

Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives
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Lecture 11

Arjun Appadurai

Welcome back to the class. We are almost halfway through our discussion on cultural globalization, and we completed one week of discussion and lectures on this very interesting aspect of cultural globalization. We discussed the concept of culture; we discussed modernization; we discussed the clash of civilization thesis. And this week, we are starting yet another series of very interesting discussions. This week predominantly, we will be looking at an Indian anthropologist who has become an extremely famous and prominent figure in anthropology and sociology. And his name is Arjun Appadurai. So, we will be spending 2 or 4 hours or 3 or 4 sessions and trying to understand Appadurai's arguments about cultural globalization, followed by another session on cosmopolitanism by Ulrich Beck. Ulrich Beck, we will meet him again later.

We will take up his articles and works later down the line when we discuss the risk society. When we discuss the changing nature of the state in the era of globalization, we will come across Ulrich Beck again. But Appadurai, we will not come across again. So, we will spend sufficient time to get a broader understanding of the arguments of Appadurai. And it is also exciting and essential for us to that globalization literature, especially on cultural globalization, is greatly benefited by an Indian scholar, an Indian anthropologist. And definitely, he is one of the most well-known anthropologists of Indian origin or maybe the most you can confidently say he is one of the most famous or popular anthropologists in the world. It is great pride that he belongs to India. So, some in this session, I will give a brief introduction to Appadurai and his significant works. And then, we will start his critical essay; maybe we will discuss halfway through the significant paper, and then we will continue with that remaining part of the essay in the next class.

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An eminent Indian anthropologist whose theorization on cultural globalization became highly influential



Born and brought up in Mumbai, he completed his PhD from University of Chicago on a car festival in the Triplicate Temple of Chennai.
'Worship and Conflict Under Colonial Rule: A South Indian Case'.

Served in many top US Universities

His theorization of globalization 'Disjuncture and Difference' published in 1990 became one of the seminal essays on cultural globalization



An eminent Indian anthropologist whose theorization on cultural globalization became highly influential, Appadurai is one of the prominent voices in the field of cultural globalization who looked at globalization from the perspective of anthropological research. He is an eminently renowned person across the globe, and we can also confidently say that he is one of the foremost theoreticians on cultural globalization.

His name appears among the first scholars of the most initial period who came up with fascinating theories on globalization. So, his invention and you will be surprised to see that one of his most celebrated essays that we will discuss is 'Disjuncture and difference in the cultural economy of the globe.' He wrote this particular essay in 1990, the initial phases of globalization. And later, it came out as a part of the book later in 1996. Appadurai's first essay is compulsory reading in classes on globalization, sociology of globalization, anthropology of globalization, or cultural globalization. He wrote this essay almost 30 years back in the nascent phases of globalization, which is a critical point. He was born and brought up in Mumbai, completed his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

And his thesis was on a car festival in Triplicane's Parthasarathy temple in Chennai. It was published as the 'Worship and Conflict under the Colonial rule: A South Indian Case.' And after that, he has served in top US universities. I am not listing out the names of the universities. He has been a visiting scholar to many universities, and he spent most of his career with New York University.

So, those interested can always look up information on Arjun Appadurai, and there is a Wikipedia page on him. And there is a lot of information out there, YouTube lectures and then his writings, he is a very prolific writer. So, his theorization of globalization 'Disjuncture and Difference' published in 1990 became one of the seminal essays on cultural globalization.

So, we will spend at least two sessions, including this and the next session, to discuss this essay in detail so that you understand the uniqueness of Appadurai's take on cultural globalization.

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He created a major disruption on the theorization on globalization

In short, much mainstream thinking about globalization lacks any explicit engagement with cultural issues (or at least has done until recently) and Appadurai's work leads quickly to the conclusion that this is a significant problem. Ultimately, I will suggest Appadurai and other cultural thinkers about globalization lead us back to key epistemological issues about the nature of space, place and the spatiality of societal interconnectedness and in so doing provides important insights into one of the key future directions that thinking about globalization needs to take.

Andrew Jones: Globalization Key Thinkers



So, he created a significant disruption in the theorization of globalization. This particular quote is taken from the textbook by Andrew Jones: Globalization Key Thinkers. And this is one of the textbooks that I have prescribed for you. So, as I mentioned, Andrew Jones introduces each thinker and provides an introduction to the scholar's academic career, intellectual contribution, then discusses some of the substantive themes of this particular scholar; and ends each essay with scholarly comments or an evaluation. So, Andrew Jones says that Appadurai disrupted the theorization on cultural globalization. And he was always on the margins. He was never into the mainstream of theorization because it did not fit into any conventional modes of thinking.

It always had its independence, and it always had its exception. It is challenging to surpass that. And it will become more apparent when we read or discuss his argument. It is highly complicated and overarching, and it is a significantly overbearing kind of theorization. So, Andrew Jones writes that, in short, much mainstream thinking about globalization lack any explicit engagement with cultural issues or at least has done until recently.

Appadurai's work leads quickly to the conclusion that this is a significant problem. As we mentioned in the previous class, the cultural question was always on the periphery. They were always on the margins, and globalization was predominantly seen as an economic process. Globalization was seen as a political process, as something that significantly alters the political composition of the nation-state.

And what happens to culture was seen as a peripheral or residual category. But scholars like Appadurai and a host of others disagree with this particular argument. Ultimately, I will suggest Appadurai and other cultural thinkers about globalization lead us back to key epistemological issues about the nature of space, place, and the spatiality of social interconnectedness and, in so doing, provide important insights into one of the key future directions thinking about globalization needs to take.

So, this is a fundamental question, fundamental argument that Andrew Jones argues that scholars like Appadurai provide a key epistemological issue about the nature of space. How do we make sense of space and time, space and place? Is there any distinction between place and

space? Usually, we use them interchangeably, but these two terms are very different in social sciences, Physics, or geography.

A place you always attach a meaning of a given geographical area. It has a givenness; it has a concrete character; it has boundaries. Whereas space is something different, space does not need to indicate a geographically bounded place. So, there are very interesting theorizations which we will discuss. The spatiality of social interconnectedness is the central point around which sociological theorization on globalization takes place.

What is the spatiality of social interconnectedness? Sociology deals with social interconnectedness; sociology looks at the web of relationships, or in other words, social interaction is the subject matter of sociological theorization. So, in that scenario, what is happening to the spatiality question? How do different forms of spatiality come into the picture, and how has it significantly influenced the questions of social interconnectedness? This becomes the central concern of sociological theorization.

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Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. 1996

Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger. 2006



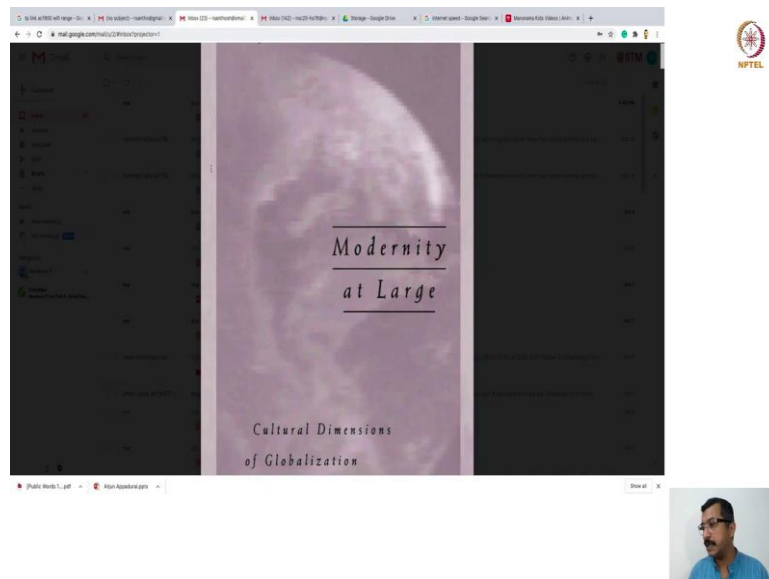
So, these are two important term books, there are quite a lot of books, but I have only chosen some of the important ones. One is this ‘Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization’ published in 1996. We will follow the essay ‘disjuncture and difference’ that appeared in this particular work, which is a longer version. He had published concise versions of the essay in different articles or other places.

But I am going by this particular version that appears in this book ‘Modernity at Large.’ I will also introduce you to this book. He also published a fascinating work, ‘The Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger’ published in 2006. I think we will again take up maybe for one session to see his arguments about the fear of small numbers. It is a significant work that reflects a whole lot of dynamics that are happening around us.

Why is it that the small numbers of people, he is using this small number basically to indicate the minorities; whether religious minorities or ethnic minorities or refugees; why do these small numbers create so much angst, apprehension, and anxiety among the majority? It is a fascinating question, and we will come back to that. So, these are the introductory remarks

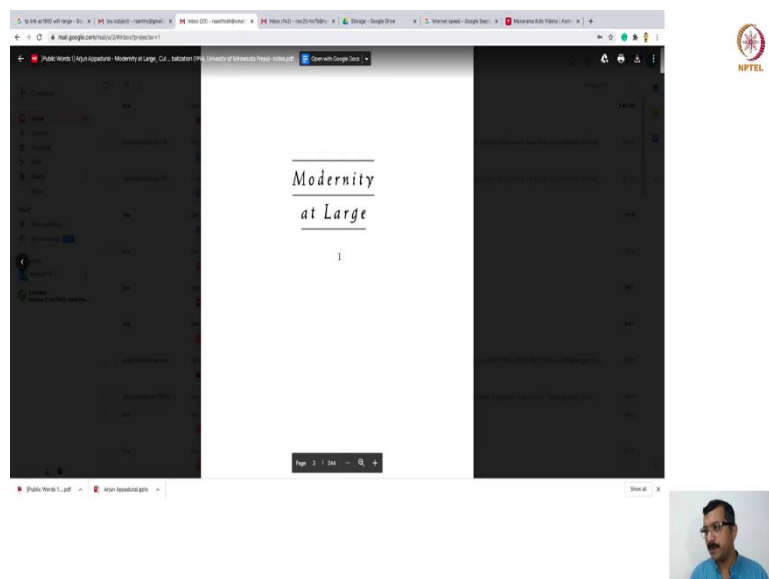
about Appadurai. And now I will go to his book, *Modernity at Large*, introducing and then getting started with his first essay.

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The book's title is '*Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, published in 1996 by the University of Minnesota Press.

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And I will also show you the content. So that is an acknowledgment section, and then there is the part I 'Global flows.' It is the introduction we are not going to discuss that. We are discussing this particular essay, 'Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy.' This is a 27-page long essay. We are not doing this essay entirely because I felt that might be too much for you.

So, I will be discussing the central themes in that work, not the entire essay, because he has published a shorter, British version of this essay and his subtle argument about what it means to be disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy.

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<i>Part II Modern Colonies</i>	
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It has part II, 'Playing modernity: the Decolonization of Indian cricket.' We will discuss in detail the ninth chapter, 'The production of locality' because this is also an essential contribution by Appadurai, different kind of discussion, an imagination, an argument about what it means to be locality.

What is the meaning of neighbourhood, and how are localities created in this global interconnected world, critical theorization? So, I would strongly urge you to get a hold of these essays or if possible, read the book. It may not be an easy reading initially, but I am sure that you will gradually make sense of it.

Ensure that you develop the habit of reading these original essays; they will be really helpful though it might require some attempt from your side to make sense of them. But it is always worth doing that. So let us skip the introduction and come to part 1 - A global flows and his argument about disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy.

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Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy

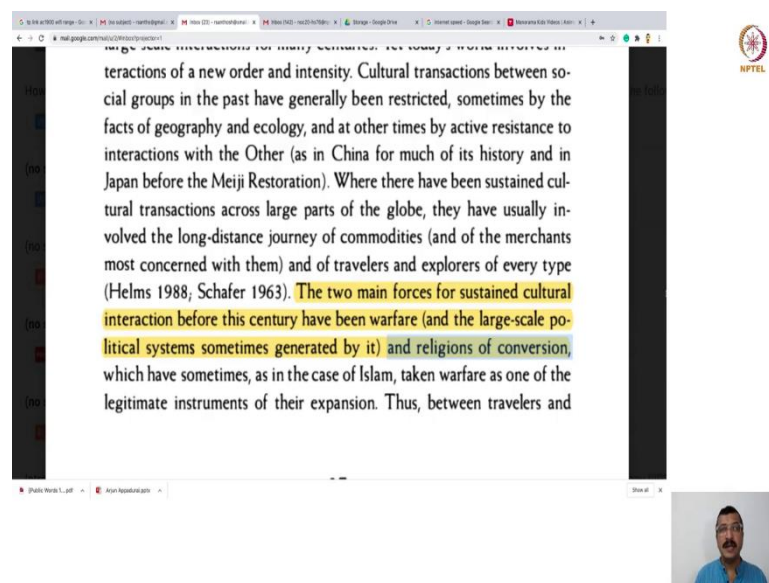
It takes only the merest acquaintance with the facts of the modern world to note that it is now an interactive system in a sense that is strikingly new. Historians and sociologists, especially those concerned with translocal processes (Hodgson 1974) and the world systems associated with capitalism (Abu-Lughod 1989; Braudel 1981–84; Curtin 1984; Wallerstein 1974; Wolf 1982), have long been aware that the world has been a congeries of large-scale interactions for many centuries. Yet today's world involves interactions of a new order and intensity. Cultural transactions between social groups in the past have generally been restricted, sometimes by the facts of geography and ecology and at other times by active resistance to



So, this is the essay that we are going to discuss. I have highlighted the important sections. So, it will be helpful for you to note down where it is and why these are important. So, he begins this essay with a lengthy introduction about the larger changes in human cultural interactions and cultural interconnectedness in a historical sense.

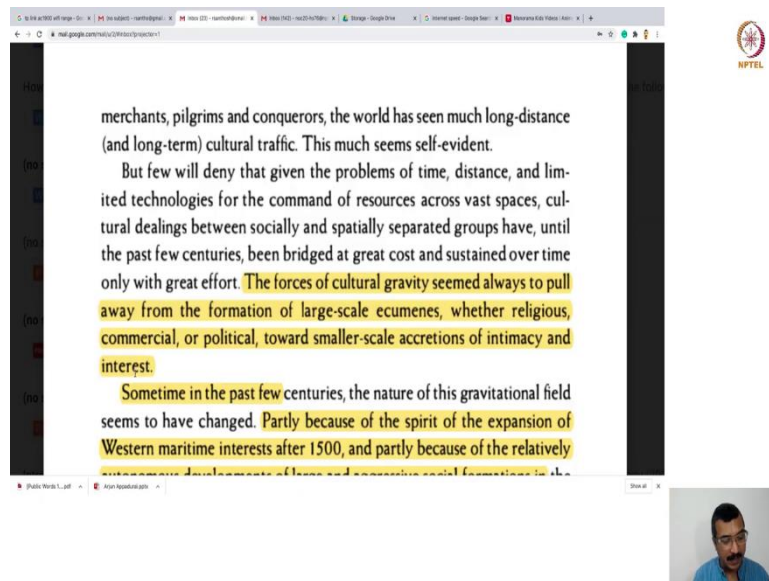
So, he says it takes only the merest acquaintance with the facts of the modern world that to note that it is now an interactive system in the sense that it is strikingly new. Historians and sociologists, especially those concerned with the trans local processes and the world system associated with capitalism, have long been aware that the world has been a congeries of large-scale interactions for many centuries. He begins his essay and talks about cultural transactions.

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The image shows a presentation slide from a video lecture. The slide content is a paragraph of text discussing cultural transactions. A portion of the text is highlighted in yellow. In the bottom right corner, there is a small video inset showing a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt. The top of the slide has a header with the text 'The two main forces for sustained cultural interaction before this century have been warfare (and the large-scale political systems sometimes generated by it) and religions of conversion, which have sometimes, as in the case of Islam, taken warfare as one of the legitimate instruments of their expansion. Thus, between travelers and'. The bottom of the slide has a footer with the text 'Public Works L.pdf' and 'Kiran K. Srinivasan'.

Two main forces for sustained cultural interaction before the century have been warfare and the large-scale political systems sometimes generated by it; religions of conversion. So how did the culture spread to different societies? What was the kind of cultural interaction that used to take place? That is providing a kind of an introduction.

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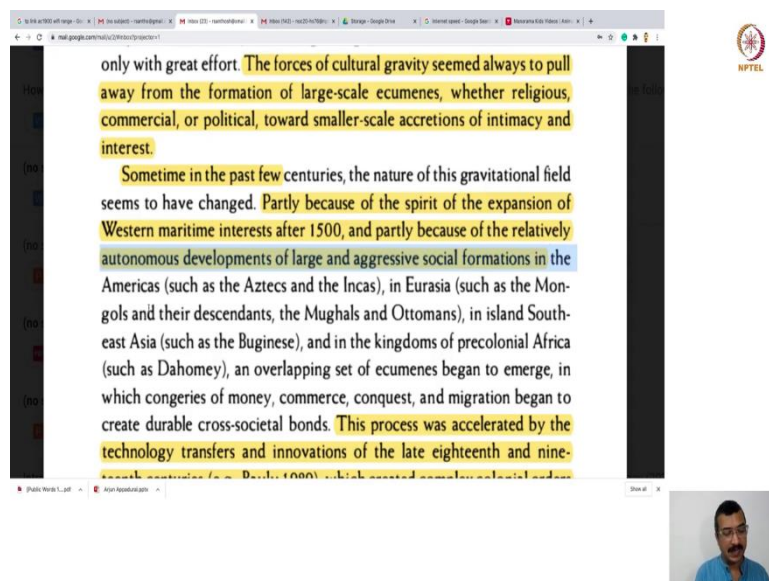
merchants, pilgrims and conquerors, the world has seen much long-distance (and long-term) cultural traffic. This much seems self-evident.

But few will deny that given the problems of time, distance, and limited technologies for the command of resources across vast spaces, cultural dealings between socially and spatially separated groups have, until the past few centuries, been bridged at great cost and sustained over time only with great effort. The forces of cultural gravity seemed always to pull away from the formation of large-scale ecumenes, whether religious, commercial, or political, toward smaller-scale accretions of intimacy and interest.

Sometime in the past few centuries, the nature of this gravitational field seems to have changed. Partly because of the spirit of the expansion of Western maritime interests after 1500, and partly because of the relatively autonomous developments of large and aggressive social formations in the Americas (such as the Aztecs and the Incas), in Eurasia (such as the Mongols and their descendants, the Mughals and Ottomans), in island Southeast Asia (such as the Buginese), and in the kingdoms of precolonial Africa (such as Dahomey), an overlapping set of ecumenes began to emerge, in which congeries of money, commerce, conquest, and migration began to create durable cross-societal bonds. This process was accelerated by the technology transfers and innovations of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g. Baskin 1999), which opened up new possibilities for

And he says the forces of cultural gravity seem to always pull away from the formations of large-scale ecumenes, whether religious, commercial, or political, towards small-scale accretions of intimacy and interest. Because the culture always tends to act on a smaller scale. So that you never had much larger political or economic conglomerates earlier.

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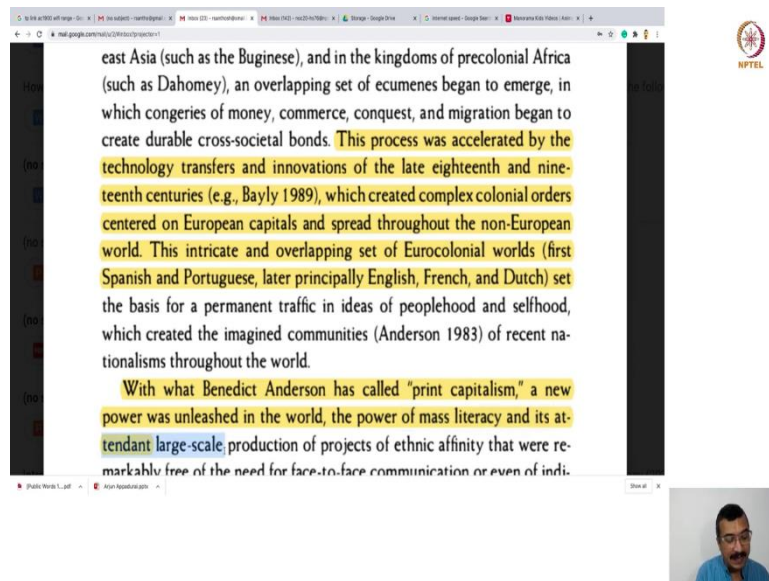


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So, he brings in the role of colonialism, which was a decisive moment in human history. Sometime in the past few centuries, this gravitational field seems to have changed partly because of the spirit of expansion of Western maritime interests after 1500 and partly because of the relatively autonomous developments to large and aggressive social formations in the Americas, in Eurasia and other places.

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east Asia (such as the Buginese), and in the kingdoms of precolonial Africa (such as Dahomey), an overlapping set of ecumenes began to emerge, in which congeries of money, commerce, conquest, and migration began to create durable cross-societal bonds. This process was accelerated by the technology transfers and innovations of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g., Bayly 1989), which created complex colonial orders centered on European capitals and spread throughout the non-European world. This intricate and overlapping set of Eurocolonial worlds (first Spanish and Portuguese, later principally English, French, and Dutch) set the basis for a permanent traffic in ideas of peoplehood and selfhood, which created the imagined communities (Anderson 1983) of recent nationalisms throughout the world.

With what Benedict Anderson has called "print capitalism," a new power was unleashed in the world, the power of mass literacy and its attendant large-scale production of projects of ethnic affinity that were remarkably free of the need for face-to-face communication or even of indi-

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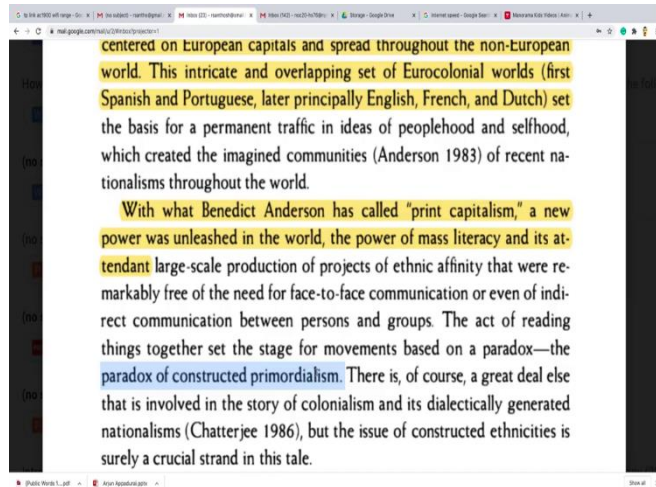
So, he talks about how more sustained changes happened in the era of modernity, especially in its combination and form as colonial expansion. Then he says that this process was accelerated by the technological transfers and innovations of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The things that we talk about as the industrial revolution or the enlightenment period created complex colonial orders centered on European capitals and spread throughout the non-European world.

This indicates an overlapping set of Eurocolonial worlds, first Spanish and Portuguese, later principally English, French, and Dutch set the basis for permanent traffic in areas of peoplehood and selfhood, which created imagined communities. I hope you understand this if you are familiar with the work of Benedict Anderson, his book titled 'Imagined Communities.'

'Imagined communities' is a theorization of nationalism. So, Benedict Anderson in opposition to other theorization, argued. The question is very simple. How does a nation get constituted? How and why do people who belong to a particular nation feel a sense of nationalism? What binds the people of a particular nation together? You know that after this treaty of Westphalia and Europe began to see the emergence of nation-states. And nation-state became the most enduring form of society. So, this whole question emerged, 'what holds a nation together?' And there are competing arguments; for example, there are arguments that say there is an ethnic basis for nationalism. You constitute a nation when you all belong to the same ethnicity.



So, this primordial identity provides the essence of belongingness. And in that context, Benedict Anderson puts forward a fundamental argument about these imagined communities. He argued that modern nation-states are nothing but a product of imagined communities. People can imagine that they belong to this particular nation, and print capitalism facilitated this imagination—the emergence of newspapers and other things. So, with what Benedict Anderson calls print capitalism, a new power was unleashed in the world—the power of mass literacy and its attendant large-scale production of projects of ethnic affinity that were remarkably free of the need for face-to-face communication or indirect communication between persons and groups.

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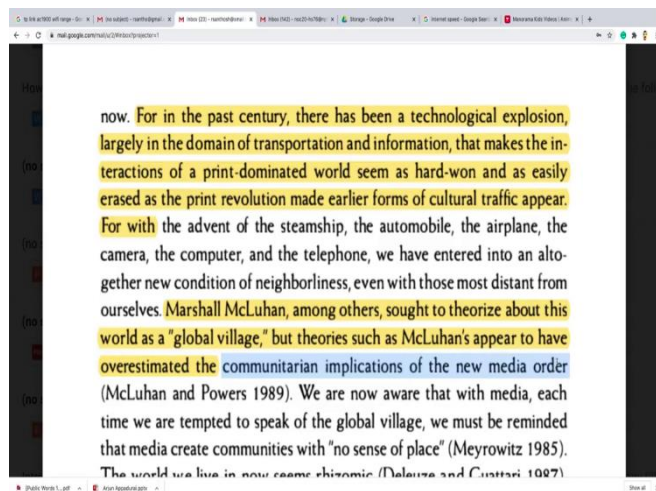
centered on European capitals and spread throughout the non-European world. This intricate and overlapping set of Eurocolonial worlds (first Spanish and Portuguese, later principally English, French, and Dutch) set the basis for a permanent traffic in ideas of peoplehood and selfhood, which created the imagined communities (Anderson 1983) of recent nationalisms throughout the world.

With what Benedict Anderson has called "print capitalism," a new power was unleashed in the world, the power of mass literacy and its attendant large-scale production of projects of ethnic affinity that were remarkably free of the need for face-to-face communication or even of indirect communication between persons and groups. The act of reading things together set the stage for movements based on a paradox—the paradox of constructed primordialism. There is, of course, a great deal else that is involved in the story of colonialism and its dialectically generated nationalisms (Chatterjee 1986), but the issue of constructed ethnicities is surely a crucial strand in this tale.






The act of reading things together set the stage for movements based on a paradox—the paradox of constructed primordialism. So, you can read and then imagine that you become a part of a community even though you know that people exist even though you may not know the people face to face. You may not know them directly, but imagine that you and a person sitting, say 2000 kilometres away 4500 kilometres away, belong to the same community.

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now. For in the past century, there has been a technological explosion, largely in the domain of transportation and information, that makes the interactions of a print-dominated world seem as hard-won and as easily erased as the print revolution made earlier forms of cultural traffic appear. For with the advent of the steamship, the automobile, the airplane, the camera, the computer, and the telephone, we have entered into an altogether new condition of neighborliness, even with those most distant from ourselves. Marshall McLuhan, among others, sought to theorize about this world as a "global village," but theories such as McLuhan's appear to have overestimated the communitarian implications of the new media order (McLuhan and Powers 1989). We are now aware that with media, each time we are tempted to speak of the global village, we must be reminded that media create communities with "no sense of place" (Meyrowitz 1985). The world we live in now seems rhizomic (Deleuze and Guattari 1987).

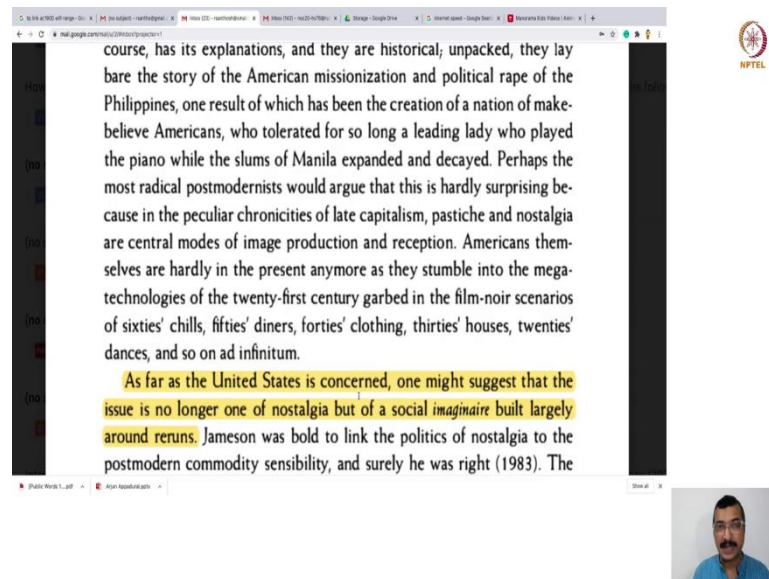



So, he mentions that as an important realization. He also talks about the past century. There has been a technological explosion mainly in transportation and information that makes the interaction of a print-dominated world seem as hard-won and as easily erased as the print revolution made easier forms of cultural traffic appear. Marshall McLuhan sought to theorize about this world as a global village, but theories such as McLuhan's seem to have overestimated the communitarian implications of the new media order.

We can look at these discussions; we are not going into the details because he brings in quite a load of illustrations. And I do not think that we need to look at each of these examples and illustrations. Let me concentrate more on the key ideas because these illustrations are from

different global backgrounds; they are from different periods, mainly from the early nineties, early two thousand, and many of which we may not be familiar with.

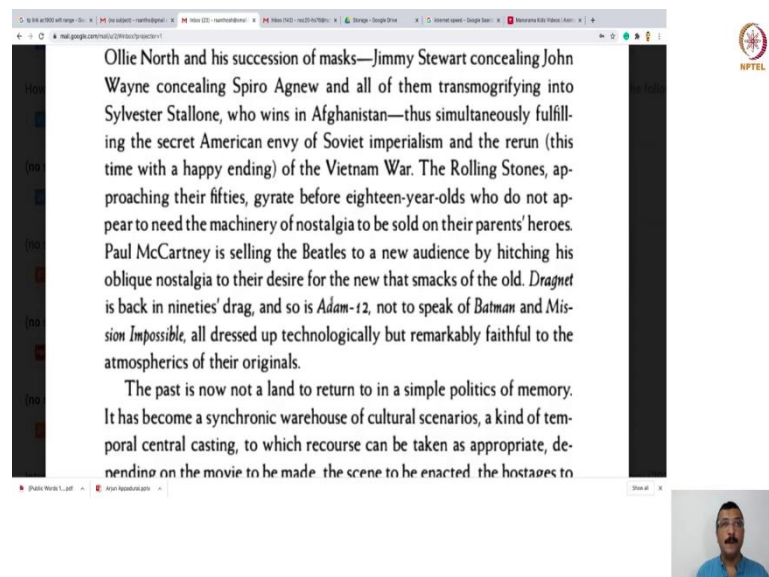
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The screenshot shows a presentation slide with a white background and black text. The text discusses the American missionization and political rape of the Philippines, and the creation of a nation of make-believe Americans. It mentions that the most radical postmodernists would argue that this is hardly surprising because in the peculiar chronicities of late capitalism, pastiche and nostalgia are central modes of image production and reception. The text continues: "Americans themselves are hardly in the present anymore as they stumble into the mega-technologies of the twenty-first century garbed in the film-noir scenarios of sixties' chills, fifties' diners, forties' clothing, thirties' houses, twenties' dances, and so on ad infinitum." Below this, a line of text is highlighted in yellow: "As far as the United States is concerned, one might suggest that the issue is no longer one of nostalgia but of a social *imaginaire* built largely around reruns." The text concludes: "Jameson was bold to link the politics of nostalgia to the postmodern commodity sensibility, and surely he was right (1983). The" The slide is part of a presentation, as indicated by the browser tabs at the top. A small video inset in the bottom right corner shows a man with a mustache and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, speaking.

But he is trying to respond to this larger argument that globalization is nothing but a kind of Americanization. So, we discussed that particular argument when we discussed McDonaldisation of George Ritzer. So, he says that as far as the United States is concerned, one might suggest that the issue is no longer one of nostalgia, but a social *imaginaire* built largely around returns.

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The screenshot shows a presentation slide with a white background and black text. The text discusses Ollie North and his succession of masks—Jimmy Stewart concealing John Wayne concealing Spiro Agnew and all of them transmogrifying into Sylvester Stallone, who wins in Afghanistan—thus simultaneously fulfilling the secret American envy of Soviet imperialism and the rerun (this time with a happy ending) of the Vietnam War. The text continues: "The Rolling Stones, approaching their fifties, gyrate before eighteen-year-olds who do not appear to need the machinery of nostalgia to be sold on their parents' heroes. Paul McCartney is selling the Beatles to a new audience by hitching his oblique nostalgia to their desire for the new that smacks of the old. *Dragnet* is back in nineties' drag, and so is *Adam-12*, not to speak of *Batman* and *Mission Impossible*, all dressed up technologically but remarkably faithful to the atmospherics of their originals." Below this, the text continues: "The past is now not a land to return to in a simple politics of memory. It has become a synchronic warehouse of cultural scenarios, a kind of temporal central casting, to which recourse can be taken as appropriate, depending on the movie to be made the scene to be enacted the hostages to" The slide is part of a presentation, as indicated by the browser tabs at the top. A small video inset in the bottom right corner shows a man with a mustache and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, speaking.

How the imperial rise of the United Nations had its implications in the cultural field, which got expanded into the field of Bollywood films, music, popular fiction, and a host of other stuff. So, he gives quite a lot of illustrations into that but let me come to a more important point.

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malized modality of your present. I hus, although some anthropologists may continue to relegate their Others to temporal spaces that they do not themselves occupy (Fabian 1983), postindustrial cultural productions have entered a postnostalgic phase.

The crucial point, however, is that the United States is no longer the puppeteer of a world system of images but is only one node of a complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes. The world we live in today is characterized by a new role for the imagination in social life. To grasp this new role, we need to bring together the old idea of images, especially mechanically produced images (in the Frankfurt School sense), the idea of the imagined community (in Anderson's sense), and the French idea of the imaginary (*imaginaire*) as a constructed landscape of collective aspirations, which is no more and no less real than the collective representations of Émile Durkheim, now mediated through the complex prism of modern media.

The image, the imagined, the imaginary—these are all terms that di-

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Public Works 1, ppt

Video feed of a speaker: A man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, is visible in a small window at the bottom right of the slide.

However, the crucial point is that the United States is no longer the puppeteer of a world system of images but is only one node of a complex transnational construction of an imaginary landscape. So, he is very much against this usual argument about colonization or McDonaldization or Americanization or the spread of Pan Americana. He says that it is one of the nodes of the complex transnational construction of an imaginary landscape.

America does not occupy the single most imaginary of the global people. The world we live in today is characterized by a new role for the imagination in social life. To grasp this new world, new role, we need to bring together the old idea of images, especially mechanically produced images. In the Frankfurt School sense, the imagined community in Anderson's sense and the French idea of the imaginary as a constructed landscape of collective aspirations.

Appadurai also brings in this idea of imagination. Again, we will discuss it not as a kind of mere fantasy but as a lethal, politically productive form, a constructed landscape of collective aspirations. So, this imagination can inspire you to act towards a certain thing, which is no more and no less real than the collective representation of Emile Durkheim, now mediated through the complex prism of modern media.

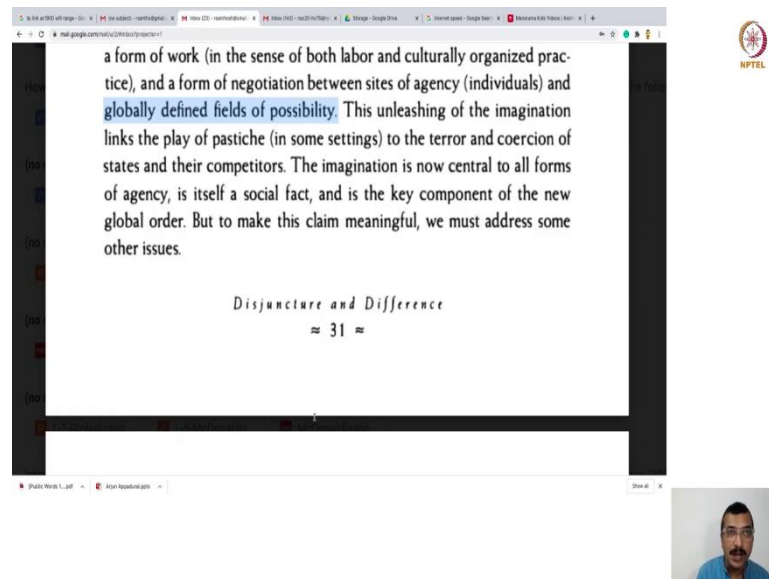
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So, the imagined, imagine, and imaginary are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes, the imaginations as a social practice. This is the central theme around which Appadurai builds one of his arguments about cultural globalization. So, the image, whether you see in the case of photography, painting, newspaper, or other things and the imagined and the imaginary are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in the global cultural processes—the imagination as a social practice.

This imagination is no longer mere fantasy (opium for the masses whose real work is elsewhere), no longer simple escape (from a world defined principally by more concrete purposes and structures), no longer elite pastime and no longer mere contemplation, the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, and he elaborates that as a form of work, and as a form of negotiation between sites of agency(individuals)and globally defined

fields of possibility. So, he brings this notion of imagination to the central stage, which is why he re-emphasizes the importance of culture.

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a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility. This unleashing of the imagination links the play of pastiche (in some settings) to the terror and coercion of states and their competitors. The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order. But to make this claim meaningful, we must address some other issues.

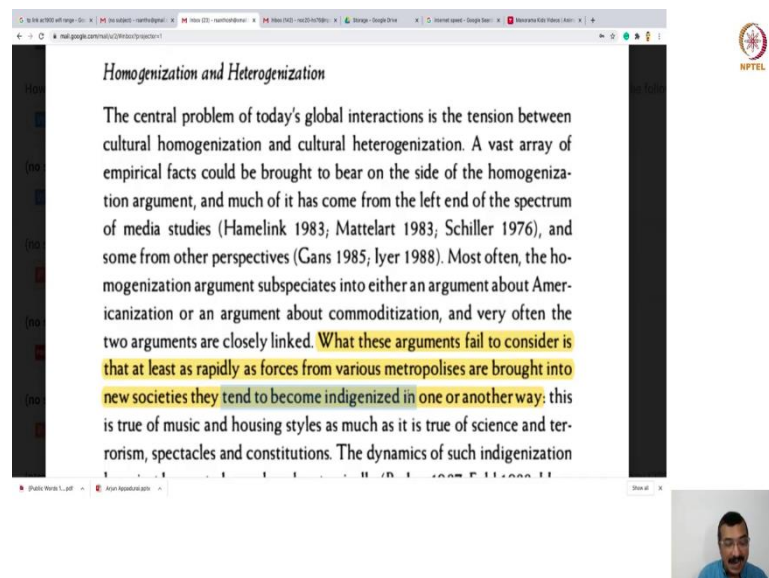
Disjuncture and Difference

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The culture is not only your values or ideas, as we discuss in conventional anthropology, but also how this cultural imagination plays an essential role in this new form of social practice, which he calls social imagination.

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The screenshot shows a presentation slide with the following text:

Homogenization and Heterogenization

The central problem of today's global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization. A vast array of empirical facts could be brought to bear on the side of the homogenization argument, and much of it has come from the left end of the spectrum of media studies (Hamelink 1983; Mattelart 1983; Schiller 1976), and some from other perspectives (Gans 1985; Iyer 1988). Most often, the homogenization argument subspecies into either an argument about Americanization or an argument about commoditization, and very often the two arguments are closely linked. What these arguments fail to consider is that at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one or another way; this is true of music and housing styles as much as it is true of science and terrorism, spectacles and constitutions. The dynamics of such indigenization

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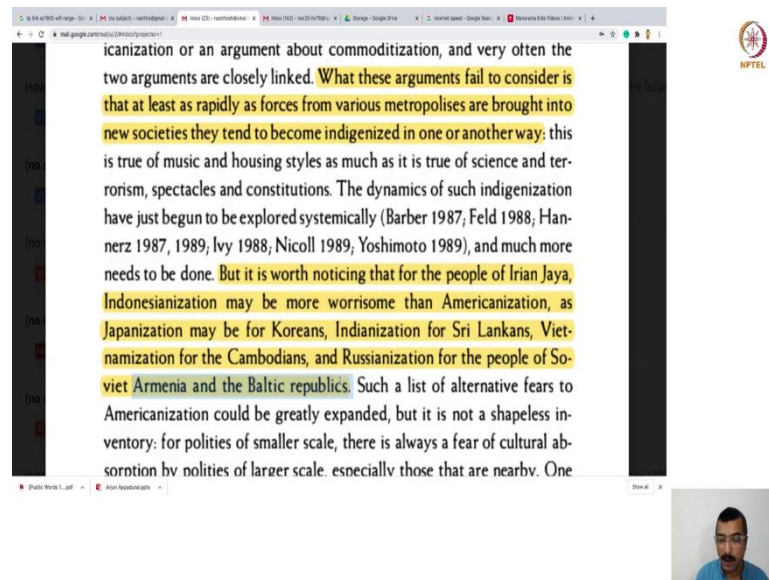
He comes back to this whole question of Americanization—about a global homogeneity and cultural homogenization. We discussed George Ritzer's argument that there is a significant homogenization taking place. There is rationality taking over everything, there is a uniformity coming into even to our food, music, leisure, everything, but Appadurai is extremely critical of that.

He says that these arguments fail to consider that at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies, they tend to become indigenized in one way or the

other. This is a crucial point, similar to what we discuss as globalization, not globalization but glocalization.

When forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies, they tend to become indigenized, become a part of the local, get adapted, or are forced to adapt to the kind of local scenario changing their character content and even intent.

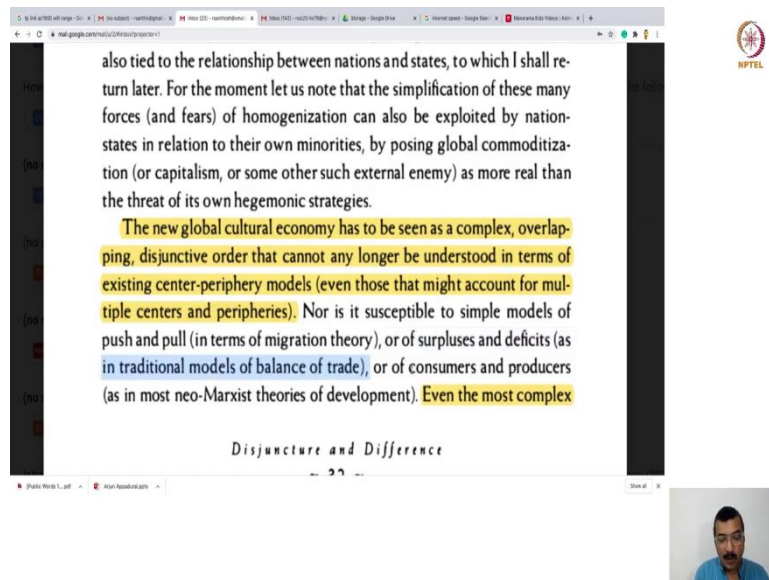
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The image shows a presentation slide with text about indigenization and globalization. The text is highlighted in yellow. In the top right corner, there is an NPTEL logo. In the bottom right corner, there is a small video feed of a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, who appears to be the presenter.

So, he gives quite a lot of examples. This is true of music and housing styles as much as science and terrorism, spectacles and constitutions. And he also says that this whole idea about Americanization is a kind of fixed one, but if you look into particular geographies, the source of influence could be very different.

He says that it is worth noticing that for people of Irian Jaya, Indonesianization may be more worrisome than Americanization, as Japanization may be for Koreans, Indianization for Sri Lankans, and maybe when even for Nepalese, Vietnamization for the Cambodians, and Russianization for the people of Soviet Armenia and Baltic republics. These are the immediate sources of influence than America influencing everywhere in a uniform manner. You need to look into geographical distinctiveness.

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also tied to the relationship between nations and states, to which I shall return later. For the moment let us note that the simplification of these many forces (and fears) of homogenization can also be exploited by nation-states in relation to their own minorities, by posing global commoditization (or capitalism, or some other such external enemy) as more real than the threat of its own hegemonic strategies.

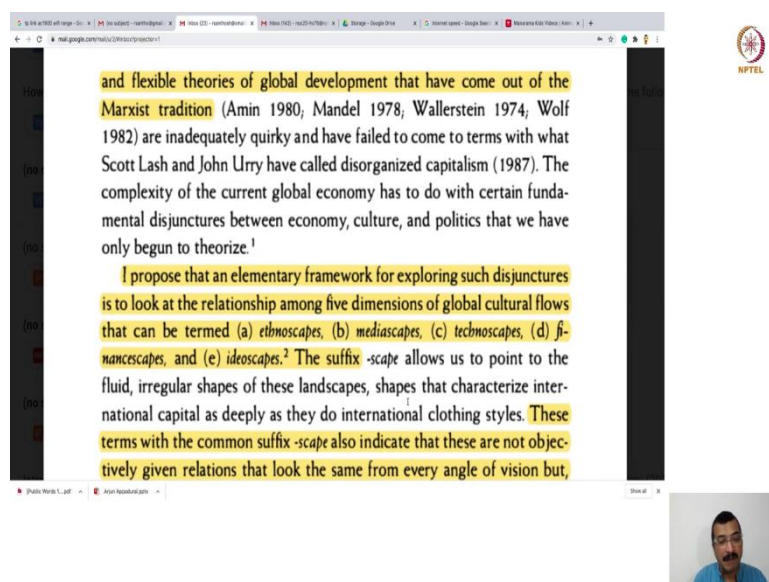
The new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models (even those that might account for multiple centers and peripheries). Nor is it susceptible to simple models of push and pull (in terms of migration theory), or of surpluses and deficits (as in traditional models of balance of trade), or of consumers and producers (as in most neo-Marxist theories of development). Even the most complex

Disjuncture and Difference

The central point that he argues is that the new global cultural economy must be seen as a complex overlapping disjunctive order that can no longer be understood in terms of the existing centre-periphery model. This centre-periphery model was a neo-Marxian argument put forward by theorists of dependency theory and later world system theorists, saying that there is a core, a periphery, and a semi-periphery in between. They argued so maybe from 1500 for the last 500 years how this whole world has been integrated.

And that particular argument Appadurai says is insufficient to make sense of the contemporary scenario. Nor is it susceptible to simple models of push and pull in migration theory, or surpluses and deficits as in traditional modes of balance trade, or of consumers and producers as in the neo-Marxist theories of development.

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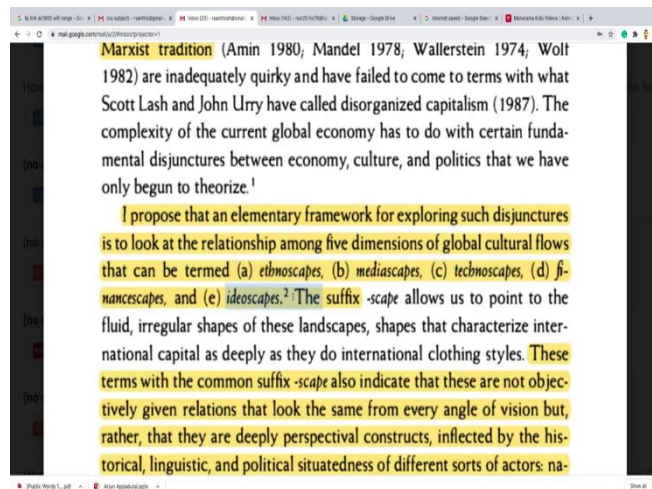


and flexible theories of global development that have come out of the Marxist tradition (Amin 1980; Mandel 1978; Wallerstein 1974; Wolf 1982) are inadequately quirky and have failed to come to terms with what Scott Lash and John Urry have called disorganized capitalism (1987). The complexity of the current global economy has to do with certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics that we have only begun to theorize.¹

I propose that an elementary framework for exploring such disjunctures is to look at the relationship among five dimensions of global cultural flows that can be termed (a) *ethnoscapes*, (b) *mediascapes*, (c) *technoscapes*, (d) *financescapes*, and (e) *ideoscapes*.² The suffix *-scape* allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes that characterize international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles. These terms with the common suffix *-scape* also indicate that these are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but,

Even in the most complex and flexible theories of global development that have come out of the Marxist tradition.

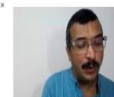
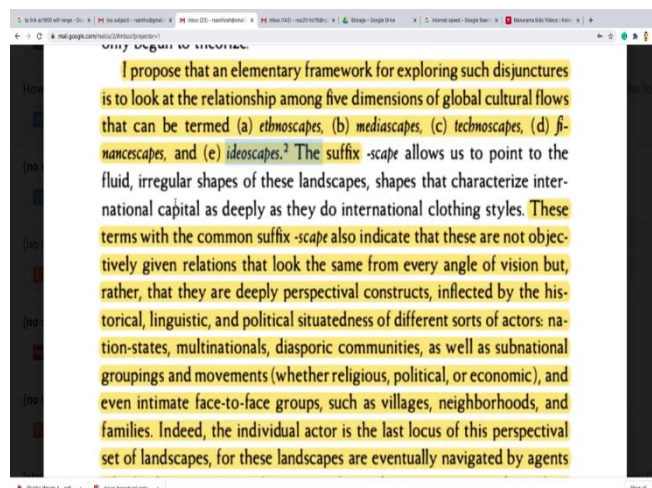
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I hope you understood how he enters into his argument. So, he provides a fascinating introduction about the contemporary scenario and how these existing theorizations hardly help us make sense of that; it is not Americanization. You need to look into different geographic areas. Then you will see that in given geographies, there are important sources of inspiration and cultural diffusion. Then he almost argues that the existing frameworks do not help.

Then he comes to his fundamental framework. He says, “I purpose an elementary framework for exploring such disjuncture is to look at the relationship among five dimensions of global cultural flows that can be termed as *ethnoscape*, *mediascape*, *technoscape*, *financescape*, and *ideoscape*.”

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The suffix *-scape* allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes that characterize international capacity as deeply as they do, international clothing styles. I think it is time to take a pause now. We will wind up the class now and then begin with the subsequent section in the coming class because he is beginning his major theorization from this particular part onwards.

And I don't want to take away too much of the time we will be left in between. So let me stop here with his argument that he is introducing his five scapes. And we will begin in the next class by trying to understand why he is using and what it means to be each of these scapes. Why is it that he uses the terms scape as a suffix? What are its explanatory potentials, and what is his overall theorization?

And here, you see that he comes up with his original theorization. He is not simply describing certain things; he is not simply providing such kind of detail. He is coming up with very interesting, fascinating original theorization. And that is what is more interesting. So, he talks about five interrelationships among five dimensions of global cultural flows. There is ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape, and ideoscape. And we will continue with the rest of this essay in the coming class. Thank you.