the
globe has been excluded from the processes described here – people who are still placed
at the margins in search of livelihoods to maintain their daily life. All these global
institutional or environmental changes have now a greater impact on these local marginal
livelihoods.

Within this study we understand global not merely as a neutral dimension of
contemporary social life, but as a strong political category of analysis. Going by Akhil
Gupta, an understanding of the hegemonic discourse of development and its meta-
narratives is important in deciphering the meanings of local practices. Changing
development regimes in relation to the embedded nation building projects have been
contested by the local practices which have been shaping up the global – local interfaces
and corresponding development trajectories (Gupta 1999). To quote him,

“……modernity may have been instituted as a global phenomenon through
colonial capitalism, but it was in the process, resisted, reinvented and
reconfigured in different social and historical locations. …in the period after
the second world war, when demise of direct colonial rule appeared
inevitable, the apparatus of development institutionalised a new mode of
global governmentality. Inaugurated by the Bretton Woods institutions, a new
era of global politics began that recognised the geographic division of the
world into formally equal nation –states. …in this new regime of global
governance, development discourses and institutions interpolated the newly
independent nation –states of the third world into particular temporal and
spatial locations…(1999).”

From Theory to Context: Linking local Livelihoods and Global Changes

In many of the marginal regions especially in the economically backward countries, local
livelihoods become a matter of concern in the context of global processes. Globalisation,
as a historically continuous process, makes impact on the existing local structures
through which local livelihoods are organised and reproduced. How far the disadvantaged
communities are able to negotiate these changes become a significant question in the context of reproduction of uneven and exploitative structures.

Linkages between the processes of globalisation and local livelihoods are not always unambiguous and straightforward. Changes from different directions have their own impacts on people’s lives and livelihoods. Rural poor interact continuously with the local environment, institutions and local power structures in search of their livelihoods.

Table 2.2. Linking theory and context according to the major dimensions of globalisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theory (Understanding of globalisation from different theoretical locations)</th>
<th>Relevant manifestations in research context (with a potential to change the local power relations)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Dimensions</td>
<td>Indexing of the major manifestations of each dimension in various literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social</strong></td>
<td>high modernity, compression of time and space, intensification of worldwide relations, increased speed in the transfer of capital, globality as a result of increased global consciousness, glocalisation, international migration, , changes in the production sites, globalism…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic</strong></td>
<td>Liberalisation, Privatisation breaking down of national economic barriers, increased importance of MNCs and international financial institutions, free world trade, weakening of the state, re-colonisation, forced migration, Targeting the welfare, global economic system, network of commodity chain, regionalisation, globalisation as a myth, financial exclusion …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural</strong></td>
<td>Mass mediated global culture, reshaping the cultures and identity, homogenisation of culture, consumerism, global ecumene of cultural interaction and exchange, commodification of human life, cosmopolitan migration, Hybridisation, re-invention of ethno nationalism and religious fundamentalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political</strong></td>
<td>Decentralisation and local governance, people’s plan campaign, weakening of the state, global governance, displacement, social movements, de-territorialisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Communities like Paniyan have been facing drastically changed conditions of living in recent times as many of the institutions like local government, product as well as labour markets and labour itself, have been undergoing changes as part of the many processes discussed in the above sections.

After an elaborated discussion of the diverse theoretical understanding of the local and global, an effort is made here to ground the theoretical debate in the empirical context of Wayanad in Kerala, India. This is an attempt to explain and narrow-down the larger theoretical debate to an empirical context and see the theoretical debate more grounded (Table 2.2).

**Global and local in the context of Kerala and Wayanad**

As a sub-national unit of India, Kerala society interacts with all the dimensions of globalization in various levels. Though there are common institutional changes allied to certain global economic and political processes and also an emerging global pattern of consumerism, not all the dimensions are uniformly intersecting the regions and the different categories of population across the state. Hence, the interface between global and local becomes context specific.

In the livelihood scenario of Wayanad in Kerala, the thrust of the global–local interface is more linked to the economic and political dimensions of globalization. Social and cultural dimensions also play subsidiary roles in shaping livelihood practices in the wake of present changes. The context of present research is directly linked to the economic and political dimensions, which are mainly globally derived price fluctuation of agricultural commodities and state decentralization. Other subsidiary dimensions, which are manifested mainly in the forms of development space, consumerism, and renewed identities, also influence the communities and individuals in shaping the livelihood practices at present.

In the present study, global and local interface is not understood as a completely new phenomenon as empirically it is not so. As far as the study region is concerned global–local interaction has a history of around 200 years. But a fusion of the global and the local into an inclusive development space is qualitatively attached to the recent stage in the history of constant interaction between these two. Other phases in the local history of
such interfaces are relatively in a lesser degree with regard to the evolution of a global consciousness and the ability of the local agents in negotiating the changes. An attempt is made here to link the dimensions of globalization to contemporary global – local interface in Wayanad and it is also tried to understand the historical genesis and evolution of global and local in the area through different phases in connection with its impact upon the present in creating differential abilities in livelihood practices.

**Economic dimension**

Wayanad’s economy has its main source of income from agriculture, especially cash crops. Agrarian economy is a major specificity of the region whereas the major portion of the economy of the state has already been shifted to service sector. Marginalised communities in Wayanad, like the Paniyans, solely depend upon agricultural labour for their livelihoods. Exclusive dependence of marginalized communities on agrarian labour has been another specificity of the region.

The region had witnessed a sudden economic shock due to the crash in prices of almost all cash crops in the area. Since the last quarter of the 1990s prices of the major crops started to fall simultaneously (fig.2.2 and 2.3). Pepper experienced the largest fall in prices. From an average of Rs. 40 for 1 kg pepper in the beginning of the 1990s, farmers got Rs. 180 by 1997-98 and even up to Rs 200 for a short period in 1999-2000. In 2000-2001 it declined to Rs. 170 and in the following years it faced a drastic slump. Price per Kg touched around Rs.60 in the coming years (Nair et.al 2007 a, 2007 b).

Coffee is another major crop which faced a crash in price since the late 1990s. Its price had shot up from Rs.40/kg to Rs80-85 in the 1995-1997 period, but started to decline in 1997-98 to Rs 64. A slight resurgence of price was evident in 2000 as it hiked to Rs.76, but from the 2001 onwards it fell steeply to Rs.28/Kg. According to a data available from Coffee Board, cultivation of coffee in the state is 84735 hectors and in Wayanad 70327 hectors, as many as 60000 farmers are engaged in coffee cultivation (ibid).
Figs 2.2 & 2.3. Peaks and falls in the prices of Coffee and Pepper in the 1990s

Movement of pepper price

Price movement of coffee

Source: Spices Board of India 2005, Coffee Board 2005
Prices for pepper and coffee have not revived to the same level, even though in the later years it has showed a slighter improvement. In the last two years it has again shown resurgence. The fluctuation in the price is not uncommon as it is determined mainly by the global production and demand. Shooting up of the prices of pepper and coffee and its subsequent fall felt in the 1990s are mainly attributed to the decline and revival in production in Brazil and Indonesia. However, complete receding of the state in terms of the institutional patronage made the prices of local commodities more vulnerable to the global economic trends. This was very clearly evident in the case of Coffee, for which procurement and marketing were completely bestowed upon the coffee board under central government without passing the vulnerabilities of huge fluctuations in the global market till early 1990s. It was after the wrapping up of the Board that local farmers experienced such steep rise and fall in the coffee price for the first time ever (figs. 2.2 & 2.3).

Local perception of the increasing fluctuations and unprecedented falls in the prices also goes with the findings of government commission on the issue. Local traders think that the export agencies have become powerful international players as they don’t confine their activities to the producing nations, but have become global players with transnational interests. This shift has lost the edge of local traders in the negotiation and transactions as the export agencies are free to collect the products as per the demand from whereever it is produced - a freedom they have gained from the import liberalization.

The commission appointed by the government of Kerala also points out the consequences of trade liberalisation in cash crop economy within the state. It also justifies the impact of trade liberalization in farm products, as a result of the implementation of the Agreement on Agriculture (AOA) of the World Trade Agreement from 1995 onwards, as a price crash of unprecedented proportions.

Bilateral agreement between the countries on trade liberalisation has also been observed as a fact behind the fall in prices of agricultural products. In the case of pepper, it was import from Sri Lanka under bilateral agreement that became a threat to farmers of the state. Kerala’s economy is also considered as most vulnerable to WTO and AOA related
concerns in the country because of a high proportion of trade dependence of the commodities produced (Nair et al. 2007).

According to an estimate the quantity of pepper imports increased from 4028 metric tonnes during 2000-01 to 6328 tonnes during 2001-02 and to 15750 tonnes during 2002-03 (George 2005). It has also been observed that the basic change observed in the global demand pattern also brings advantage to the international export giants over their national counterparts.

In the case of coffee, according to an estimate in 1992 producer countries earned $10 billion from a global market worth around $30 billion. In 2002, they made less than $ 6 billion in a market that had doubled in size. This drop in share of revenue from 33 per cent to less than 10 percent within a decade hit poor producers worldwide (Khor 2004). In a region like Wayanad situation became worse than most in the absence of an internal market for coffee.

For a community like Paniyan who does not produce coffee or pepper but provide labour, impact was more in terms of the reduction in wage as well as employment days as most of the small cultivators stopped work at their gardens in the wake of an income fall.

Another interesting economic dimension at present in Wayanad is the booming of a tourism economy. Especially in the post vulnerability phase, government and private players are making a concerted effort in promoting the region as one of the important tourist destinations of the state. According to an official estimate, the total number of foreign tourists who came to Wayanad increased from 749 in 2004 to 4,093 in 2007. In the case of domestic tourists, the increase is from 1, 87,701 in 2004 to 2, and 56,190 in 2007(GOK 2009). Inflow of domestic tourists to the region is significantly linked to the booming software sector in neighbouring Bangalore and Mysore.

**Political Dimension-- As State Decentralization**

India became part of a global consensus for decentralization and local governance for empowering the communities in decision making and the management of local resources with the 73rd and 74th amendments of the constitution which made decentralized governance a responsibility of the state governments. Indian parliament made the
constitutional amendments in 1993, which are known as the Pachayati Raj Amendments. Accordingly, all the state governments are mandated to conduct regular elections to the local bodies and establish them to share governance locally. Governments have to devolve a major part of governmental responsibilities to these local bodies.

Although the experience of implementation of local governments in individual states varies Kerala has come to the forefront in the effective implementation of local democracy as well as decentralised governance. In Kerala, this significant administrative reform was launched as a campaign, known as Peoples’ Campaign for Decentralized Planning and *janakeeyasoothranam (people’s planning)* in short hand Malayalam, by the Left Democratic Front ministry in 1997. This administrative reform was acclaimed widely as it made mandatory devolution of 40% of the state budget grant to the local bodies. Participatory local level planning was the entry point adopted by the state to operationalise decentralization in Kerala by harnessing public action. A big-bang approach was adopted ‘to push the system and force the process’ by releasing finance and power straight to the local structures using a trial and error method (Issac and Franke 2002).

Fiscal Decentralisation is one of the central features of the decentralisation process in Kerala. An untied plan grant equivalent to above one-third of the approved plan size of the State is devolved to local bodies,(This came to Rs.1317 crore during 2003-04). Grama Panchayaths, Municipalities and Corporations have been assigned own taxes namely, Property Tax, Profession Tax, Entertainment Tax, Advertisement Tax and Service Tax (a tax for providing services) besides other user charges (Economic Review 2005).

In the context of the transfer of substantial responsibilities to the local governments, new organizational forms and structures have been created. The key accountability systems are *committee* system of decision making, right to information, participatory budgeting, due process in selection of beneficiaries by ensuring maximum transparency, committees of technical experts to ensure and evaluate the quality of the projects, audit systems including a semi-structured social audit, awareness building, and filing of the property statements by all the elected representatives immediately after the election.
High degree of autonomy enjoyed by the local Panchayath in the use of transferred resources is also notable. Within a general framework, local governments are able to decide any scheme and prepare detailed projects according to their priority. Grama Panchayaths get the larger share of the devolved fund. The rural and urban shares are as per the population and within the rural share, the Grama Panchayath gets 70%. Rest of the portion of the amount is shared by block and district Panchayath s.

As far as the adivasis communities are concerned, special gramasabhas known as ‘oorukcoottam’ (village council) were introduced as their presence in the general gramasabhas was found meagre and inadequate. Village councils are supposed to discuss their needs and take necessary decisions in the presence of ward member and tribal extension officer in the area. A new arrangement for appointing tribal promoters on a temporary basis was also made, to effect the linking of the village council, state department and adivasis settlements.

Another political dimension which is relevant in the case of the adivasis in the region is their social movement based on identity. An intensive land struggle was launched in the region by 2002 under the leadership of a tribal woman leader, C.K. Janu, which culminated subsequently into a bloody clash between adivasis, especially Paniyans, and the police and finally suppressed by the state. State’s historic failure in redistributing land among the adivasis in Wayanad happened to be coupled with the livelihood vulnerability in the period of agrarian distress; hence the upsurge of movement on an unprecedented scale. The movement had been networked with civil society organizations and rightist groups in the country within a newly carved global space of social movements based on placed identities.

**Other Dimensions**

An emphasis on the importance of political and economic dimensions of current global and local interface with regard to the livelihood practices of the communities does not imply any exclusivity for the same. It only means that focus of the present study is linked directly to these dimensions of globalization as the major research themes. Meanwhile, socio–cultural dimensions have been obviously present in the contemporary socio-economic processes discussed in the study. For instance, decentralization cannot be
discussed without considering the production of a global social space of development. Cultural connections of the study objectives cannot be devoid of the streams of consumerism, renewal of cultural identity etc. from the everyday lives.

**Genesis of Global in the History of the Local**

As far as the region of Wayanad is concerned, origin of global - local interface, though a qualitatively different one, dates back to the colonial expansion in the 18th and 19th centuries through the forceful acquisition of the area into a colonial administrative system and by bringing fundamental changes in the relations of production in relation with the emerging capitalist demands in the west. Hence the political and economic dimensions became critical in global and local interface in this period too.

The result was a new interface between local communities and a new governance system and economy. British used many of the existing structures of power relations by incorporating the local elites in order to bring in the changes that could serve their own interests. British capital was drawn to Wayanad in order to nurture an economy based on plantation crops which became instrumental in shaping a new socio-cultural-scape. This was the primary stage in the evolution of a global–local interface in the area. Main feature of this phase is that of complete autonomy of the British in exploiting the resources in the absence of local capabilities and agencies in order to negotiate or resist the changes.

But there is also another phase which started in the last decades of colonial rule which marked the inflow of the cultivators from the plains, comprised of Christian population in large numbers from the southern parts of Kerala, motivated by the new thrust in the cultivation of cash crops. In the initial stage the move had patronage from both the colonial as well as national governments in view of the strengthening of a national economy. Nation-state and its political forms started mediating the local and global by this stage of independence.

**New Governance System**

In the case of Wayanad after the fall of King Pazhassi, a local Hindu ruler who fought against the British, the foundation was laid for a new institutional setting for modern
Implementation of new administrative reforms by the British government focused on revenue collection from the local people and the new governance structures conferred much power to important local Nair families legitimizing their customary feudal rights. It was by the second half of the 19th century that colonial administration under the Madras Presidency got extended to remote regions. Malabar district was divided into village (amsam) and its sub-divisions (desams), with adhikari as the village headman assisted by an accountant (menon) and two helpers (kolkar) (Logan 1995). Wayanad was one of the taluks under the Malabar district of Madras Presidency.

Adhikari was a constituted position and the incumbent was authorized to intervene in all civil and criminal disputes and conduct revenue administration. Later, it became a hereditary position enjoyed by the upper caste Nair families. Compulsory taxation of agricultural lands restricted open access and common properties and led to the development of private properties. British policies also created strong dissent among the tribal cultivators in the region.

After the death of Pazhassi vast tracts of land including a major portion of forests had come under the holding of the British. Many local landlords also claimed rights on private forests. British decided to survey the whole area and bring the activities and ownership on land accountable by fixing taxes as part of implementing revenue administration. Because of the peculiar circumstances of Wayanad it was decided to retain the tax for cultivated produces as against the practice of taxing occupations as had been implemented in the plains lands.

According to the land settlement scheme thus implemented after a survey, cultivable land was divided into wetland, comprising swamps and paddy, flatland, and dry-land, including all other lands whether cultivated with traditional millets or special products. Soil was classified and arranged in classes and sorts to correspond to money rates. Dry land was also arranged into four classes and the highest class included forest lands and the estate lands.

Shifting cultivation of all kinds was prohibited on forest lands of the first class type and was allowed only in the inferior classes of dry land. Cultivators were also instructed to
pay the tax in money, which is equal to the market value of one fifth of the total produce, instead of products as such (ibid.).

Government introduced a series of reforms and rules as per the local requirements and emerging situations. Landlords were given protection and were made mediators between company government and people in practice (Gopi 2002). Total area of the land in the region came under the possession of the British East India Company, temples and some of the local landlord families.

Because of the new system of taxing cultivation, a large extent of land was given up by the cultivators. It is estimated that by 1895-96, 19,420 acres of occupied land was relinquished and 18,826 acres sold for arrears of revenue, of which 13,076 acres was bought by government. Of the total area relinquished and bought in by government only 6,561 acres was taken up again for cultivation (Menon 1962).

The colonial government introduced new institutions in relation to land and revenue administration undermining the ‘traditional’ land relations and practices. Widespread local agricultural practices like punam cultivation (Shifting cultivation) had begun to be treated as ecologically damaging and attempts to check it was undertaken. Taxing the cultivated land compelled local cultivators to stop extensive agriculture and possession of additional lands. These ‘traditional’ agriculturalists in the interior forest tracts were relatively free and mobile in exploring the resources like land in the earlier regimes.

But later, the government provided concessions considering the peculiar conditions of Wayanad where the population was observed as steadily decreasing and the shortage of labour started to adversely affect the cultivation. Special rules were introduced to exempt the land from levy of fare if it was left barren and as waste.

Even before the end of the 19th century, all the modern administrative mechanisms came into existence in Wayanad with the office of the sub-collector, forest sub-assistant conservator, sub registrar, courts, telecom services, etc. Modern medical facilities were also introduced in the area. A series of laws, enacted by the government systematically to preserve and to ‘exploit’ the state’s forests, made their impacts in Wayanad too. Besides the impact of macro state policies, this region also had special attention from the government in lieu of the quality of forest resources. In 1878 all felling of living trees
was stopped and the state’s forest department turned its attention to the utilisation of the wind fallen and dead trees which were being annually destroyed by fire. It started timber trade in a systematic way and conferred contracts to private parties for removing the selected trees from the reserve forest under the control of officials.

Local Resistance from the Margins

It was the steps for systematic surveillance of the state and the accountability of local economic life, a completely alien experience to the local population that had created unrest among them in the formative phase of colonial administration which resulted in the tribal rebellion.

The beginning of April 1812 witnessed a rebellion of Kuruma and Kurichiya against the British. It was a local response and resistance against the reforms in economy and governance initiated by the colonial government. The people chiefly the Kurichiyas and the Kurumbars of the east of Wayanad, revolted in protest against the extraction of land revenue in cash which was too considerable for them to pay. This protest was also against the administrative reforms that changed the mode of land revenue payment in cash instead of kind (Menon 1962). The local police were attacked with bows and arrows in their attempt to disperse an assemblage of agitated people at Nallore nadu. They also besieged the British force at Manathavady (North Wayanad) and Sulthan Bathery (South Wayanad). Government deployed more forces from Mysore in the problematic areas, especially in the hamlets of tribal cultivators. Kurichiya and Kuruma youths fought bravely, their women and children sent away safely into the interior tracts of forest for protection. Though they had prior experience in fighting the British alongside of Pazhassi Raja, the movement was brutally suppressed by the British using superior weaponry against the tribal bows and arrows. For about a quarter of a century after this rebellion in Wayanad, Malabar was free from resistance against the British and the colonial government. British had a free hand in initiating internal reforms to assert their supremacy and the people settled down quietly to their agricultural pursuits (ibid). In order to establish British supremacy in the region, the government of Madras Presidency established a chain of posts stretching to the north of Sulthan Bathery namely
Porakknady, Pakkam, and Moodarmoly besides Panamaram and Sulthan Bathery (Logan 1897).

**New Economy**

A number of forest depots were opened for timber trade at the convenient spots in different parts of the region. Such commercialisation of the forest resources was not merely meant for domestic trade; it had serious implications on the global economy. Teak plantations were started by the government in different parts of Madras state including Malabar. Nilambur plantation in the Eranad taluk was one of the model plantations started by the British government, which mainly served the demand of the global market especially that of Britain. The demand for teak wood as an ideal raw material for constructing war ships was tremendous (Menon 1996).

It has been observed that deforestation in the western and northern parts was accelerated sharply in the 19th century to supply railway sleepers for British India. In India and later Burma, the export of teak and other tropical timbers became important. European countries had already become too deforested to supply enough timber for construction and maintenance of their wooden ships before the age of steel ships. Tropical timbers also had a wide range of other construction and manufacturing needs (Gadgil and Guha 1992). Widespread destruction of natural forests and the long run changes in the local ecology have been the consequences of the introduction of the plantation system. Meanwhile, the shifting cultivation (Punam), which was the primary means of livelihood for most of the local communities especially, *adivasis*, was discouraged and prohibited, accusing that it destroys environment.

It has been widely admitted that the imperial expansion of the European powers for four centuries in humid tropical Asia took its toll on the forests generating large scale degradation of forests. In Africa, Asia and America, they introduced commercially driven agriculture and forest policies, which had far reaching repercussions on the concerned societies. During their regime, they found it more profitable to extract surpluses from traditional cultivators through land taxes collected by local intermediaries and through price relationship manipulated by market monopolies aided by trade and credit policies.
Introduction of plantation industry and the production of cash crops for the remote markets made great impact on the local economy and livelihoods. European planters and administrators played a major role in the initiation of the plantation system in the area as well as in the whole country.

Pepper was an indigenous crop in Kerala especially in Malabar having the greatest demand among all the spices of Kerala, which had spurred on ancient trade. Trade relations with the East as well as the West were with ‘loose authority structures of local rulers and indigenous traders’ until the European interventions for trade monopoly in the 18th century (Baak 1997). Pepper cultivation was not plantation production until this period and a great number of actual cultivators worked in an authoritarian hierarchical organisation, producing pepper for distant markets. It was British East India Company that disintegrated the state controlled pepper production in Travancore and established a commercial agent in order to control the foreign trade of the state. British officials also stimulated the creation of Western oriented crops by indigenous cultivators (ibid.). European trading companies had made their first attempts to grow coffee in south–west India even in the early eighteenth century.

Coffee as a plantation crop, and its systematic cultivation, was introduced into Malabar by Murdock Brown in his plantation at Anjarakkandy in the northern part of Kerala at the end of the 18th century. Later it was introduced into Mananthavady in Wayanad by a few officials at the Mess compound in an experimental way. Between 1830 and 1840, Messrs.Parry and Co., on their way up to the estates on the Baba Budhan hills in Mysore, found the fully grown coffee plants at Manathavady. According to their suggestion a new coffee estate, ‘Pew estate’ was opened in the hills. The venture prospered gradually and soon estates sprang up all over the taluk. Tea cultivation was also introduced to Wayanad by Messrs. Parry and Co., who grew it for many years on their Perindotti estate. Since 1892 many coffee estates have been converted into tea gardens.

Large-scale conversion of coffee estates for tea and pepper production took place mainly due to two reasons. In 1865 there was a widespread disease, which devastated many of the coffee estates. Again in 1875, the disease destroyed the plants in the whole district.
The decline of the industry was accelerated by the fall of prices due to increased production in other countries like Brazil (Innes 1908).

Disease and price crash were not confined only to coffee alone. The next turn was for tea and pepper. Price crash of Tea was mainly due to the over production and that of pepper, mainly from wilt disease. Symptoms of this disease in pepper were withering of the vine and loss of foliage due to diminished supply of sap, which even made the soil too toxic.

A major impact of the introduction of plantation system in the area was the burgeoning of a labour market mainly comprised of immigrant labourers who were brought to Wayanad by compulsion. It is reported that the labour on the estates was totally imported (ibid.) because of the labour shortage in the region. This had been a common characteristic of all plantation economies the world over. Plantation economies have consistently based their profits on cheap labour. Where local workers refused low wage rates, a frequent response has been to recruit from outside national borders. Seasonal labourer and often whole families were employed during harvesting (Spaulding 1977).

In the Wayanad situation, a vast majority of adivasis labourers were not ready to cut their bondage with the age- old indigenous production system. Subsequent labour shortage compelled the planters to search for cheap labour, especially from the ‘untouchable’ castes in the plains. This has resulted in the servitude of these labourers in a modern plantation system (Umadevi 1984, Breman 1990, Raviraman 2000). However, a segment of local populations got familiarized with this new system in which wage was paid for labour instead of kind. This had greater implication in terms of their livelihood practices. It was a process by which small cultivators and bonded labourers were introduced to a new regime of labour.

**New economy and entrepreneurial natives**

The next phase in the evolution of global in the history of Wayanad begins with the immigration of farmers from the southern parts of Kerala which has been known as Malabar migration in which thousands of people moved out of their ancestral villages in search of a promised land in the alien environmental recess of the highlands of Malabar, especially of Wayanad.
In the beginning, British state was sponsoring the move by setting up a colonisation scheme for rehabilitating the army men who fought for them in the Second World War. Along with the colonisation scheme large scale Christian farmers also started to migrate for buying the new fertile lands in the mountains of Malabar. But most of the later migrants, especially those who came in the post independent period, were small peasants who finally started encroaching into the revenue and forest land in Wayanad. However this phase in the history became critical for other native communities who still found it difficult to cope with the market oriented production relations. In the following section, it is tried to briefly sketch this movement of people from South Kerala to North.

**Colonisation Scheme**

According to the rules of the colonisation scheme implemented in 1948, which was primarily intended for rehabilitating ex-service men, each settler would be given land not exceeding 10 acres for cultivation but the ownership of the land would be retained by the government. The jurisdiction of the central office of the Colonisation scheme, in Ambalavayal, extended over an area of 33,802 acres comprising the villages Sulthan Bathery, Ambalavayal, Nenmeni and Noolpuzha. This office was the sole agency for the administration of colony area, rehabilitation of the landless ex-service men, issuing agricultural grants to the persons settled, and reclamation of land, improvement of agriculture and promotion of a co-operative spirit, among the people with the aim of cooperation in farming, industry and commerce.

For this purpose government made acquisition of 9,802 acres of *patta* land besides 24,000 acres of revenue land. The scheme was primarily financed by the P.W.S.R (Post War Service Reconstruction) fund, while the expenditure for maintaining the administrative office establishments was borne by government (Census of India 1961). According to the figures reported by the colonisation office, 2,940 households were settled under this scheme. These comprised of households of 1917 ex-service men and 209 *adivasis* and the rest were landless civilians, political sufferers, and local resident (ibid).

Under this scheme ex-service men were given grants for land reclamation, agricultural operation, house construction and domestic expenses. Besides this, interest free crops and
loans were given to the agriculturists who are settled here. Under the scheme a paddy – husking co-operative society and clay worker’s society had been organised. In addition, co-operative farming was also encouraged among the agriculturists.

Before 1944 and later, there had been a continuous influx of people to this place from all other parts of the state. Those immigrants other than those who belonged to the colonisation scheme encroached upon the revenue as well as forest land bit by bit and began to cultivate the same. Government had not given permission for the encroachment and it levied prohibitory tax from the encroachers for unauthorised occupation. Those who settled earlier grabbed as much land as possible.

**Malabar Migration**

In the beginning of the 20th century, it was the turn of Christian entrepreneurs from southern Kerala to experiment with the large-scale production of cash crops. These earlier migrants were the people who got initial exposure to European planters and plantation systems and could internalise the logic of agricultural practices that was required for developing commercially viable agricultural production. The majority of the migrants were Christians belonging to the Syrian catholic denomination. It was the Syrian Christians belonging to the Roman Catholic denomination who were predominant among the migrants (Tharakan 1976, Baak 1997).

Many reasons are given for the aspiration of this section of people in coming forward and experimenting with this new venture. European patronage, by employing them as the clerks and managers in the newly started estates to create an intermediate group above predominant low–caste coolies from the Madras Presidency, had assisted them in earning money and familiarising themselves with the organisation of plantations (Baak 1997). This helped them to invest and start estates in moderate ways after serving their European masters for some period. They were also observed as more ‘entrepreneurial and far more ‘dynamic’ and ‘flexible’ in contrast to Nairs a Hindu forward caste community who enjoyed higher social status. Syrian Christians were largely concentrated in areas like North Travancore and Mundakkayam, which were the most suitable places for the then successful plantation crops, like rubber. Unlike the *Nair tharavad* (joint family) system, in which the elder single person in matrilineage played the dominant role, the
family structure of the Syrian Christians was patriarchal with each male member having claims over the ancestral property. This enabled them to pursue profitable endeavours individually rather as a family as in the case of Nairs (ibid.). Because of the partitioning of land among the family members Syrian Christians faced severe shortage of land in their own area which forced more and more of them to resort to commercialised agriculture (Tharakan 1976).

Europeans had occupied large tracts of lands in many parts of Travancore with their influence in state politics, while large number of indigenous cultivators grabbed the available government lands. Resultant shortage of land became a major reason for the large-scale migration to Malabar including Wayanad that took place since the 1930s, where large tracts of forests and revenue lands were left open to be encroached as well as vast fallow lands were kept accessible for rent by the landlords. This is why it has been observed that the Malabar migration was the result of the explosive development of plantation crops in Travancore (Baak 1997).

Immigration from southern Kerala had been qualitatively different from the rest of the migrations to Wayanad that took place in different phases of its earlier history. The compelling motive for this greater inflow of human beings was exposure to the market, especially global market as far as the cash crop economy is concerned, and the adoption to a monetised economy.

Mainly, three phases of migration have been recorded. During the first stage between 1920 and 1930, it was mainly big farmers owning considerable acreage of land at their original place who migrated to Wayanad (Tharakan 1976). Pioneering big farmers who started plantations did not stay there permanently, unlike the small farmers, but retained strong links with their parent villages in Travancore.

Later migrants were mainly small farmers and their greater flow occurred in the decade 1940-50. Price fluctuation in the 1930s, a period of recession, would have made impact on these small farmers in Travancore including the loosing of land in the context of price crash. These later migrants were the people who already entered into the cash crop cultivation and were vulnerable to the fluctuation of the market. New settlements that emerged during the 1950-1960 period were either off–shoots of earlier settlements in the
nearby areas or independent ones. Number of immigrants in the earlier settlements also increased. Migration to Wayanad continued till the late seventies. The Malabar migration of the Travancoreans is unique in the annals of the migration as it turned out to be a mass movement of half-a-million people which is seen as having occurred without any design or organization or centralised leadership.

Those immigrants from the south had to encounter totally alien environment in Wayanad. They underwent a lot of hardships due to the animosity of local climate, forests and wild animals, diseases and authority. Death by malaria and other diseases in the highlands of Malabar was naturally greater than at the foot of the hills. It has been reported that according to church records the average death rate of the Travancorean immigrants in the 1940s was 177 for 1000 people in an year. The total number of deaths out the settled population of 12000 amounted to 2808 when the normal death rate of Syrian Christian in Travancore was 12 per 1000. Average Indian death rate at that time was 25 per 1000 (Sebastian 2000). It has been reported that besides the adversities of nature and the onslaught of diseases, they were also cheated by the land agents or brokers who collected a good sum from these people as commission, despite the fact that the land value was very cheap in those days.

The majority of the migrated farmers obtained land measuring five to ten acres on lease for 12 years. On several occasions, they found themselves cheated by the agents: both natives and Travancoreans. Many of them were threatened by other claimants to the land they had purchased, even after the land had been developed partially. Rich planters, who arrived earlier for plantation industry, often exploited the poor peasant settlers. ‘A kind of slavery or compulsory service’ existed in such estates of the region (ibid.68). Peasant settlers were faced by eviction threats from the traditional landlords such as jenmis, eda-jenmis etc. It created tensions in many parts of the district. They faced eviction threats from the government too, especially after the enactment of The Malabar Private Forest Act of 1946.
Historical Impact on the Present

In the history of native communities of Wayanad there are different moments of colonisations which are marked in their written or narrated histories mainly in relation to the migratory movement of populations from different directions, mainly early migrants belonging to Chetty and Jain communities and in the later stage by Christians and Izhava communities from southern Kerala. However these two streams of migration were qualitatively different. First stream was mainly linked to the wetland paddy cultivation, while the second stream got introduced and expanded due to the cash crop cultivation. Globally embedded market regime started functioning in the region along with the second stream of migration which was fuelled by the motivation of money and profit within a larger system of production and supply (Table 3).

Genesis of the interaction between global and local actually starts in the region along with this stream of migration which took place in different stages in different periods. The ruptures and continuity in the evolution of global and local into the culmination of a development space at present are intersected also with the changes in the local power structures and the evolution of individual and/or communal capabilities in resisting or negotiating these changes also.

The important consequence of the in-migration and colonisations is naturally the tremendous increase in the number of population. Though Wayanad was not a demographic friendly region and always showed declining trend in the population, the situation was changed dramatically after the colonisation scheme and the migration from southern Kerala. Outgrowth of the inflow affected the demographic composition of the area whereby other communities outnumbered the local population including adivasis like Paniyans. According to the first census in 1881, the whole population in Wayanad taluk, with 10 amsams including some parts of Gudallur in the Nilgiri district, numbered 88,091 persons in total of whom 76,898 Hindus, 9,056 ‘Mohammadans’, 1,983 were Christians and 154 belonged to other castes. Male were 49,661 and females 38,430 (Logan 1985).
Table 2.3. Mapping the local and global according to historical phases in Wayanad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases</th>
<th>Major Manifestations</th>
<th>Combination of Agents involved in the process</th>
<th>Shift in the livelihood base and practices of local communities</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Livelihood base</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earlier Colonial 1790-1940</td>
<td>New administrative system, Plantation, Monetized market</td>
<td>British government Local landlords Plantation owners</td>
<td>Wetland cultivation based on reciprocity/forest/bonded labour/dry land cultivation based on cash crops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Colonial 1940-50</td>
<td>New administrative system, Emergence of ‘elected’ state,</td>
<td>British Local elites Big and small planters, Large holders of land Political parties</td>
<td>Wetland cultivation based on reciprocity, From wet land to dry land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centralized/post-independent state 1950-90</td>
<td>New state centric development, market relations, global market mediated by state agencies</td>
<td>Political parties Local elites Social and political movements Communities with greater empowerment Except marginalized adivasis Women in work space</td>
<td>Wet land cultivation based on reciprocity, From wet land to dry land From land to money Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decentralized State Post 90s</td>
<td>New decentralized development, increased role of local government and NGOs, increased exposure to global market</td>
<td>Political parties Communities, NGOs Social movements of marginalized groups, Women (in public space)</td>
<td>From land to money, Market money to money ³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ Tourism and national-national migrations have been coming in big ways in recent years following the Kerala pattern.
Increase in the number of the Christian population was another interesting feature of the demographic explosion in this period. The Christian population in Malabar, which stood at around 54000 out of a district total of over 3 million in 1921, increased to around 1,54,000 in a district total around 4750000 in 1951. The Syrian Christian population in Malabar increased from over 21,000 in 1921 to slightly over 23,000 in 1931.

From the population table, it is clear that the largest inflow was during the period of 1941-1971. Total population increased from 1,06,350 in the 1941 to 4,13,815 in 1971. Density of people, that is number of persons per sq.km. also increased dramatically during these years. Though growth rate declined from 1971 to 1981, density of population increased considerably. This shows that there was a shortage of land during this period. The immigrants were mostly small cultivators or agricultural labourers in this period.

Another impact of migration was a shift from the wet land based paddy cultivation to cash crop cultivation. Although, small farmers who immigrated into the area initially cultivated mainly subsistence crops, with limited resources at hand they could shift very slowly to commercialized agriculture. Cultivation of tapioca was introduced in the area.
by the immigrants from southern Kerala which they used for their own consumption and sold in the domestic market. Along with this, they began to develop small plots for cultivating coffee and pepper. Cultivation of coffee was more suitable to this area.

Shifting cultivation which fed the local \textit{adivasis} for centuries ended forever partially, due to government policy prohibiting it and also due to shrinkage of the area with the large scale colonisation of plainspeople. Millets like \textit{chama} and \textit{ragi} faded out of the usual menu of the communities like Chetty, Paniyan and Kurichya. Wetland cultivation of paddy remained prominent among all communities as subsistence as well as commercial crop.

The inflow of the greater number of immigrants and their effort to grab land by any means for expanding the cultivation of cash crops was at the cost of the \textit{adivasis}. Especially among \textit{adivasis} like Paniyans, commercialised cultivation was more or less unknown and they did not attach much value to ownership of land. Some others were vulnerable to illicit liquor which was prepared and supplied by the immigrants in their bid to snatch land from the \textit{adivasis}. With the immigration of plains people, majority of the \textit{adivasis} became landless (Aiyappan 1992, Nair 1911, Nurit-Bird 1987, Menon 1969, Menon 1996) and came to depend on agricultural labour.

Local ecology, consisting of the wet land as well as shifting cultivation along with abundant natural resources, played a great role in the construction of livelihoods in the pre-migration period. Changes brought about by the colonial governance and plantations together transformed the local ecology and economy in the long run.

But it was with the immigration of Kerala people on a massive scale into the region that the life style of the Paniyans underwent dramatic changes. Commercial innovations in the agriculture and the introduction of market relations in production and consumption made them depend upon the cultivation of cash crops and settled population. Newly found demand for dry-land in the area limited their access to natural resources and it also caused the alienation of their own land. Although the state had failed in protecting the tribal rights over the land, it put in place a separate institutional set-up for the `upliftment’ of \textit{adivasi} population, which, however, didn’t yield any favourable results.
These populations were main inhabitants in the region of Wayanad since centuries and were adapted to the natural environment of Wayanad amicably. In the later period people belonging to different religions and castes penetrated into Wayanad life. A marked shift in the traditional life happened with the establishment of British supremacy by introducing new production practices and forces, and governance structures which had an inbuilt tendency to create a modern institutional environment. Steps to introduce and promote commercial crops for export through the plantation industries became instrumental in bringing about the global forces within the local arenas of lives and livelihoods. It was the first phase of globalization for this region, which had made unprecedented impacts on the lives of local populations. But this impact was not sudden or direct; instead, it was mediated by the formal and informal institutions in very many ways, purposely as well as unintentionally.

Conclusion

In this chapter it has been tried to theoretically understand the important dimensions of globalization which are influencing the fundamental nature of global–local interface. Although many of these processes appear to have manifested in autonomous ways, they are actually intersected according to the logic of capitalism that is expanding on a global scale and producing a space of development which is constantly negotiated by the local agents. In this sense we try to understand the global–local interpenetration as continuous, evolving as well as historical. Accordingly, in the second part of this chapter we tried to interlink again the major dimensions of globalization with the empirical context of Wayanad in its historical background.

In the case of Wayanad, the first phase of local–global interpenetration starts with the introduction of plantation sector with the inflow of global capital absorbing the local resources. This is also one stage in a development order completely dictated by colonial regime. System of governance and economy was on par with the empirical interests of the period. This interface has deeper impact upon the local livelihoods in Wayanad like elsewhere.

Second phase of the local–global interface is linked to the processes of nation building under the sovereign command of post independent governments under which
development was a nationalist project, but with strong global embeddness. This is a phase marked by the consolidation of various indigenous institutions.

Formation of political parties and expansion of representative democracy along with the emergence of strong interest groups at the ‘local’ characterised the social arena of interaction among the communities in this phase in Wayanad also. Power relations among and within the communities took new turns and local power structures also underwent remarkable changes during the period. Local empowerment in terms of the upward mobility of the erstwhile disadvantaged communities in certain historical circumstances is also realised in congruence with the development of physical infrastructure for creating an access to public education and health.

At present, economic and political dimensions of global through increased exposure to markets and decentralisation of state and development practices are found to be important in the context of Wayanad as far the local communities and their livelihoods are concerned. So, we try to see how the hitherto excluded communities like Paniyans are now engaging with these changes along with others in the long pursuit of their negotiation of a development space and livelihood practices.

Chapter III

COMMUNITIES THROUGH DEVELOPMENT SPACE AND LIVELIHOOD TRAJECTORIES